# Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease: Efficacy and Ritual Healing in Medieval Japanese Buddhism

Andrew Macomber

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
2019

ABSTRACT

## Esoteric Moxibustion for Demonic Disease: Efficacy and Ritual Healing in Medieval Japanese Buddhism

Andrew Macomber

This dissertation explores ritual healing and the issue of efficacy in early medieval Japanese Buddhism through a study of *The Ritual of Shōmen Kongō for Expelling Demons and Māras*. Designed by monks of the Jimon branch of the Tendai school in the 1170's and transmitted over the thirteenth century, this ritual stood out in the field of esoteric ritual healing at the time for two significant reasons. First, its therapeutic program was centered on moxibustion (*kyū*), a Chinese medical modality in which the healer burns dried mugwort on multiple locations on the patient's body. Second, it was the earliest esoteric rite created in Japan to target a single, named affliction. That affliction was "corpse-vector disease" (*denshibyō*), a contagious wasting disorder known to Japan through transmitted classical Chinese medical texts as well as Buddhist scriptures. Until this time, esoteric ritual healing in Japan had never before featured direct engagement with the patient's body so prominently. What was it about corpse-vector disease, an affliction that only became known in the late twelfth century, that spurred monks to reorient esoteric ritual healing around a technology for burning the body of the sick? Why, moreover, had Jimon monks made the unprecedented move of looking beyond the tried-and-true techniques of the esoteric ritual repertoire to instead adopt a non-Buddhist medical modality?

Through an examination of the extant textual sources for the rite as well as medical texts, courtier diaries, tale literature, and other ritual sources, this dissertation investigates these questions in order to reconsider the issue of efficacy in the context of Buddhist ritual healing. Challenging the longstanding notion that esoteric ritual efficacy was the object of unquestioning belief throughout the early medieval period, I define efficacy as a site of uncertainty for both healers and patients, a nexus for the convergence of vexing questions and anxieties pertaining to disease, technology, and the body. Responding to new problems posed by the emergence of corpse-

vector disease, Jimon monks—the most prominent therapeutic exorcists at court in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—offered an unheard of solution that would thereafter transform healing culture in Japan for centuries. I examine how Jimon monks drew upon liturgical, doctrinal, and medical texts to reimagine the disease as well as moxibustion and the patient's body, and consider the transformations the enactment of the rite's prescriptions would have brought to performances of ritual healing. In so doing, I argue that efficacy cannot be understood solely through universal ascriptions of ritual power, common as those ascriptions may be throughout esoteric liturgical literature. Rather, the Jimon ritual demonstrates above all that esoteric healers had to negotiate efficacy through a specific constellation of images and material practices that engaged issues of affliction, technology, and body in compelling ways.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

## LIST OF FIGURES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the support and encouragement of countless teachers, friends, and family. I would firstly like to thank my wonderful advisors at Columbia, Bernard Faure and Michael Como. Bernard was (and remains) a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. I am indebted to Michael for his unfailing support, which included coming to each and every one of my talks and offering advice that improved the project at every phase. I am deeply grateful to Max Moerman for generously sharing his time, resources, and suggestions, for introducing me to Berthold Laufer and saving books for me at the Starr Library booksales. A great many thanks are due to Pierce Salguero, who provided insightful and encouraging feedback and friendship along the way. Pierce also generously provided invaluable opportunities to publish parts from this research, which spurred the project forward and improved it. I wish also to thank Zhaohua Yang for his hepful and discerning comments and advice, as a member of my dissertation committee and also on several other occasions. I am glad for our shared interests in corpse-related diseases and their place in esoteric ritual. Many other scholars at Columbia contributed directly or indirectly to the evolution of this project. In particular, I would like to thank David Lurie, Rachel McDermott, Chün-fang Yü, Haruo Shirane, Gregory Pflugfelder, Wayne Proudfoot, and Courtney Bender. I also wish to acknowledge the help of former and current administrative staff members in the Religion Department: Meryl Marcus, Julia Clark-Spohn, Katrina Dock, and Edwin Torres.

The seeds for this dissertation were planted during my time as an undergraduate at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. I especially wish to thank Peter Gregory, who met with me regularly for an entire year as my advisor for an honors thesis on Hakuin's *Yasenkanna*. Without Peter's mentorship and kind support it is doubtful I would have continued beyond my undergraduate project. I thank Reiko Sono for connecting me with Peter and for her own excellent advising, especially the brainstorming sessions in her office. Were it not for Stephen

Miller, I'm not sure when my eyes would have opened to the endlessly fascinating academic study of medieval Japanese Buddhism. I thank him for his wonderful class and the kindness he has shown me ever since. I wish to thank Stephen Forrest for his advice and for conveying the fun and value of classical and cursive Japanese. I wish also to thank David Schneider for his meticulous instruction of classical Chinese. I must also express my deep gratitude to all of the language instructors I've been privileged to learn from, beginning with Yoshiko Hurley at Brookdale Community College as well as my teachers at UMass, International Christian University in Mitaka, KCJS at Doshisha University (especially Jamie Newhard, Nishimata Takayuki, and Nakata Kaori), and the Taipei Language Institute.

I was incredibly fortunate to spend three years in Japan affiliated with Abe Yasurō at Nagoya University and the Research Center for Cultural Heritage and Texts. Abe-sensei provided immeasurable support, resources, and inspiration. This included access to the Ōsu Bunko library at Shinpukuji, sources from which are central to this project. My stay in Nagoya would not have been possible—and not nearly as pleasant—without the kind help of Abe Mika, who likewise offered countless suggestions and assistance on the research front. During my time there I also benefitted greatly from conversations with other faculty and visitors, Yamamoto Satomi, Hirano Tae, Chikamoto Kensuke, and Azuma Kentarō. In particular I wish to thank Yamamoto-sensei for sharing her work on the *Yamai no sōshi.* I also had the most wonderful group of peers, with whom I spent many oppressively hot yet unforgettable days at Zentokuji in Toyama eating *sabazushi*, trips to see the *hanamatsuri*, and long nights in the *kenkyūshitsu*. I would especially like to thank Eguchi Keiko, Miyoshi Toshinori, Matsuyama Yūko, Suematsu Misaki, Inose Chihiro, Kaku Kanei, Kim Tami, Itō Reiko, Abe Kazutaka, Hata (Matsuo) Yuki, Ozawa Makoto, Jill Akemi, Scarlett Hao, and Gaétan Rappo.

The second half of my tenure in Japan was spent in Kyoto. I am grateful to have been able to spend much time there with Michael Jamentz, who was always willing to share recommendations, sagely advice, and good company. I look forward to future conversations with Michael by the Kamogawa. I thank Hillary Pederson for inviting me to talk on a portion

of this project for the Kyoto Asian Studies Group. I also wish to express thanks to Ishigaki Akiko for taking Kevin Buckelew and me behind the scenes of Nara monasteries during the Shuni'e.

It was during my time in Kyoto that I was able to meet excellent and welcoming scholars of medical history as well as practitioners of traditional medical arts. Thanks are due to Ikai Yoshio, an innovative acupuncturist and lay *shugenja*, who opened his clinic for readings of early Chinese medical manuscripts and led me up Mt. Ōmine. Takeda Tokimasa at Kyoto University kindly provided access to the Fujikawa Bunko library and allowed me to participate at the Dentōiryō-bunka Kenkyūban. I wish to thank Nagano Hitoshi for his inspiring research on medieval and early modern acumoxa culture, much of which he graciously shared with me. At Morinomiya Iryōgakuen, Yokoyama Hiroyuki equipped me with countless primary sources and leads for taking the project further. Oda Hiroko kindly provided a venue in which to disseminate parts of my work to the community of practitioners in the Kansai area.

I was also extremely fortunate to be able to conduct research at the Kyōu Shooku library in Ōsaka, thanks to a generous grant from the Takeda Science Foundation. For supporting that research, I would like to express my gratitude to Fukuoka Yasuchika, Hyōno Yumiko, and Yokoyama Iwao. I wish to thank Kosoto Hiroshi and Katsui Keiko—who first encouraged me to apply to the scholarship—as well as Kahata Satoko (then at the Kitasato Institute). Iwama Machiko generously shared some of her important work on Yōsai, for which I thank her. I would also like to thank Maeda Yūri, Uchino Hanna, Okada Yūko, Nakane Hajime, Ono Naoya, and Kodaira Eiichi for their hospitality. A shout-out and thanks are owed to my friends at Moxafrica—a British charity exploring the potentials of moxibustion as an adjunctive therapy for drug-resistant tuberculosis—especially Yuki Itaya and Merlin Young, for offering a practitioner's perspective and bringing me along on trips to Yamashō and Kobayashi-Rouho to learn about moxa production (thanks to Izawa Ryō for organizing that trip). I must also thank Uchiike Hideki for providing access to a key primary source at the Okayama Prefectural Museum toward the very end of my tenure in Japan.

At conferences, workshops, and other venues in North America, Japan, and elsewhere, I have been lucky to present with and learn from a number of amazing scholars. I firstly wish to thank Jacqueline Stone, who provided insightful and inspiring comments on two occasions that greatly improved the project. I have also had the good fortune of presenting with, and learning much from, Edward Drott, Anna Andreeva, Benedetta Lomi, Dominic Steauvu, Fabio Rambelli, Kristina Buhrman, Clarence Lee, Elizabeth Kenney, Robert Kritzer, Hao Chen, Stephen Boyanton, Yun Ju Chen, and Leslie de Vries. I received excellent feedback at a workshop on Chinese medical texts organized by TJ Hinrichs, Bridie Andrews, and Yi-Li Wu at Cornell University. Many thanks to TJ for inviting me to that conference and for sharing parts of her wonderful forthcoming book. I would also like to express my appreciation to Hank Glassman, Bryan Lowe, Matthias Vigouroux, Brian Ruppert, Vivienne Lo, Robert Rhodes, Lucia Dolce, Michael Stanley-Baker, and Andrew Goble.

From start to finish I've found myself surrounded by "good friends" (to borrow a Buddhist technical term), without which this project would not have come to fruition. I must firstly thank Kevin Buckelew, who I consider—to resort to more vulgar terminology—one of my very best friends. Several lifetimes will be required to repay the debts I owe to Kevin; in the meantime, I look forward to learning more from his outsanding research, intellectual versatility, and warmth as a person. I feel incredibly fortunate to have been welcomed into Columbia by Sujung Kim, Luke Thompson, and Andrea Castiglioni, all of whom have helped me in various ways. I would also especially like to express my gratitude to my friends Carol Pang, Alessandro Poletto, Jesse Drian, Andrea Giolai, Ori Porath, Ye Yuan, Lan Li, Yuqing Luo, and Dessi Vendova. I also wish to thank Abigail Macbain, Elizabeth Tinsley, Hsinyi Lin, Jonathan Thumas, Runxiao Zhu, Matthieu Felt, Josh Schlachet, Tyler Walker, Hans Herzl-Betz, Julia Heather-Cross, Iris Zhang, Komei Sakai, Peng Liu, Guy St. Amant, Noga Ganay, Chihiro Saka, Yen-yi Chen, and Ulug Kuzuoglu.

The research for this dissertation was made possible by the generous support of several institutions. I wish to thank the Japan Foundation (and especially Yamamoto Chie of the

Kansai-bu office), the Monbukagakushō, the Takeda Science Foundation, and Columbia University GSAS and the Religion Department. I also wish to acknowledge the Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies (with thanks to Barbara Ruch and Ken Aoki in particular), which provided a grant that allowed me to spend part of summer 2013 in Tokyo to study *shakuhachi* during which time progress was made on this dissertation.

Finally, I wish to express my immense gratitude and appreciation to my close friends and family. Laura Nietzel has been a compassionate mentor and guide, and I thank her for sharing her experiences, support, and advice at every step of this journey. I am grateful to my many friends back home, especially Dave Sannino, Mike Marceante, and Matt Bondar. I also wish to thank my aunt Andrea and uncle Larry for support that allowed me to carry out my research, and to express gratitude to my other relatives, especially aunt Dee and the rest of my wonderful family in New Jersey. My final thanks are reserved for my immediately family—my brother Chris, mom, and dad—whose contributions to the completion of this project are not easily quantified, however much my brother and dad might want to. I thank them for their unwavering support and patience. Final (final) thanks must go to my mom in particular, who not only provided the model of a professor to which to aspire, but who also over the many years eagerly read various iterations of this dissertation and provided invaluable comments as an enthuastic non-specialist.

# Introduction

Through the darkness of future past
the magician longs to see
one chants out between two worlds
fire, walk with me
—*Twin Peaks*[1]

BY ALL APPEARANCES, aristocratic and imperial sponsorship for esoteric Buddhist rituals in Japan reached an all-time high in the early medieval period.[2] Among the rituals sponsored in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, those conducted for healing came to occupy a special place in the lives of the elite. By the twelfth century, the management of disease and the body was unimaginable without the priesthood. Elaborate ceremonies for placating calamities were conducted against realm-wide pestilence on an annual basis and when the occasion demanded, which turned out to be quite frequently throughout the Heian period (794–1185), an era shaped by epidemics. These large-scale performances required the construction of multiple altars upon which buddhas and gods would be situated and worshipped, and demanded the coordination of priests of the highest rank from elite monasteries around the capital, Heian-kyō. On a more individual and day-to-day scale, acute emergencies and chronic afflictions were dealt with by monastics on staff at the imperial palace. Buddhist healers also came to be personally employed by emperors, retired emperors, aristocrats, and warriors, all of whom spared no expense in efforts to protect themselves and their households.

---

[1] The One Armed Man's monologue in Season 1, Episode 2 ("Zen, or the Skill to Catch a Killer").

[2] Traditionally understood to have begun with the rule by warriors established in the Kamakura period (1185–1333) and ending in the late sixteenth century, the concept of Japan's "medieval" era has been redefined in various ways over the past several decades. In the study of religious history, where particular emphasis is placed on Buddhist institutions and the activities of monastics, it is common to push starting dates back into the Heian period. The central sources discussed in this dissertation are evidence of key continuities within such activities between the late Heian and early Kamakura eras, a period I refer to throughout as "early medieval."

The extent to which members of the imperial family and courtiers came to be reliant upon priest-healers in this period testifies to the institutional authority Buddhist monasteries had come to wield by this time. Medieval historian Kuroda Toshio maintained that such authority concentrated specifically in lineages of "exo-esoteric" (*kenmitsu* 顕密) Buddhism, by which he referred to mainstream or "orthodox" schools that included exoteric doctrines in one respect or another but which ultimately centered on esotericism (*mikkyō* 密教) and its ritual apparatus. Thus, on the one hand, as land owners with vast resources, exo-esoteric monasteries were political entities tethered to—and had a shaping force upon—the power dynamics of aristocratic society. That esoteric rituals were prominent throughout the early medieval era cannot be extricated from this fact. On the other hand, however, the authority exo-esoteric monasteries had acquired in specialized fields such as healing suggests something more particular about how the power of rites these esoteric monasteries performed was imagined, namely it would suggest that *belief* in the efficacy of esoteric rituals had become so ingrained throughout early medieval society as to be beyond question. Kuroda indeed contended that members of exo-esoteric schools "were all united in their common recognition of the efficacy of esoteric beliefs and practices,"[3] a statement applicable to their aristocratic and imperial clientele as well.

At our historical remove, the invocation of the institutional and ideological authority of exo-esoteric monasteries would appear to provide ample rationale for the well-documented reliance on esoteric healing rituals in early medieval Japan. Yet it is critical to note that the links we tie between authority and adoption are in turn dependent upon a second premise, namely that the efficacy of esoteric rites was in that same period an object of stable and unquestioned belief. In fact, a closer investigation of specific cases of rites for healing complicates any expedient transit from belief to efficacy, and thus too between authority and adoption. This dissertation is the study of one such case.

---

[3] Dobbins, "Editor's Introduction: Kuroda Toshio and His Scholarship," 222.

It was during this period, just a decade or so before a new political regime would take hold with the Genpei 源平 war (1180–1185), that monks of the Jimon 寺門 branch of the Tendai 天台 school, based at the temple Onjōji 園城寺 in Ōmi 近江 province, created a healing ritual that would stand out from other rites then on the market. The new rite was distinctive firstly because its central devotional figure, or *honzon* 本尊, was a deity who was unknown to all except the most well read in continental esoteric liturgies. In their promotion of Shōmen Kongō 青面金剛, the Blue-faced Vajrayakṣa, a deity who had never seen such fame, Jimon monks were adopting a strategy common in the context of the vigorous interlineage competition that defined ritual production in this period. Unheard of gods held the allure of special and mysterious powers, and Onjōji, a ritual powerhouse that consistently won much imperial sponsorship, had proven successful in architecturing such novelty before. Yellow Fudō (Ki Fudō 黄不動), Sonjōō 尊星王, and Shinra Myōjin 神羅明神, for example, are better-known examples.

The Jimon ritual also stood out for its incorporation of ideas relating to *kōshin* 庚申. Often associated with Daoism, this is the continental practice of not sleeping on the night of the fifty-seventh day of the sexagenary cycle in order to prevent the "three corpse-worms" (*sanshi* 三尸) from leaving the body and reporting one's misdeeds to celestial deities. Over the Heian period, the *kōshin* vigil had became a fixture of court life, centered as that life was on strict obedience to the calendar and vigilant watch over non-human agencies believed similarly to act in accordance with cyclical time. In bringing aspects of *kōshin* into their esoteric healing rite, Jimon monks were thus making their case not only through freshness but also familiarity. It meant their rite could speak directly to the concerns of their patient community at court. Seen in the long view, this integration of *kōshin* also marks a major legacy of this rite, and one which has received the most attention among scholars. This is because, aside from providing apparent evidence for the cultic transmission of Daoism to the archipelago, the *kōshin* vigil

would become a pervasive form of popular religious practice across Japan in the late medieval and early modern periods, with Shōmen Kongō frequently worshipped as protector god against the worms, later reimagined as the "three monkeys" (see FIG. 1)

FIG. 1: Shōmen Kongō and the three monkeys (author's collection)

In this dissertation, however, I consider this ritual from a different angle. I argue that the innovation of this practice—including the adoption of Shōmen Kongō and *kōshin*—is best appreciated when we examine the rite for what it explicitly was, a healing program offering a specific therapy against a named disease. First, the ritual was centered on moxibustion (*kyūji* 灸治), a Chinese medical modality in which the healer burns dried mugwort on the patient's skin. Second, it was the earliest esoteric rite created in Japan to target a single, named affliction. First described in Chinese medical texts from the Tang-period, "corpse-vector disease" (*denshibyō* 伝屍病) was a contagious wasting disorder that often proved fatal.

By adopting moxibustion to counter this affliction, Jimon monks had created a ritual that was remarkable in its time in two respects. First, by prescribing a material therapy as the rite's central healing technology, they were newly privileging direct contact with the patient's body. Although the treatment of the body was the stated objective of many esoteric rituals conducted for healing, in the actual performance of such rituals in early medieval Japan, that body remained largely peripheral, often out of sight in another room or situated at even greater distances from the ritual scene. This was simply a consequence of how ritual efficacy was understood to operate. There was no need to physically contact the body to engage disease in the context of ritual because, owing to the powers of gods, the spells, mantras, and visualization techniques employed by priests were imagined to work remotely; distance was no obstacle, nor was the barrier of the patient's skin. And here is where the second remarkable feature of the Jimon ritual comes into view. While Jimon monks couched moxibustion within a ritual framework and prescribed it alongside tried-and-true ritual technologies, they were effectively subordinating or even displacing those technologies in favor of a Chinese medical modality.

The transformations to ritual healing instituted by Jimon monks in this practice raises a number of questions. Why had they designed a healing rite focused on a single disease? What was it about this disease that so demanded their attention, to go so far as to design a new ritual against it? These questions about pathology are necessarily tied to another set of questions

concerning technology. Why did Jimon monks sidestep esoteric ritual technologies, practices which by all accounts were in the late twelfth century widely seen as *the* most efficacious forms of healing, in favor of moxibustion? Why, in other words, was it necessary, at this particular juncture in history, to begin scorching the patient's body with dried mugwort in the course of ritual healing?

In this dissertation, I examine this apparently odd case of a healing ritual to argue more broadly that innovation in ritual healing must be understood together with the question of efficacy, the power of ritual to perform its work, therapeutic or otherwise. As I shall show, we cannot take that power for granted. Ritual efficacy is constructed at the nexus of a constellation of factors pertaining to both perception and production, and for which meaning, textuality, materiality, and performance are essential. Above all, the innovative focus of the Jimon ritual on a non-esoteric therapy constitutes no less than a gesture away from longstanding notions of efficacy internal to esoteric traditions, a surprising move given what scholars have often assumed (especially as we continue to linger in this post-Kuroda phase of medieval Buddhist historiography) was the unquestionable currency of those practices in early medieval Japan. In turn, drawing on a different understanding of efficacy, I explore the varied and complex reasons for why Jimon monks turned to a Chinese healing technology, one whose power had for centuries been defined by a corpus of medical literature largely distinct from the Buddhist canon and by practitioners representing quite different technical and epistemological dispositions. In so doing, I draw attention to the ways that Jimon monks made this integration of efficacies possible through the structuring yet flexible modality of ritual. As I shall show, this was a process tied to the ways that they imagined disease, the body, and technology.

In this introduction, I discuss the issue of efficacy, focusing on its treatment in scholarship and the alternative approach I adopt throughout the dissertation. In particular, I elucidate why an examination of efficacy is necessary for the study of historical change in ritual and therapeutic practice. The final section provides an overview of the dissertation's six chapters.

Rituals are performed for a variety of reasons, from the ceremonial to the carnivalesque, the instrumental to the ludic. Yet it is hard to escape the assumption that rituals are typically performed with some claim or expectation that they will work. For Raymond Firth, such efficacy is central to the very notion of ritual, which he defines as "a formal set of procedures of a symbolic kind, involving a code for social communication, and believed to possess a special efficacy in affecting technical and social conditions of the performers or other participants."[4] While the question of efficacy pertains to all manner of ritual practice, I am with William S. Sax when he writes that "ritual healing provides the most interesting as well as the most problematic example of the problem of ritual efficacy."[5] This is precisely because healing rituals, if we take their stated objectives seriously, are not performed only to affect changes at the social or symbolic levels, as Firth's definition suggests above, echoing a longstanding and still influential view deriving from anthropologists such as Victor Turner and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Rather, healing rituals are performed to transform persons in more immediate and somatically legible ways, whether by extending one's lifespan, empowering the body, expelling disease-provoking agents, or by eliminating any sign of disease. Yet as Sax suggests, it is precisely when confronted with the question of ritual's actual capacity for exerting such discernible effects on the body that the subject of ritual healing becomes "the most problematic."

In the eyes of medical historians in Japan, for example, Buddhist rites in history have performed less than favorably on this score. Their perspectives are worth considering because these historians have traditionally had one foot in a field which might claim to have some authority on the matter of evaluating the therapeutic effectivness of ritual practice (modern biomedicine), and because their writings continue to influence scholars working on the history

[4] Firth, *Tikopia Rituals and Beliefs,* 1967: 12.

[5] Sax, "Ritual and the Problem of Efficacy," 2010: 8.

of Buddhist medicine today. We commonly find among such medical historians the claim that Buddhist rituals simply did not work as directed, they did not exert positive therapeutic effects on recipients. This claim is accompanied by a sometimes reluctant admission that ritual healing nevertheless attracted pervasive belief by healers and patients throughout long stretches of history, beginning soon after the arrival of Buddhism in Japan in the sixth century. For example, if we are to trust the words of Hattori Toshirō 服部敏良 (1906–1992), perhaps the most influential medical historian of Japan to date, there is no question about the efficacy of such practices during the Heian period, even in the face of some frightening circumstances:

> In this way, whenever an epidemic broke out even the state would order the recitation of the sutras like the *Sutra of Great Wisdom* (*Daihannya kyō*) and the *Sutra for Humane Kings* (*Niō kyō*) in order to quell it for the benefit of the people. Whether at the site of sickness or wherever an epidemic broke out, performed by individuals or the state, this wishing for healing through *kaji kitō* [empowerment prayers] through which they sought to pacify [the pestilence] must be understood as the distinctive characteristic of the age, and through it we can see just how deeply *kaji kitō* permeated the minds of the people. If we criticize this from a medical standpoint, we can say that the flourishing of *kaji kitō* during the period in question obstructed to that extent the diffusion of correct medicine, and it would not be going too far to say that the frail bodily disposition of Heian period aristocrats suffered under these conditions.[6]

The passage reveals a historical perspective splintered by competing intellectual commitments. On the one hand, Hattori highlights the undeniable significance of esoteric rites in the period. According to Hattori, aristocrats harbored no doubts about the efficacy of these practices, the immense variety of which he subsumes under the term *kaji kitō* 加持祈祷, "empowerment prayers."[7] On the other hand, Hattori is unequivocal on the question of the actual effectiveness of these practices. The real work, he indicates, was in the "wishing."[8] As a

[6] Hattori, *Heian jidai igaku shi no kenkyū*, 1955: 42.

[7] On which see Winfield, "Curing with *Kaji*: Healing and Esoteric Empowerment in Japan," 2005.

[8] He held two doctorates, one in medicine from Nagoya University 名古屋大学 (1932), and another in the humanities from Komazawa University 駒澤大学 (1973), an institution associated with Sōtō Zen. His

meticulous historian, Hattori could not overlook Buddhist contributions to medical history; yet as a physician trained in biomedicine, and longtime director of a hospital himself (Yamashita Byōin 山下病院 in Aichi, from 1942 to 1976), he was not ready to include therapeutic efficacy among those contributions.[9] Later scholars eagerly adopted Hattori's thesis, even if Hattori himself devoted much of his chronological history of medicine series as well as a separate volume to Buddhism and medicine.[10] Writing of prayers against sickness in the Heian period, Ilza Veith and Atsumi Minami for example note that, "with the appearance of priest physicians, exoricism and incantation were frequently performed by them, and the people became overly confident in such treatment and despised medical treatment by drugs, thus preventing the development of a true medical science."[11] Broader histories of science would follow suit. Masayoshi Sugimoto and David L. Swain, for instance, saw "the more mystical Buddhist ways of thinking" and healing as contributing, alongside "popular and Taoist influences" received in Japan, to a push against "the rational modes of Chinese medicine proper" and towards "an accelerated emphasis on various rites and exorcistic incantations of popular origin as auxiliary modes of tending the sick."[12]

Hattori's reluctance to pose even the question of ritual efficacy can be situated in a longer discourse on medicine and religion extending back to at least the beginnings of medical history, in the modern sense, in the Meiji 明治 period (1868–1912). The field of medical history

---

dissertation at Komazawa, *Nihon chūsei igakushi no kenkyū* 日本中世医学史の研究, examined medical history in medieval Japan, although it was based on several of his already published studies, as is evident from its two sections on medical history in the Kamakura and Muromachi periods.

[9] Hattori, *Yamashita byōin hachijūnen no ayumi,* 1981. Hattori surveys his multifaceted career at the age of eighty in the 1988 reprint of *Nara jidai igakushi no kenkyū* (pp. 1–9), which began with the *Kojiki* 古事記 and its medical aspects, an introduction from a fellow soldier when he was serving as a medical doctor in Gifu during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945).

[10] *Bukkyō kyōten wo chūshin toshita Shaka no igaku* 仏教教典を中心とした釈迦の医学, 1968.

[11] Veith and Minami, "A Buddhist Prayer Against Sickness," 245. A similar perspective is adopted in Tuge, *Historical Development of Science and Technology in Japan*, 1968.

[12] Sugimoto and Swain, *Science & Culture in Traditional Japan*, 1978: 45–46, 86–87, 94.

came into its own precisely when efforts were made throughout Japanese society to divorce, or at least define the proper relationship between, what was understood as "religion" (*shūkyō* 宗教) and biomedicine (*igaku* 医学). This process, which we might see in Bruno Latour's terms as a kind of purificatory project to produce the "modern," occurred in both intellectual and institutional spheres.[13] Although not often acknowledged, it was one to which medical historians joined politicians, technocrats, educators, and religious actors of various stripes in making significant contributions.

The most important figure to note is Fujikawa Yū 富士川游 (1868–1940), often considered the patriarch of medical history in Japan.[14] For one, Fujikawa established the Japanese Society for the History of Medicine (Nihon Ishi Gakkai 日本医史学会), still the largest gathering of medical historians active in Japan today. For another, his donation of historical documents led to the creation of the Fujikawa Bunko 富士川文庫 at Kyōto University, a library of immense value for the field.[15] His landmark study was *Nihon igakushi* 日本医学史, published in 1904 in Japan and translated in an abbreviated form from an earlier (1911) German translation in English in 1934.[16]

But Fujikawa notably also wrote on religion and its intersections with medicine. Those writings evince that Fujikawa had several definitions of religion with which to approach this issue. "Psychological religion" (*seishin shūkyō* 精神宗教) is defined primarily by ethics and its compatibility with the enterprises of rationality, science and medicine foremost. For Fujikawa, Buddhism began as a kind of higher, psychological religion, but as it was transmitted

---

[13] Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, 1993.

[14] Medical history as a philological practice in Japan really begins with evidential learning in the Edo period, but for our purposes here we can start, as many have, with Fujikawa. Like Hattori, Fujikawa held two doctorates, one in medicine and the other in humanities.

[15] The holdings at Fujikawa Bunko were recently digitized; see <https://rmda.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/collection/fujikawa>.

[16] The Japanese is Fujikawa 1904; the English is Fujikawa 1934. Other important broader studies include *Nihon shippeishi* 日本疾病史 (1912) and *Nihon igakushi kōyō* 日本医学史綱要 (1933).

historically, it came to be overtaken by "natural religion" (自然宗教), or animism, and—regrettably for Fujikawa—finally tangled up with a wide variety of "folk beliefs" (*minkan shinkō* 民間信仰).[17] An assortment of such beliefs are catalogued in his *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions* (*Shinkō to meishin* 信仰と迷信, 1928).[18] It is into this category that Fujikawa placed all forms of healing that fell short in his eyes of medicine proper (*ijutsu* 医術), including spells, divinatory practices, talismans, the invocation of gods, and Buddhist ritual. What is pertinent here is that in his analysis of medicine and religion, Fujikawa's notion of superstition rested upon what might be called the empirical error of "efficacy" (*kōken* 効験). Fujikawa asserted that superstitious beliefs are born when non-medical techniques (any healing outside the scope officially endorsed by biomedicine) turn out to work by chance and one erroneously ascribes efficacy to them.[19]

The focus of Fujikawa's research was in part a product of broader social changes in the Meiji period. The question of the efficacy of ritual practices like *kaji kitō*, as well as its proper relation to religion, medicine, and superstition, were for many in his time not merely intellectual issues. As Jason Ānanda Josephson has demonstrated, as forms of western science and medicine became ever more entwined with state projects to create a hygienic nation, *kaji kitō* became lodged in the sights of certain state institutions as a target to be eliminated. In 1874, for example, the Ministry of Doctrine issued a proclamation prohibiting "healing by means of prayer rituals." Josephson notes that "the agency's impulse was probably not to eliminate obstacles to Western medicine, but instead to regulate practices at shrines and

---

[17] Fujikawa remained interested in Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗; see e.g. his *Shinshū* (1919), *Bukkyō no shinzui* (1923), and *Shinsen myōkō den* (1937); For more on Fujikawa's views on religion and it's relation to medicine and science, see his *Ijutsu to shūkyō,* 1937 (2010). Studies on this topic include Tsuchiya and Horiguchi, "Fujikawa Yū no shūkyō shisō," 2012; Shimada, "Fujikawa Yū no shūkyōron no tenkai," 2014; and Shimada, "Fujikawa Yū no iryōron ni okeru shūkyō no igi," 2015.

[18] Fujikawa 1928. See also his *Meishin no kenkyū* 迷信の研究 (1932) as well as his studies of folk elements among medical practitioners in *Isha no fūzoku* 医者の風俗 (1925), in Fujikawa and Fujikawa, 1980.

[19] Fujikawa 1928: 91–92.

temples and to suppress noninstitutional charismatic leaders."[20] Yet the agency's move resonated with the intellectual work carried out by scholars such as Fujikawa.

Moreover, that for many the issue hinged on competing claims to efficacy is clear in how certain members of the Buddhist community responded to these official statements and policies. Two years earlier, the Ministry of Doctrine had attempted to dissolve Shugendō 修験道 sects into their respective Tendai or Shingon schools. Shugendō was centered on *kaji kitō* and its variants, practices this proclamation cited as the very reasons why it obstructed the dissemination of correct doctrine, thus confirming Josephson's point. But when scholar and Shugendō practitioner Nakano Tetsue 中野達慧 (1871–1934), (otherwise known for his compilation of the *Dai Nippon zokuzōkyō* 大日本続蔵経), sought to make a case for the legitimacy of Shugendō, he did so by calling attention to, rather than away from, the healing powers of *kaji kitō*. In his defense, Nakano drew upon another set of terminology pertaining to religion, no doubt culled from western colonial and anthropological discourse. Nakano claimed that of the Buddhist sects, only Shugendō and Tenrikyō 天理教 utilized *kaji kitō* for the treatment of the ill. Just this fact alone, he argued, qualified these two as "universal religions" (*fuhen shūkyō* 普遍宗教) and not, as Fujikawa might have construed them using a slightly different term, "folk religions" (*minzoku shūkyō* 民族宗教).[21]

Be that as it may, it is important that scholars such as Fujikawa Yū, as well as his colleague in psychiatry, Kure Shūzō 呉秀三 (1865–1932), were not only forwarding the claim that religious forms of medical practice were inefficacious.[22] Rather, in contrast the Ministry of

[20] Josephson, *The Invention of Religion in Japan,* 2012: 181. More directly on this topic, see his "An Empowered World: Buddhist Medicine and the Potency of Prayer in Japan," 2013.

[21] Hayashi, "Bukkyō to Shugendō," 2018: 302–310. As I will discuss shortly, in the medieval period, the monks of Onjōji made a similar argument as to the uniqueness of their school. Whereas all other monasteries partake of either the esoteric or the exoteric, or a combination thereof, only Onjōji could claim the virtues of *shugen*, the performance of efficacy for practical purposes.

[22] Kure and Fujikawa co-authored at least four works: *Ishiryō* 医史料 (1895), *Nihon sanka sōsho* 日本産科叢書 (1896), *Nihon iseki kō* 日本醫籍考 (1896), and *Tōdō zenshū* 東洞全集 (1918). On their relationship, see Okada, "Fujikawa Yū, Kure Shūzō ryō sensei no aida: yūjō to igakushi sankyū," 1991. Kure can be cited for his research on "fox-possession" (*kitsunetsuki* 狐憑き), which he sought to redefine in terms of brain disease and psychological disorder. The groundwork for approach was already being laid during the Edo period. As the physician Andō

Doctrine, whose agenda may have been more about regulating religion, these scholar-practitioners contended that such practices constituted obstructions to the societal development of proper biomedicine. In so doing, they were ultimately ascribing to ritual healing another kind of efficacy, a potency often peculiar to religious practices in societies undergoing the purificatory processes of secularization and disenchantment: what religious practitioners tout as "healing" in actual practice amounts to a form of harming.[23] That dual power of religious healing to hinder and harm would later be inscribed succinctly in the historical work of Hattori: "Buddhism in the Heian period increasingly pushed the feeble and nervous aristocrats into a state of uncertainty, and the popularity of *kaji kitō* can be faulted for having halted the spread of medicine."[24] Far from the popular modern understanding of ritual as "ineffective, superficial, and/or purely formal," then, Hattori, in reproducing earlier Meiji discourses, saw Buddhist ritual healing as constituting a form of iatrogenesis, a medical system that produces—rather than eliminates—illness in its target patient communities.[25]

With few exceptions, scholars writing today on either Buddhist history or the histories of medicine, science, or technology in Japan would want to distance themselves from this kind of claim. The Whiggish narrative beginning with Fujikawa through Hattori creates a past defined by a stark modernist demarcation between religion and medicine, on the one hand, and a medical teleology, neither aspect of which currently finds much support. Yet in Hattori's

---

Shōeki 安藤昌益 (1703–1762) noted well, "It is not foxes who possess people; it is people who possess foxes" (*kitsune no hito ni tsuku ni ha arazu, hito no kitsune ni tsuku nari* 狐の人に憑くにはあらず、人の狐に憑くなり; see Kawamura 1990, 80.)

[23] That said, Kure did not promote the wholesale of elimination of religious or traditional therapies in his field of psychiatry. Rather, as Hashimoto Akira has noted, "They thought that [such therapies as esoteric rituals or *shuhō*] would be useful and appropriate if medical doctors were to supervise traditional therapies, or if such religious institutions were to be transformed into mental hospitals"; Hashimoto, "Psychiatry and Religion in Modern Japan: Traditional Temple and Shrine Therapies," 64.

[24] Hattori, *Heian jidai igaku shi no kenkyū*, 1955: 42.

[25] Sax et. al. 2010: 6. The term means "physician-made" (Greek *iatros* + *genesis*). On the issue of iatrogenesis in its social, cultural, and clinical forms in modern western biomedical culture, see Illich, *Limits to Medicine: Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health*, 1995.

conviction that Buddhist ritual praxis might have mutated into pathology, that Buddhist treatment itself might have constituted a disease that afflicted the sickly class of aristocrats, Hattori would find a sympathetic voice in a place we might initially not expect: the research of a scholar who has done more than any to inspire generations (in English and French) to take seriously the phenomenon of esoteric Buddhism in its totality, with all its magic, rituals, and eccentricity. "It may turn out, upon analysis," Michel Strickmann wrote in *Chinese Magical Medicine*,

> that the wave of demonomania that swept over the Japanese aristocracy was to a large extent iatrogenic, produced by the monkish physicians themselves. The dramatic technique of treatment by induced possession may have promoted this diagnostic propensity, vastly increasing the reported attacks by demons. Only an institution of considerable authority and prestige could have so forcefully impressed its view of the world on the upper echelons of society.[26]

Strickmann's hypothesis is that demonic etiology and its enactment in ritual forms of exorcism by the priesthood contributed to, rather than diminished, demonic disease among the aristocracy. The notion is made all the more plausible by the authority that the priesthood held over aristocrats. We might discern here one of the lasting insights of medieval historian Kuroda Toshio noted above, whose research went far to show the social and political influence of exo-esoteric institutions.[27] That authority certainly spilled over into the field of healing, for it is evident that esoteric monks garnered more prestige and reward than non-institutional monks, court physicians (*kusushi* 医師), and *onmyōji* 陰陽師, other healers who were typically active at court in the early medieval period.[28]

---

[26] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 2002: 198.

[27] Kuroda's major works are collected in *Kuroda Toshio chosakushū*, 1994–1995; see also the introduction to and articles in Dobbins, ed., *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23/3–4, 1996.

[28] Later, we shall need to qualify this somewhat, as we explore further the virtues of Strickmann's hypothesis.

But while the suggestion of ritually induced harm has resulted in a general avoidance of the topic of esoteric ritual among medical historians writing today, scholars following after Strickmann and working on esoteric Buddhism, bringing an anthropological focus to historical investigation, have shown considerable interest in the power of esoteric rituals, where it comes from, how it is made, through what techniques and objects it is harnassed, channeled, and broadcast. Their studies delve into the texts of the ritualists—prescriptive ritual manuals—of esoteric traditions to unpack how, in their own accounts, ritualists manage and deploy that power. Drawing on the insights of these studies, we can sketch the contours as follows. By default, the wellspring of ritual power is constituted by the buddhas, bodhisattvas, gods, wisdom kings, and other deities that make up the vast Buddhist pantheon.[29] These divinities inhabit the physical space of the ritual, arrayed on and around the altar, as icons, whether that takes the form of physical statues, paintings, embroideries, implements, or other media.[30] Icons, while often aesthetically compelling and layered with symbolism, were for ritualists and participants active presences. That is, icons were understood as instantiations, living presences—and not simply representations—of the deities.[31] In front of these icons sits the priest, or *ajari* 阿闍梨, the mediator between the divine and human realms. He[32] typically performs some variation of the *homa* (Jp. *goma* 護摩) fire ceremony, by which he might invite

[29] On Buddhist mythology and the gods in cultic contexts, see Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan*, vols. 1 (*The Fluid Pantheon*) and 2 (*Protectors and Predators*), 2016; Iyanaga, *Daikokuten hensō* and *Kannon hen'yōtan*, 2002; Yang, "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchuṣma in Tang China," 2013.

[30] Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese Mandalas*, 1999; Sharf and Sharf, eds., *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in* Context, 2001; Horton, *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan*, 2007; Bogel, *With a Single Glance,* 2010; Brinker, *Secrets of the Sacred*, 2011.

[31] Activation was often understood as necessary through the "eye-opening" (*kaigen kuyō* 開眼供養) ceremony. Sometimes the wood itself was understood as sacred and already alive; see Faure, "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze," 1998; Morimoto, *Kusa to ki ga kataru nihon no chūsei*, 2012.

[32] Officiants of esoteric and exoteric rituals in premodern Japan were largely male, as were court physicians and yin-yang masters. However, this should not obscure the critical roles that women played as participants within Buddhist rituals. The essays in the recent volume *Women, Rites, and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan*, edited by Karen M. Gerhart (2018), goes far in addressing these roles.

the god into the space and thereby achieve fusion with it.[33] This fusion, at once soteriological and a form of "auto-possession" that Strickmann dubbed the "central operative mystery of Tantric Buddhism," is expressed in the metaphor of the merging of host and guest, "realizing buddhahood in this very body" (*sokushin jōbutsu* 即身成仏), or "entering-self, self-entering" (*nyūga ganyū* 入我我入).[34] In any case, this interpenetration is an accomplishment of actions performed by the priest through his body,[35] which can ultimately be seen as mimetic in character.[36] The practitioner employs the mimetic faculties through the "three mysteries" of body, mouth, and mind—mudras, mantras, and visualization.[37] These techniques allow the ritualist to play god, and to draw upon the "adamantine sign" system, in which Siddhaṃ characters (*shittan* 悉曇; *bonji* 梵字), as the "seed-syllables" (*shuji* 種字) of particular deities, play an especially central role.[38] Thus, the ritualist's "gift of producing similarities," as Walter Benjamin would put it, allows the ritualist to translate bodily acts into sacred language that renders the priest more-than-human.[39]

Key to understanding the widescale adoption of esoteric rites throughout history is the fact that these ritual transfers of power do not stop at the priest's soteriological

---

[33] Strickmann, "Homa in East Asia," 1983 (in Staal 1983, v. 2: 418–455); Payne, *The Tantric Ritual of Japan*, 1991; Payne and Witzel, *Homa Variations*, 2016.

[34] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 272; Sharf, "Thinking Through Shingon Ritual," 2003.

[35] In "Techniques of the Body" ("Les techniques du corps") Marcel Mauss writes, "I don't know whether you have paid attention to what our friend [Marcel] Granet has already pointed out in his great investigations into the techniques of Taoism, its techniques of the body, breathing techniques in particular. I have studied the Sanskrit texts of Yoga enough to know that the same things occur in India. I believe precisely that at the bottom of all our mystical states there are techniques of the body which we have not studies, but which were perfectly studied by China and India, even in very remote periods"; see Lock and Farquhar, eds., *Beyond the Body Proper*, 67.

[36] Richard K. Payne has written that esoteric ritual "takes place at the mimetic interface between these two realms, the actual and the imaginal" (1050). We will return to the topic of mimesis in Chapter 4, "Playing with Fire."

[37] On *mudras*, see Saunders, *Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture*, 1960; Devi, *Esoteric Mudrās of Japan*, 1999.

[38] Rambelli, *A Buddhist Theory of Semiotics*, 2013.

[39] Benjamin, "On the Mimetic Faculty," (in Lock and Farquhar, ed., *Beyond the Body Proper,* 2007: 130)

accomplishment. Once the power is thereby channeled into the body, he may convert and direct it toward various ends, or "this-worldly benefits" (*genze riyaku* 現世利益). For example, it might be channeled to empower (*kaji*) physical bodies for soteriological, purificatory, therapeutic, apotropaic, or other purposes. Monks might also divert this power into material objects, including implements internal to esoteric aesthetics and its performance (e.g. talismans, seals, bells, vajras, aromatics, medicines, grains, precious minerals, and so on), as well as items to be brought into contact with the bodies of recipients, such as the robes of the emperor or fabric sashes worn by pregnant women.[40]

Let us stop our summary here to focus further on this transference of power from priests to objects. This is key for our discussion because it marks one area where the question of efficacy has been explicitly foregrounded in more recent scholarship. In asking how the efficacy of esoteric ritual is imagined or constructed, sholars have begun to explore the ways we might move the issue from the descriptive to the analytical, although we shall see that the passage from one to the other is anything but straightforward.[41]

The most helpful discussion for the purposes of the present study appears in Benedetta Lomi's recent (2018) investigation of the "sacred materiality" of Buddhist therapeutics in the Heian period, focusing on the use of "ox bezoar" (*goō* 牛黄) in rituals for the safe birth of

---

[40] Andreeva, "Empowering the Pregnancy Sash (*ninsha no obi no kaji*) in Medieval Japan" (in Salguero and Macomber, eds., *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, forthcoming); Lomi, "The Ox-Bezoar Empowerment for Fertility and Safe Childbirth" (in Salguero, ed., *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, 2017: 351–357).

[41] There are too many studies that relate in one way or another to the question of efficacy to mention here, but some examples may suffice. In *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icons and Early Mikkyō Vision* (2010), Cynthea Bogel (2010) writes of the "visual efficacy" of esoteric Buddhist icons in Japan, while in *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism* (2014) Paul Copp discusses "material efficacy" in relation to spells in medieval China. Efficacy is also addressed in Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*, 1999; Winfield, "Curing with Kaji: Healing and Esoteric Empowerment in Japan," 2005; Ouchi, "Buddhist Liturgical Chanting in Japan: Vocalisation and the Practice of Attaining Buddhahood," 2010; I will address some of these works below and draw on others. Kim, "Buddhist Ontology and Miniaturization: Enacting Ritual with Nonhuman Agency," 2017. The issue of efficacy is also central to art historians working on Daoism; see e.g. Huang, "Imagining Efficacy," 2005.

imperial children.[42] At the outset, Lomi provides the following passage describing the ritual efficacy of physical objects, which sees it as dependent upon the priest:

> The power of the implement is wholly related to the power of the officiating monk or priest, his control of the vital breaths within and his mastery of complex techniques of visualization. The seal is thus a concentrated tool of his own highly trained and heavily charged body. Its potency not only derives from the noble lineage to which the officiant belongs by virtue of his formal initiation but also draws strength directly from those supramundane powers for which his body serves as a conduit or transceiver.[43]

Lomi takes this description as representative of understandings of the efficacy of sacred objects in Buddhist studies, noting the work of Stanely Tambiah.[44] This as much can be surmised from the fact that the passage was written by Strickmann in his influential chapter on talismanic seals.[45]

But Lomi takes issue with this account of the efficacy of ritual objects. She argues that by focusing on the blessing procedures performed by the priest, we risk overlooking what might be important or specific about the object itself. As she explains, "an exclusive emphasis on empowerment as the principal, if not unique, driving principle behind the efficacy of sacred objects and substances conjures a polarization between inert matter (the bezoar) and active power (the blessing) that does not account for the broader network of relationships in which

---

[42] Lomi, "Ox Bezoars and the Materiality of Heian-period Therapeutics," 2018.

[43] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 187.

[44] Tambiah, *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism*, 1984.

[45] In an alternative perspective, however, Strickmann suggests the power of seals originally derived from the metaphorical association with "the wonder-working bezoar" itself, noting in particular the similarity of shape (2002: 185). Drawing on Strickmann's work on talismanic seals, James Robson considers the power of these objects not so much in terms of the ritualists who empower them but rather the esoteric script with which they were inscribed, focusing on the shift from Indian Siddham to indigenous Chinese scripts; see Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism," 2008.

bezoar participated."[46] Throughout the rest of her article, Lomi tours the symbolic, visual, material, and even biological features of bezoar by which it acquired meaning in the contexts of exchange, circulation, and ritual application, all of which, she argues, must be factored when considering the scope of its efficacy in medieval Japanese rites.

Building on Lomi's response to Strickmann, I think her critique can and ought to be extended beyond the issue of the efficacy of material objects. Reading Strickmann's passage again, we see that his claim regarding the power of the ritual object rests not only on the agency of the priest, which he located in the priest's empowerment. In the same breath, Strickmann also notes that the priest "draws strength directly from those supramundane powers for which his body serves as a conduit or transceiver," that is, the divinity with which he has ontologically identified during the rite. Thus, we might say that in Strickmann's portrayal, the source of efficacy is deferred twice, firstly away from the object at hand and to the priest (much to Lomi's point above), but then away from the priest and to the divinity in the background, "the supramundane powers" the priest presently embodies.

Strickmann's thimblerig of ritual potency here recalls "the confusion of agent, ritual, and things that appears to be fundamental in magic," which Marcel Mauss famously ascribed to *mana*.[47] *Mana* is the term used in Polynesian and Melanesian societies to describe magic that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became the site of fascination for anthropologists and has remained a much debated and deployed concept in anthropological discourse. For Mauss, *mana* was a versatile concept in indigenous cultures that makes and breaks relationships, for it "imposes a classification on things, separating some, bringing together others, establishes lines of influence or boundaries of isolation."[48] Throughout the history of anthropology, *mana* came to function as more than a native term. As Nicolas

---

[46] Lomi, "Ox Bezoars and the Materiality of Heian-Period Therapeutics," 2018: 230.

[47] Cited in Faure, *Visions of Power,* 276.

[48] Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic*, 149.

Meylan examines in detail, anthropologists eventually adopted *mana* as an abstract operator for analytical purposes, a trend most explicit in the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss.[49]

In Strickmann's passage, which betrays its own "confusion," we find a notion of ritual power that shares with *mana* a certain categorical promiscuity. Couched within an analysis of talismanic seals, his passage stages an explanatory act, constituting, as one interpretation certainly permits, a nascent theory of ritual power. Yet taken as a whole, Strickmann's passage does not explain so much as reproduce "native" or emic accounts of ritual power. To say that the priest empowers the object and the god empowers the priest is only to cite esoteric ritual literature which says (or closely implies) much the same thing. Given that these are precisely the claims found within the prescriptive and doctrinal texts upon which Strickmann based his research, it is not surprising they should comprise his own text. Moreover, as we shall discuss shortly, when ritual power is described in historical texts, it is indeed typically done so in terms of a source or mechanism that is cast as universal, whether that be Dainichi, the sacred language operating behind mantras and *dhāraṇī*, the special person of the priest and his office, or the procedures of empowerment. To foreground these accounts is to foreground how the authors of those prescriptive texts represented the power of their rituals. Strickmann is not alone in doing so. Sakai Keijun 酒井敬淳, for example, speaking as a Tendai scholar-priest of Eizan Gakuin 叡山学院, describes the efficacy of esoteric rites in a way that parallels Strickmann's account while deliberately making its own stand against modernizing detractors: "In sum, the efficacy of removing disease (*jobyō no gen* 除病の験) manifests when the practitioner attains empowerment force when abiding in the *samādhi* of the main divinity (*honzon*), through which he removes all karmic hindrances of former lives and eliminates the three poisons of this life; [thus] the treatment of disease in esoteric Buddhism is not at all to be seen as a superstition or folk belief, nor as simple magic or a psychological remedy [that works by] suggestion."[50]

---

[49] Meylan, *Mana: The History of a Western Concept*, 2017; see also Faure, *Visions of Power,* 276–277.

[50] Sakai, *Mikkyō to chibyō*, 93.

But this collapse of emic and etic registers—which in Strickmann's rhetoric tends to pass for analysis rather seamlessly—ought to give us pause, especially because it has ramifications for how scholars might address any issue related to the workings of power as well as broader questions pertaining to ontology. As an example, let us consider a different but related claim. As I noted in my summary above, it is now scholarly *doxa* to say that icons were not (mere) representations, but instead were living presences. This claim usefully has opened space in the study of Buddhism for the many stories, reports, and practices that suggest icons are much more "alive" than the static postures of their material forms would convey. Yet how many would pursue this claim without signaling, explicitly or between the lines, *for the actors*? It is one thing to claim that icons are not simply aesthetic objects with symbolic or didactic value, and that *for Buddhists* they were alive in one way or another. It is quite another, however, to suggest that icons have power or presence beyond the ways they are represented, imagined, or treated by actors. Scholars who make the latter claim without qualification slip into conflating the subject positions of scholars and those they study. The same arguably holds true for claims about the power of the priest or god channeled into objects. Therefore, if we read Strickmann's passage in a literal way, we are obliged to treat it as making one or more ontological claims. And to good effect, if only momentarily, he becomes the ritualist whose voice we want historical analysis to bring to life in the present.

There are ways of retaining accounts of ritual power without slipping into ontological territory.[51] One set of boundaries can be redrawn by limiting our focus to the phenomenological. Robert Sharf offers one such perspective when, writing of esoteric ritual, he says, "In entering the sanctuary and undertaking the rites a priest learns to behave *as if* he were dwelling in a sacred realm, *as if* he were in the presence of the principal deity, *as if* he had

[51] Although a position such as this helpfully opens up new avenues of analysis in scholarship, it is not evident how far such claims are to be taken. For example, how different are such claims be from those about, say, paranormal phenomena, which in Jeffrey J. Kripal's words "dramatically violate those firm epistemological boundaries that, since Descartes, have increasingly divided up our university departments (and our social reality) into things pertaining to matter and objective reality (the sciences) and things pertaining to human experience and subjective reality (the humanities)"? See Kripal, *Authors of the Impossible*, 2010: 23.

merged with Mahāvairocana." The subjunctive, *as-if* mode adopted here effectively puts the question of the actual existence of sacred realms and deities to the side. There might be an imaginative world constructed in the mind of the ritualist, but for the purposes of understanding ritual, it is not necessary for us to take a stance on the existence of the contents of that constructed world.[52]

A much more common solution, however, is one that we have already seen: put the focus on actors, yes, but supply them with interiorized entities—belief, trust, faith, wishing, ideology, or confidence.[53] We inevitably find such terms in descriptions of esoteric ritual power, as for example when we read, "When dhāraṇīs were spoken in such contexts, trust in their efficacy, largely trust in the monks reciting them, would have been key to the power of the rite."[54] Or, "At first these scholastic definitions of *kaji* appear to have little direct bearing on the topic of healing in Japan. However, they all indirectly do indicate an underlying belief in the power of *kaji* to channel Dainichi's universal energy into concrete phenomenal forms for beneficial effect."[55] Sympathetic but not yet apologetic, such statements about belief and other interiorized entities keep the ontology of efficacy safely confined within the mental worlds of the actors, clearly marking the boundaries between scholars and actors under study.

---

[52] As Fumi Ouchi argues, "as-if" performances can exert on the "the feeling of involvement in the rite," and thus on the senses of the performers; see Ouchi, "Buddhist Liturgical Chanting in Japan: Vocalisation and the Practice of Attaining Buddhahood," 472.

[53] This is essentially the point of Sharf's critique of the "hermeneutics of experience" in Japanese Buddhism. By turning Buddhism into "enlightened mysticism" or "transformative psychology"—both of which are easily transmuted into wholly interiorized and thus inaccessible entities—apologists had adopted "a strategy that had the felicitous result of rendering Buddhism intellectually respectable and immune to external critique at one and the same time" (Sharf and Sharf, eds., *Living Images*, 2001: 193); see the full article, "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience," 1995. While in this Introduction I call attention to belief and other interiorized entities by which thorny aspects of ritual efficacy might be put off the table, I nevertheless see thoughts, images, metaphors, and so on as productive members of mental and collective worlds, even when they are espoused by apologists or "the 'cultural idiots' of a social structure" in historically and culturally stylized ways. The field of Buddhist studies by this point having moved past the critique of the cognitive biases of religion, belief or experience can certainly be factored when considering the whole range of agents (bodily, mental, material) that come to be involved with historical events and change.

[54] Copp, *The Body Incantatory,* 2014: 156

[55] Winfield, "Curing with *Kaji*," 2005: 111.

Yet this particular solution for sorting out the boundaries between emic and etic registers turns out to be what Jacques Derrida called a *pharmakon*, a curse as well as a cure: "[t]his charm, this spellbinding virtue, this power of fascination, can be—alternatively or simultaneously—beneficient or maleficent."[56] Indeed, when we turn from sympathetic accounts to critical ones, it becomes clear that interiorized entities concentrated around mysterious powers might function to foreground a shadowy side of Buddhist ritual in history. Recall that for the medical historian Hattori and scholars after him, it was belief on the part of sickly aristocrats that enabled empowerment prayers not only to amplify their immediate bodily suffering but also, in then hindering the development of rational medicine, ensure the suffering of future generations. Belief, which is unquestioning by default (or so it seems), thus makes Buddhist ritual efficacious in Hattori's account: that patients and healers alike could even imagine that efficacy is positive terms and proximate to the stated purpose of those rites claimed for it by ritualists is turned into a matter of misrecognition or false consciousness.

Belief is also a critical pivot in the influential work of Kuroda. Kuroda has stated that his *kenmitsu taisei* theory of medieval Japan began with an interest in how Japanese of his and prior generations leading up to World War II had become so religiously captivated by the emperor system (*tennōsei* 天皇制).[57] At the core of his Marxist approach to medieval history, therefore, Kuroda places the aura of esotericism, which elite *kenmitsu* monasteries employed to "spellbind" (*jubaku* 呪縛) members of other power blocs as well as the common people. It is this unquestioning allegiance, largely in the magical efficacy of its rituals—especially those apotropaic rituals regularly performed for the protection of the state (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家)—that enabled *kenmitsu* monasteries to bolster their own authority through discourses such as the "[mutual reliance of] Imperial Law and Buddhist law" (*ōbō buppō* [*sōi ron*] 王法仏法 [

[56] Jacque Derrida, "Plato's Pharmacy," in *Dissemination*, 1981: 70.

[57] Yoshida, "Kuroda Toshio (1926–1993) on Jōdo Shinshū: Problems in Modern Historiography."

相依論]).[58] It should be recalled, too, that Kuroda was working against the thesis, promoted primarily in his time in the area of Shinshū studies by scholars such as Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀 and Ishii Susumu 石井進, that "new Kamakura Buddhism" (*Kamakura shin-Bukkyō* 鎌倉新仏教) represented movements to transcend not only that kind of external authority and its ritual trappings but also the kind of mentality that permits the former to exist: good Protestant religion, in other words.[59]

Thus, much like the interring of relics and sacred objects within statues turns them into icons, the power of inserting beliefs into the heads of historical actors—its remarkable ability to animate those persons we study—is not to be underestimated. Belief offers a two-for-one deal: not only do we obtain from accounts involving beliefs an animated explanation for how ritual power works (the insider's perspective), we also at the same time get historical actors who are committed to them (the outsider's perspective). There are consequences here in how we study the history of Buddhist ritual. As in the cases of Hattori and Kuroda above, belief authorizes an expedient scaling up, in which specific historical practices are fashioned into era-level mega-explanations. Belief in the efficacy of esoteric ritual thereby becomes one stable pivot upon which turns the development of medicine in Japan (or lack thereof), or serves as the linchpin for defining the Japanese "medieval" in terms of the social reach of Buddhist institutions. In contrast, for scholars of religion in Japan, as for many classical anthropologists, the insertion of belief authorizes "an explanation for the strangeness of a form of worship that cannot be justified objectively."[60] In the history of Buddhist studies, the category of belief has been profitably used to counter hostility toward esoteric Buddhism in particular, that is, to ground the injunction to take "magical Buddhism" seriously in the assertion that the tradition

[58] In the work of Satō Hiroo, control over peasants was predicated upon belief in the wrathful nature of *kami* and buddhas.

[59] Taira, "Chūsei Bukkyō ni okeru jujutsusei to gōrisei." The roots of this construction of Japanese religious history go back to the beginnings of that project, with Hara Katsurō 原勝郎 (1871–1924) and Tsuji Zennosuke 辻善之助 (1877–1955); see Isomae, "Deconstructing 'Japanese Religion': A Historical Survey."

[60] Ibid.

took itself seriously.[61] If Buddhist studies is now beyond the modernizing impulse whereby "belief in the power of icons is often dismissed as a popular accretion antithetical to the tenets of 'true Buddhism,'" it is because scholars have endeavored and succeeded at making beliefs—about icons or any form of divine power, magic, and the rest—reasonable in their own terms and worthy of careful study.[62]

What exactly, then, is the problem with becoming in Latour's sense a "Modern," "someone who believes that others believe"?[63] One might counter, after all, that belief, trust, and faith were surely recognized by esoteric ritualists, physicians, and their patients in medieval Japan. In fact, it is evident that many saw belief not as secondary to the efficacy of ritual and healing practices but in fact as constituitive of them, not so different from the ways medical researchers and anthropologists today discuss the psychosomatic contributions of the "placebo response" to affect the healing process and the workings of medicines. For example, in his thirteenth-century *Idanshō* 医談抄, court physician Koremune Tomotoshi 惟宗具俊 wrote, "All methods [or laws] are brought to fruition through the power of believing. Medical treatment, too, is like this. That its efficacy is obtained through deeply believing is something that the ancients proclaimed widely. I have personally confirmed this many times."[64] Although in this work Tomotoshi is largely speaking within the lexicon of the classical Chinese medical canon, it is no surprise that all of the key terms here—all laws or methods (*shohō* 諸法), the

[61] In 1951 Edward Conze wrote, "Of course, if one makes up one's mind that 'original' Buddhism was a perfectly rational religion, after the heart of the 'Ethical Society,' without any touch of the super-natural or mysterious, then the Tantra will become an almost incomprehensible 'degeneration' of that presumed original Buddhism. In actual fact, Buddhism has always been closely associated with what to rationalists would appear as superstitions [ ...]. The reality of extraordinary psychic, nay of wonderworking powers, was never questioned [ ... ]. The cultivation of such powers was, for those suited to it, part of the program of salvation, although for others a dubious blessing. The existence of many kinds of disembodied spirits and the reality of magical forces were taken for granted, and the belief in them formed part of the current cosmology" (*Buddhism: Its Essence and Development,* 175).

[62] Sharf, "Visualization and Mandala," 193..

[63] Latour, *On the Modern Cult of the Factish Gods*, 2010: 2.

[64] Minobe ed. 2006: 173. 諸法ミナ、信力ヲ以テ成就ス。医療ノ事，又、然可。深ク信ジテ其験ヲ得タル事、古人モアマネク申タリ。身ニ取テモ、思合スル事、多ク侍也。

power of belief or faith (*shinriki* 信力)—recall Buddhist discourse generally, and the "accomplishment" (*jōju* 成就) of esoteric ritual and its efficacy (*sono shirushi* 其驗) in particular. Moreover, even if the category of "belief" remains problematic, (especially in its role in defining a Protestant focus in religious studies), the entities of the mental world cannot easily be parted with simply because they are mediated by forms of representation. As Bernard Faure has written, "Even if the awareness of the ritual performer is minimal [ ... ] it does not mean that, behind or below the conscious level, we do not find a variety of subconscious thoughts, symbols, metaphors, emergent meanings—not necessarily 'beliefs'—which determine to a large degree his or her actions."[65]

Thus, what is problematic is not beliefs per se, but how certain of our constructions of belief are used or permitted to shape, animate, or foreclose possibilities in the worlds we study. This is especially true if our goal is to elucidate ritual efficacy. We must remain aware that an emphasis on belief can lend the impression that the efficacy of a given ritual was a foregone conclusion, that it was largely taken for granted by performers, participants, or patients. As is clear from several examples above, the assumption of belief creates the sense that the efficacy of esoteric rites was itself never subject to the scrutiny. Historians have often chosen to leave belief in ritual efficacy intact as an interiorized entity about which neither their historical actors asked any questions and nor would they. This approach creates more questions than it answers, including: How did belief in the efficacy of esoteric rites travel across medieval society? Through what mediating forms was it distributed? What could account for such an even and wide bandwidth across distinct communities and historical periods? How do we deal with the readily observable fact that subjects can hold multiple, even conflicting beliefs? What is lost when we conflate internal beliefs, on the one hand, with rhetoric—strategic discourse, shaped by factors such as genre and audience— or with practice, which, among things, is embodied

[65] Cite Faure, but also perhaps Bourdieu, maybe something else about belief in religious studies.

and thus subject to habit, mimesis, affect, disposition, the limiting nature of material existence, and authority?[66]

Aside from these problems, there is a more immediate methodological issue for examining efficacy when emic claims are taken at face-value as beliefs. That is, in doing so, efficacy is cast in terms of "global, non-specific mechanisms."[67] This is what happens, as Thomas Csordas has pointed out in his studies of charismatic healing in Catholic communities, when ritual healing is defined in terms of "catharsis, suggestion, or placebo effect." We should hasten to point out here that the discourse of esoteric Buddhism claims its own universal mechanisms. While Sakai Keijun argues for the need to understand the multiple notions of efficacy found throughout esoteric Buddhist discourse, he also subsumes that plurality into singularity through esoteric terminology such as the "ten-thousand virtues of the universal gate" (*fumon mantoku* 普門万徳) of Dainichi Nyorai. He also makes reference to the empowered practitioner as a structural feature, as we saw above.[68] To take another example, if the power of mantra derives ultimately from the sacred language of Sanskrit it vocalizes, as it is often said, this suggests the mantra is understood to work the same wherever it is recited, regardless of the context and "irrespective of whom it may be who recites it."[69] (From a removed perspective, the same can be said when scholars attribute perceived efficacy to the foreignness or exoticism of mantic language in East Asia). In the same vein, where, we might want to ask, can the *homa* fire ceremony be performed that its power is not ultimately sourced

---

[66] On these questions see Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, especially chapter 4, "Belief and the Body," 66–81; and Asad, *Genealogies of Religion*, especially chapter 1, "The Construction of Religion as an Anthropological Category" (27–54), in which he demonstrates the limitations of the symbolic interpretation of religion as exemplified by Clifford Geertz (*The Intepretation of Cultures*), arguing for the place of authority and discipline in the creation of religious subjects.

[67] Csordas, *Embodiment and Experience*, 1994: 101

[68] Sakai, "Mikkyō to chibyō."

[69] Blacker, *The Catalpa Bow*, 97. But Blacker goes on to make the issue a local one, about the practitioner: "As they recited in Japan, however, these Buddhist words of power are not in themselves sufficient. Recited by a person inexperienced in ascesis, ordinary and unempowered, their efficacy will be diminished, if not nullified."

by Agni, the fire god (or Acala, or whoever the *honzon* happens to be)? Such questions are concealed by attempts to universalize esotericism, a tendency scholars such as Strickmann and Sakei share with many of own historical informants.[70] The problem is that when emphasis is placed on a globally powerful source or medium, all technologies contained within the framework of esoteric ritual are cast as more or less symmetrical as far as potency is concerned. Equality in the eyes of the universal Law effectively becomes the solvent that dissolves specificity.[71]

What this takes off the table of analysis is the question I would wager to be most important in the study of rituals as historical practices: Why was one ritual technology selected and not another? If we avail ourselves of any one of the many options for taking efficacy to be uniform, there is no conceivable way to gain traction on this question of ritual discrimination. If preexisting belief marks our starting line, no motivation for differentiating among available practices will be forthcoming from our actors. And then there is larger issue of what to do with ritual innovation: If the gods are already globally powerful, why evoke new ones? Even less conceivable: why design new practices for which the dominant position of gods, practitioners, or any other aspect of esotericism might be called into question?

While this line of questioning might not prove relevant for all cases, it is of direct concern for the case study of this dissertation, an influential healing ritual developed by Jimon monks in the late twelfth century. As an esoteric healing rite that at first glance appears to privilege Chinese medical technologies over esoteric ones, this practice calls into doubt any

---

[70] Paul Copp makes a very similar point in his dissertation when he writes, "If the power of dhāraṇīs inheres wholly in their original Sanskrit sounds and is lost in any other medium or form, then the apparent disregard of most Chinese for the strictly accurate reproduction of those sounds—that is, by learning Sanskrit instead of relying on "clumsy" transliterations into the script of their native tongues or simply upholding the written representations of those sounds—can only have entailed the loss of this power. Representations of dhāraṇīs, on this view, like the famous painted cakes of Buddhist teachings, can have no sustaining power"; Copp, "Voice, Dust, Shadow, Stone: The Makings of Spells in Medieval Chinese Buddhism," 2005: 19.

[71] We can more or less accurately schematize this issue as the age-old problem of the relationship between structure and change, although here too I want to remain focused on how this directly concerns the study of ritual efficacy in Buddhist history in Japan.

assurance we might glean from universalizing notions of efficacy or those from within the esoteric traditions themselves. If belief in the efficacy of esoteric rites is not bracketed to some degree or reimagined in analysis, there is no way to account for the incorporation of non-esoteric technologies within esoteric ritual without recourse again to the notion of empowerment, which itself defers to the default of divinity. Therefore, to begin working around these issues, we must acknowledge the fact that things could have turned out differently, that other selections were on the table at the time and could have been made but were not. To understand ritual selection and change, and the innovation of new ritual practices, we need to be able to ask: Why in this moment, this technology?

In this dissertation, I try to get at this question by proposing a shift in the way we approach the issue of ritual efficacy generally, and that of healing rituals specifically. Instead of doing so in terms of belief—by which efficacy is left unquestioned, whether as a property of superstition, of the social, or the sacred—I argue that efficacy should be recast in terms more proximate to our historical sources, namely, as the site of constant negotiation it very often was. Despite the emic claims of prescriptive sources suggesting that ritual power is beyond dispute, such sources are almost always produced in contexts in which the issue of efficacy is frequently subject to scrutiny, and potentially always open to alternative interpretations and claims (hence the tendency to lean on the normativity of the prescriptive ritual genre). This is because the question of effectiveness inherently occupies an elusive space between potentiality and actualization, a "darkness of future past" if you will. Before a ritual is performed its outcome is unpredictable, and after it is performed its outcome can be variably read—and by competing groups with divergent interests and dispositions, both technical and epistemological. Thus, as Alan Stratern notes, within a ritual economy, the empirical engagement of actors toward rituals "is not simply driven by an observation of events (ritual outcomes): it is how such events are perceived and interpreted and successfully communicated

that matters."[72] The preceding discussion can be read in this way as well, as many attempts to negotiate and better communicate efficacy from sometimes divergent and sometimes overlapping historical subject positions.

What I am interested in charting, then, is a sweet spot between emic discourse on the one hand, and analysis on the other. Without disregarding them completely, we will have to take a step back from universalizing ascriptions of powers found in prescriptive sources. Again, the advantage of this remove is not that it offers more objective footing from which to evaluate the effectiveness of these practices, or lack thereof, whether that be construed in terms biomedical (ritual doesn't actually heal), crass constructivist (it's all fabricated), or social objectivist (it's social coercion).[73] Rather, taking a step back gives us a fuller view of the horizons of claims and counter claims, of attempts to navigate efficacy through diverse acts of meaning-making. It is only from this vantage, I argue, that we can appreciate how these manifold attempts to negotiate efficacy throughout history produced discursive fields and cultural practices much richer and more fascinating than those suggested by mere ascriptions of ritual efficacy. In so doing, we find ourselves in a much better position to engage the complexity born of the fraught processes of evaluating, creating, and making claims for healing rituals, practices we can begin to appreciate in light of their stated objectives, that is, the resolution of thorny problems of body and disease.

## THE LANGUAGE OF EFFICACY

As we have already hinted at with Koremune Tomotoshi's *Idanshō*, it turns out that efficacy very much already animates our historical texts. We find here a dense semantic field

---

[72] Strathern, *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History*, 226.

[73] Michael Taussig argues the disclosure of the trick is not important only for the privileged perspective of the ethnographer, but rather can prove integral to the efficacy of magic; see Taussig, "Viscerality, Faith, and Skepticism: Another Theory of Magic," 2016.

born of manifold attempts to figure out, envision, discern, secure, control, and produce efficacy. There was a lexicon for the power of ritual, just as there was for the potency of medicines. This revolved around terms such as *riki* 力, *kō* 効, *gen* 驗, *gentoku* 驗德, and *kunō* 功能.[74] Much of this terminology arrived in Japan through continental Buddhist texts. In the medieval period in Japan, this vocabulary of power cut across genres, including courtier diaries, *setsuwa* literature, and medical texts.

While the above terms figured into claims for the efficacy of rituals, writers in both China and Japan also made efforts to give readers a more concrete sense of what exactly ritual effects looked like. They did not always do so simply by stating what a given ritual does, in terms of objectives. Instead, they articulated the contours efficacy through image and metaphor. For example, the *Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集経, a liturgical compilation of much importance throughout East Asia, frequently includes passages about ritual such as this one: "the treatment of the affliction will be as hot water melting snow, and like fierce flames scorching dry grass."[75] Metaphors are powerful for the immediacy of the image they dispense. We know that such images are important in shaping how reality is experienced, and much research shows how they are particularly compelling in shaping how we experience and interpret disease as subjects as well as the therapeutic process. Increasingly, scholars are investigating how image artifacts modulate the "placebo response" and immunological changes

---

74 Esoteric ritual was far from the only modality for thinking about efficacy among Buddhists in medieval Japan. For example, in his study of the Sōtō priest Keizan Jōkin 瑩山紹瑾 (1278–1325), Bernard Faure discusses the question of *riki* (Ch. *ling*) with an eye to how "it grew up surreptitiously within a doctrine—Chan/Zen subitism—that rejected it in advance" (283; see the entire chapter, "Imagination and Ideology," 275–287).

75 所治之病如湯沃雪。亦如猛火燒諸乾草。I first became aware that authors of Chinese medical texts used this metaphor through an excellent talk by Yan Liu, "The Production and Circulation of Experience-Based Knowledge in Tang China" (Association for Asian Studies, Denver, Colorado, March 22, 2019). While Liu characterized these tropes as generic and rhetorical, contrasting them with more empirical case studies in the writings of Sun Simiao, I suggest here the possibility of further exploring the power of those tropes to shape ways of imagining efficacy and in particular as an unexplored semantic field that seems to have been shared between physicians and Buddhists.

in the body.[76] Another key aspect for the history of these images is that frequently such tropes rendered efficacy transposable across genres because they could be communicated and shared with ease. Thus we find the same metaphor of "hot water melting snow" in a host of Chinese medical texts, including Sun Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方 and Wang Tao's *Waitai miyao fang* 外台秘要方, to rhetorically bolster the power of certain therapeutics. It thus comes as no surprise that in arguing for the efficacy of esoteric ritual, Kūkai 空海 (774–835), the patriarch of the Shingon school, drew upon medical metaphors. As Ryūichi Abé writes,

> Kūkai argued in his memorial that, although the Golden Light Sūtra was renowned for its power to protect a ruler and his nation from all manner of suffering, merely reciting it would be no more effective than reading a medical textbook to someone who became ill. For the sick to benefit from medical knowledge—that is, to assure the efficacy of the sūtra's power to protect the nation—it was necessary to add the esoteric ritual worship capable of invoking the divinities described in the sūtra who would bestow merit on the practitioners.[77]

It is precisely this kind of circulation across genres—when metaphors partake of meaning from different contexts, medical and ritual—by which a currency of efficacious imagination comes into being.

In terms of the ways efficacy was negotiated through ritual practice, the term *gen* 驗, (Ch. *yan*) probably the most basic term for it, took on special significance in medieval Japan.[78] We can firstly cite the genre of *genki* 驗記, literally "records of efficacy" that essentially served as proof texts for the miraculous powers of scriptures, gods, and ritual.[79] Other forms of *setsuwa* 説話 tale literature frequently dramatized bouts between monks competing by way of

---

[76] See e.g. Laderman, "The Ambiguity of Symbols in the Structure of Healing"; Samuel, "The Effectiveness of Goddesses, or, How Ritual Works," "Healing, Efficacy and the Spirits."

[77] Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 1999: 58.

[78] Various translations have been offered for the terms mentioned below. I use "efficacy" in them consistently to translate *gen* if only to prove a point about the circulation of this term in medieval Japan generally and its relationship with Onjōji monks specifically.

[79] The two most well-known as the *Hokke genki* 法華驗記 and the *Kasuga gongen genki* 春日権現驗記.

their respective ritual potencies, confrontations referred to as *gen kurabe* 験競べ, or "efficacy competitions." Moreover, it is no coincidence that one of the most prominent types of Buddhist healers at court were called *genza* 験者, "those who manifest efficacy." As I will explain later, monks from Onjōji—the monks whose ritual will concern us throughout this dissertation—served in the capacity of *genza* at court more than those from any other *kenmitsu* lineage. In their role as *genza*, Jimon monks manifested their ritual prowess to facilitate the safe births of imperial children, bring the dying back to life, and heal the sick. It is undoubtedly owing to these activities at court, which some argue were fueled by their ascetic practice as pilgrimage guides on sacred mountains such as Kumano 熊野, that Onjōji monks eventually came to be identified with, both self-reflexively and from without, *shugen* 修験, the "practice" or "cultivation of efficacy." It is from this, both conceptually and institutionally, that what would later be termed Shugendō 修験道 eventually emerged.

At the same time, the term *gen* also provides a sense of the specific uncertainty that inhered within the question of efficacy in practice as well as the ways ritualists sought to discern and obtain it. *Gen* was often glossed in Japanese as *shirushi*, meaning "sign," "token," or "mark." (For example, in *Ima kagami* 今鏡, there is a section entitled *Inoru shirushi* 祈るしるし, "the efficacious signs of prayers.") Carmen Blacker's early distinction between two types of ascetic power in Japan, the practical and the demonstrable, is useful here. However, we can detect the sense, already noted above, that efficacy as perceived and interpreted, even when it pertains to the instrumental, necessarily pertains to the demonstrable, in the in which signs are (or must be made) visible and thus legible. To negotiate efficacy, therefore, was to read and correlate the signs, the tokens of efficacy, before, during, and after the performance of rituals. At the same time, as I shall discuss in this dissertation, the hermeneutics of efficacy became more than just a reading the signs. Given their importance for assessing efficacy, such signs came to trigger cycles of reading and ritual production. As a result, the signs by which efficacy was articulated or verified in turn came to inform the shape that healing practices took. In this way, perception and production were bound up with each other in a kind of feedback circuit

that guided perceptions and arguments revolving around efficacy as a topic, an ungoing question, and site of perennial concern.[80]

## HEALING & HARMING

Over the twentieth century, the study of rituals across cultures has focused predominantly on the social and symbolic functions of ritual, emphasizing how it mediates relations between members of a community, establishes and legitimizes order, or conveys meaning. As with the provision of "belief" discussed above, this focus awards analytical place to rituals otherwise difficult for scholars of the modern western academy to justify or explain. In teasing out the social and communicative function of rituals, scholars find themselves able to extend a certain rationality to ritual actors, and thereby interpret their practices as performing cultural work that is both subtle and sophisticated.[81] In the history of ritual studies, this approach marked a significant turn away from earlier moves to place ritual at the beginning of an evolutionary trajectory from magic and religion to science, in which perspective rituals are seen as ill-informed, proto-scientific endeavors to change reality itself. To this those of the social and symbol camp could reply, "These ritualists cannot possible believe the ritual does what it claims to do, that it will actually bring rain or heal bodies or kill enemies or whatever the objective may be. Ritual, therefore, must be doing something else."

Yet the sophisticated collective and cultural functions of ritual have always been haunted by the fact that they tend to be discernible it seems only to scholars. In focusing on such functions, scholars have indeed elevated ritual as objects worthy of study, yet in leaning too heavily on the Durkheimian equation of religion with society, they alienate ritual actors from their own stated purposes for conducting those practices. Frits Staal went so far as to

[80] Joshua Capitanio makes a similar point in a survey of Chinese ritual; see Capitanio, "Religious Ritual," 2012.

[81] My discussion here draws significantly from the insightful analysis of these issues in Strathern, *Unearthly Powers*, 219–254.

define ritual in terms of the very absence of purpose, which doubly allowed him to bestow upon ritual a proper place on this side of evolution: "The rites have no practical utility and have lost their original function, if ever they had one. The ritualists perform them not in order to obtain certain ends, but because it is their task. Lack of practical utility, incidentally, is a characteristic that ritual shares with many of the higher forms of human civilization. It may be a mark of civilization."[82]

In this dissertation I adopt a different perspective. I am with Andrew Strathern, Larisa Jasarevic, and other scholars seeking to recuperate a place in our study of rituals for instrumentalism, the notion that rituals are performed because of the utility claimed for them. That rituals are performed for specific purposes can be said of almost any kind of ritual, but again, utility is perhaps especially relevant for rites to heal the body, which performers and patients expect to respond to the ritual measures aimed at it. Jasarevic has usefully drawn on Latour's notion of "practical" or "empirical metaphysics" in bringing this instrumentalist approach to *strava*, a popular healing substance in contemporary Bosnia. She writes, "I am inspired by Latour to take *strava* seriously as a practice that is decisively non-symbolic, neither performative of some communal or hybrid identity nor expressive of some greater historical forces at work. *Strava* is, instead, concerned with bodily disorders and effectively competes with pharmaceutical, clinical, and alternative medical treatments of anxiety and depression."[83] As we shall see, because medieval Japanese esoteric ritual is replete with symbolism, and its aesthetic dimension contributes to the sense of efficacy, we cannot cast those dimensions aside so easily here. However, Jasarevic's concern to see healing practices in terms of their own objectives and as practices participating in a field of similar practices is a critical one. It is only from such a perspective that we can begin to grasp why a ritual is created anew or selected among other available options in a given moment in history. Minimally, this means we must

[82] Staal, *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, 1983, vol. 1: 18.

[83] Jasarevic, "Pouring out Postsocialist Fears: Practical Metaphysics of a Therapy at a Distance," 917. See also her *Health and Wealth on the Bosnian Market: Intimate Debt*.

attempt to place the practice in terms of the field to which it speaks; it is only until and unless we understand why the ritual is compelling in its stated field that we can begin to construct larger social contexts in which to situate the practice. As David Harley has argued of medical knowledge, healing practices must prove persuasive; to reduce either medicine or ritual to social interest is to privilege peripheral concerns that tell us little about how content—for Harvey, the cognitive character of medicine; for us, ritual discourse—is linked to its adoption, success, or failure.[84] In thinking of the purpose of healing rituals in particular, I argue it is critical we engage a constellation of at least three elements—body, disease, and healing technology—a topic to which we shall return shortly.

At the same time, in examining healing rituals, we cannot relinquish the power of analysis to catch a wider field of discourse, practice, and effects than that available to any individual actor or author of ritual texts. To overemphasize what the ritualist intends to do with a ritual risks obscuring what else that ritual might be doing: the problematics embedded within the practice, potential and real ramifications, and links to the social and cultural milieu, all of which can relate back to the question of efficacy. In the paragraphs that follow in this section, I highlight two areas of concern, namely understandings of disease and of technology.

While Buddhist modernism promotes the idea that Buddhists see illness primarily in terms of mental factors, throughout its long history Buddhism has accumulated diverse understandings and metaphors of disease causation and pathology. In esoteric Buddhism, the focus is overwhelmingly martial and antagonistic. Disease etiology, we might say, amounts to demonology.[85] Diseases are caused by malicious agents, many of whom are not only named but have mythic careers that can be traced through Buddhist literature over long stretches of time.

---

[84] Harley, "Rhetoric and the Social Construction of Sickness and Healing," 1999. Harley's work fits within a then-growing theoretical discussion about how to better examine the relationship between medicine and society, and draws on an earlier study by Jordanova, "The Social Construction of Medical Knowledge," 1995; see also the discussion in Crozer, "Social Construction in a Cold Climate: A Response to David Harley, 'Rhetoric and the Social Construction of Sickness and Healing' and to Paolo Palladino's Comment on Harley," 2000.

[85] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*; McBride, "Esoteric Buddhism and its Relation to Healing and Demonology."

Since disease etiology informs therapy, esoteric ritual healing in turn tends to focus on the "subjugation" (*chōbuku* 調伏; Sk. *abhicāra*) of such entities, subjugation being also a genre of esoteric ritual. Again, here too Buddhist modernists have intervened, seeking to paint Buddhism as a peaceful, non-violent religion, a position not untenable when one's focus remains within specific doctrinal discourses. Increasingly, however, scholars have shown that violence—in rhetoric, metaphor, ritual, and social practice—has played an undeniable role in the history of Buddhism, and most especially its esoteric forms, whether Indian, Tibetan, or East Asian.[86]

The significance of this for the study of esoteric ritual healing extends beyond the recognition that the modernizers were wrong and violence is predominant. Catherine Bell has discussed a useful concept in what she calls the Althusserian model of ritualization, in which any ritual is characterized by both a "seeing" and a "not-seeing." As she writes, "Ritualization sees its end, the rectification of a problematic." When we reintroduce the importance of instrumentalism for the reasons noted above, we can indeed appreciate that esoteric healing rites similarly construct a problematic, aimed as they are at the eradication of disease and the treatment of patients. But such aims are also accompanied by blindspots, or areas of "not-seeing." As Bell notes, ritualization "does not see what it does in the process of realizing this end, its transformation of the problematic itself. [...] [I]t temporally structures a space-time environment through a series of physical movements [...] thereby producing an arena which, by its molding of the actors, both validates and extends the schemes they are internalizing."[87] Drawing on this insight, we can recognize that despite (or perhaps as a result of) the objectives of esoteric healing rituals, these practices participate in the fabrication of the diseases they seek

[86] For example, see Faure, "Buddhism and Symbolic Violence"; Payne, "Lethal Fire: The Shingon Yamāntaka Abhicāra Homa"; Gray, "The Rhetoric of Violence in the Buddhist Tantras"; Dalton, *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*; and Jerryson and Juergensmeyer, eds. *Buddhist Warfare*. Also important is the topic of self-inflicted violence and its interpretation; see Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, and Yu, *Sanctity and Self-Inflicted Violence in Chinese Religions, 1500-1700*.

[87] Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 109–110.

to eliminate as well as the production of certain kinds of patienthood. Rather than simply eliminate disease, then, if that is indeed what they do, these facts rather bind subjectivities to sickness and to the complex projects that are aimed at its elimination.

We find ourselves revisiting Strickmann's hypothesis about the "puzzle" of demonic possession in Heian Japan, namely his suggestion that "the wave of demonomania that swept over the Japanese aristocracy was to a large extent iatrogenic, produced by the monkish physicians themselves."[88] For Strickmann, the key to comprehending the epidemic of demonic possession was to be found in esoteric Buddhist ritual literature, the texts of which served as scripts for ritualists who conducted exorcistic rites in which demons were made manifest. In the chapter in which he poses the hypothesis, Strickmann delves into largely continental esoteric sources to offer a genealogy of spirit possession, and successfully debunks the popular notion among literary scholars of Japan that spirit possession in the Heian period must have had little to do with Buddhism proper, which in their conception was a rational religion that eschewed such superstitious ideas as possession. However, it is now time to return to the puzzle—but in Japan—where the effects of esoteric ritualization, including its rather aggressive character, manifested in both practice and text and were yet contested and negotiated. To privilege transmitted texts would be to fall into the "isolationalist fallacy," the tendency noted by Neil McMullin to see developments in religious discourses in Japan "primarily as a result of dynamics inherent to those discourses." We must not, McMullin argues, "pull 'a religion' out of its social-political-economic-cultural setting and examine it in isolation from that setting," but rather should address those developments "in terms of the ways in which they reflected and addressed developments in the societies of the times in which those developments take place."[89]

---

[88] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 198.

[89] McMullin, "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religions," 25–26.

There are significant ways in which the political dynamics of medieval Japanese society and the kind of violent etiology promoted in prescriptive esoteric ritual literature resonated with one another. The immense popularity of esoteric Buddhism among courtiers and emperors in the Heian period was not simply an effect of its aesthetic appeal, for it owed much to the martial character of its rites. Through esoteric ritual, wrathful deities such as Fudō Myōō 不動明王 or Aizen Myōō 愛染明王 could be invoked for the subjugation of "enemies" (*onke* 怨家), a much sought after technology at a time when political power was increasingly fragmented between different power blocs.[90] We are reminded of Enryakuji monks, described in one scene of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語, writing out the names of their enemies on paper and placing those names under the feet of statues of Buddhist protector deities, all the while yelling spells and begging the gods to take their enemies' lives "without an instant's delay."[91] This account of mimetic esoteric magic might appear fictional, yet for those familiar with the period, it only ever more sharply reflects the actual violence conducted by members of monastic institutions.[92]

The rhetorical, actual, and ritual violence of esotericism and its relation to social control exerted by *kenmitsu* monasteries was integral for the work of Kuroda and has remained so for those after him. It should not surprise that us discourse about disease figured into attempts at maintaining and extending that social control. For instance, Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫 has focused on "vow texts" (*kishōmon* 起請文), written oaths wherein individuals vowed to local *kami* and Buddhist deities (*shinbutsu* 神仏) to remain absolutely faithful to the terms stated, otherwise they should undergo divine punishment.[93] These documents were used by

---

[90] Ogawa Toyoo discusses the "aporia of murder and salvation" inherent in subjugation rites aimed at persons, for the efficacy of such rites depended in doctrine upon compassion to destroy evil karma; see Ogawa, *Chūsei Nihon no shinwa, moji, shintai*, 118–148.

[91] *The Tale of the Heike*, 59.

[92] See Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 2000, and *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha*, 2007.

[93] Satō, *Kishōmon no seishinshi: chūsei sekai no kami to hotoke*, 2006.

estate landlords to bind their tenants in contractual relationships of labor and land. In order to amplify their sacrality and thus their authenticity, *kishōmon* were often written on a type of paper talisman (*gofu* 護符), marked and stamped with the *goō hōin* 牛王宝印 of temples known to have access to the gods, such as the complexes on Kumano. This graveness was further solidified by a generic convention that would eventually become standard: the documents included the statement that the unfaithful would receive punishment at one's very "pores," and would take the form of "black" and "white" *rai* 癩, two varieties of disfiguring skin disorders sometimes translated as "leprosy." Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男 encourages us to see this as an inscription of fear and anxiety onto the level of "skin sensations" (*hifu kankaku* 皮膚感覚), for *rai* was seen as a debilitating disorder that simultaneously marked one's social status as a "non-person," or *hinin* 非人. Indeed, as Richard Weiss has written in his study of Tamil medicine, "Medicine is perhaps uniquely suited to justify a link between the bodies of a people and specific practices and knowledge. Just as bodies are the loci of individual identities, likewise a community's bodily practices and conceptions of illness and health are important components of collective representation."[94]

At the same time, in this dissertation, I hope to complicate this top-down approach to the intepretation of esoteric violence in medieval Japan. For one, we ought to remember that many monastics criticized the abuse of the ill, a position substantiated readily by a shared store of Mahayana Buddhist discourse on compassion. Best known for his *Shasekishū* 沙石集, Mujū Ichien 無住一円 (1226–1312) was concerned with the ethics of medical practice. He wrote, "All sentient beings have buddha-nature. In suchness they are just as the Buddha. We are tormented by the demons of the afflictions, have manifold evil acts, and are punished for it all. [But] in our original nature there is none of this. Even if a sick person should in a flurry of

[94] Weiss, *Recipes for Immortality: Healing, Religion, and Community in South India*, 11.

madness swear abusively at the physician, those physicians who possess some understanding should not return those curses. Abiding in compassion, they should thus treat the patient."[95]

But it is not simply that esoteric violence might be criticized on the grounds of Mahayana compassion, whereby physician becomes bodhisattva. Betwist and between the two poles of healing and harming reside a number of thorny issues that blur those boundaries. For one, even as we might see monks as the key fabricators of discourses on demonic disease, they were themselves implicated by them. Priests were just as haunted by demons, and much of what drove ritual production was their own impulse for self-immunity, an impulse shaped by the contents of the ritual documents they copied day and night. Moreover, the clean hierarchy between monk and layperson-peasant evident in *kishōmon* texts does not easily map onto the power relationships obtaining between healer and patient in the context of esoteric rituals for healing. As I shall indicate was the case for the Jimon lineage ritual examined in this dissertation, monks developed healing practices for members of the same familial and social networks who sponsored their rituals. To receive compensation (*roku* 禄) for their efforts, monks arguably not only had to heal their patients, but they also had to convince them, which meant that the ritual had to be sensible and palatible to clientele. I would suggest this is one reason why, despite the prevalence of aggressive techniques that directly engage the body in continental ritual texts, there is little evidence from courtier diaries of such methods being employed in medieval Japan on actual patients. In esoteric ritual, therefore, in place of the physical person of the patient, we frequently find the construction of "metapersons"—demons, corpse-worms, vengeful spirits, body-gods, malicious-*qi*—who are transferred into effigies, spirit mediums, and other substitute bodies, where they can be safely handled at a

[95] 一切衆生皆有仏性。真実ニハ如佛。煩悩ノ鬼ニナヤマサレテ、諸ノ悪行有テ、我タメアタヽル事アリ。本性ニ此事ナシ。譬病者ノ狂ワシクシテ、医師ヲ罵打ナトゼンヲハ、〝物ニ心得タラム医師、罵返スヘガラス。〟慈悲ニ住シテ療治スヘシ。Cited in Kojima, "Mujū denki shōkō: ijutsu to shisō wo megutte," 46. Two hundred years after his death, Mujū was still known as the patriarch of the medical lineage known as the Tōfukuji-ha 東福寺派 ; see Kojima, "Mujū denki shōkō: ijutsu to shisō wo megutte," Tsuchiya, "Mujū to Tendai mikkyō: 'Asabashō' to Mikawa Jissō'in,"and Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medicine Japan*, 14. The Chinese "physician-king" Sun Simiao wrote a more extensive statement of medical ethics drawing upon Mahayana thought; see Sivin, "Sun Simiao on Medical Ethics."

distance and without harm brought to the patient. Despite what is suggested by the term, then, "patients" were not passive in these processes, either.[96] If courtiers were being possessed by demonic agents in great numbers, which is indeed what the historical record suggests, this was because they had become subjects vulnerable to such an experience.[97]

It is evident that such considerations of esoteric medical practice and issues related to the body will lead to a more nuanced understanding of the social "control" of esoteric institutions. That these aspects of Buddhist healing in medieval Japan have yet to be examined fully stems from a number of reasons, surely one of which has been categorical autoimmunity, whereby an overly strict instrumentalist perspective on healing forbids entry of what is mistakeningly taken as its opposite, harming. We have already observed how this identity might be compromised when healing is combined with a notion of religion as antithetical to modern medical practice, yet the result amounted to a denunciation rather than an exploration of the ways these two poles might relate. It is here I find the usefulness of the ambivalence inherent in the Greek *pharmakon*, which as noted above registers an oscillation between cure and curse. Derrida writes, "As opposed to 'drug' or even 'medicine,' *remedy* says the transparent rationality of science, technique, and therapeutic casuality, thus excluding from the text any leaning toward the magic virtues of a force whose effects are hard to master, a

---

[96] Esoteric ritual sources typically use terms such as the "sick one" (*byōnin* 病人). While the use of "patient" risks projecting something of current conceptions of that term into medieval sources, it is evident that medical cultures of every period and place do more than simply identify the "sick"; they also construct "patienthood," which is not a single way to be sick but rather an array of possible identities that typically feature moral aspects; on this question, see Cerulli, *Somatic Lessons: Narrating Patienthood and Illness in Indian Medical Literature*, 2012.

[97] Such was the case for women during the golden age of possession in early modern Europe, when morality set the terms by which divergence in the form of possession was possible. As Brian P. Levack writes, "The new emphasis on female piety and the cultivation of female sainthood in the late medieval and early modern periods, especially during the Counter-Reformation, was one of the main reasons for the dramatic increase in the number of possessions in these years. [...] Many of the female possessions of the early modern period, especially those that took place in convents, originated in the difficulties such women encountered as they submitted themselves to a spiritual discipline that made unrealistic demands on them and led them to think they were possessed by demons;" Levack, *The Devil Within: Possession & Exorcism in the Christian West*, 173. See also Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*; I thank Ellen Wurtzel for bringing this latter book to my attention.

dynamics that constantly surprises the one who tries to manipulate it as master and as subject."[98]

What the notion of *pharmakon* forces us to wrestle with, then, is how harming might not be opposed to healing efficacy but in fact, in one sense or another, constitutive of it. Indeed, today, one cannot utter the word "drug" without simultaneously invoking illicit use and circulation, while "pharmaceuticals" never escape the long shadow of their "industry," defined as it is by the sleepless search for ever new ways to define patients as inherently ill and always in need of the marketed remedy.[99] The physiological and psychological injuries correlated to such remedies are typically defined away as "side-effects," and may be even further outlawed from proper discourse on healing with reference to the "nocebo effect," the alter-ego of the placebo. Yet in the study of healing practices, to align with biomedicine in casting aside the broader array of effects as aberrations that medical progress shall eventually reduce to nil—as, in other words, "side-effects"—is to risk overlooking how discourses around efficacy and its practical and aspirational management are often framed, reinforced, and shaped by the ways healing practices go beyond instrumentalism as well as their users.

As Yan Liu has noted, "[t]he history of Chinese medicine cannot ignore the history of poison"; so too, the history of healing technologies in East Asia, including forms of healing we might consider religious or Buddhist, cannot ignore the parallel history of medical excess, risk, and violence.[100] Indeed, one of the enduring topics in the history of Chinese medicine has been the aporia of external alchemy (*waidan* 外丹), the pursuit of health and immortality through the use of cinnabar and other poisonous substances.[101] Moreover, ever since the *Shennong*

[98] Derrida, *Dissemination*, 97.

[99] Dumit, *Drugs for Life: How Pharmaceutical Companies Define Our Health*, 2012.

[100] Liu, "Poisonous Medicine in Ancient China," 2015.

[101] Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy*, 1968; Yamada, *Honzō to yume to renkinjutsu to: busshitsuteki sōzōryoku no genshōgaku*, 1997; Pregadio, "*Waidan*, 'External Elixir; External Alchemy," in Pregadio, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*, 1002–1004. Michael Como notes that cinnabar was found in abundance in Yoshino 吉野, where early imperial medicine hunts (*kusagari*) were carried out by the state; see Como, *Weaving and Binding,* 65–68.

*bencao jing* 神農本草経, in which toxic drugs (*youdu* 有毒) are relegated but still included in a third lower-tier category, Chinese medicine has always kept a place for powerful medicines for eliminating disease that, if used incorrectly, undermine the higher aim of "nourishing life" (*yangsheng* 養生; Jp. *yōjō*).[102] Yet the boundaries between medicine and poison are not always so clear. In his *Idanshō*, Koremune Tomotoshi calls for the careful prescription of medicines, for as he warns, even remedies can become poisons depending on the person who ingests them.[103] In Japan, such ideas perhaps belong to a broader natural philosophy dually informed by Chinese medicine and Buddhist thought that ties medicine and poison together. Consider what the monk Ichien 一演 learns from an "old man" he encounters when setting up his new temple in this story from the medieval Japanese encyclopedia *Jinten ainōshō* 塵添壒嚢鈔:

> After this, one day, a strange old man was holding a bamboo (fishing) rod, standing in the middle of the river, and he informed Ichien, saying, "I am the land-owner of this land. From now onwards, I intend to protect (your) monastery. I also possess divine powers. I can eliminate demonic obstacles and expel malicious epidemics. What's more, I have the power to bring together in happy union man and wife and ensure the delivery of children. My name is Gozu Tennō 牛頭天王. I enjoy sleeping, and [when I do so] I lie down for a whole year. Out of three-hundred and sixty days, only on the fifth day of the fifth month do I wake. The rest of the time I am lying down. On the morning of *tango* 端午 I wake up for the first time [in a year], face the sky and spew out *qi* 気. Some of that *qi* becomes cloud and mist, some of it becomes rain and dew. It touches the ten-thousand things and [its manifestations as such] are not the same. Where it touches, some become medicines and some become poisons, some become the evil pox, while others become epidemics. These all arise due to the influence of the karma of sentient beings.[104]

Material healing technologies in East Asia were likewise defined by effects "hard to master." Celebrated today as the centerpiece of traditional Chinese medicine, acupuncture was

---

[102] Liu, "Poisonous Medicine in Ancient China," 2015.

[103] *Idanshō*, 156–157.

[104] *Jinten ainōshō* [1] *DNBZ*, 150: 409–410.

shunned by some of the greatest authors of medical literature, most notably Wang Tao 王燾, because it was understood to be able to kill patients but not revive them.[105] It is important, however, that this was not simply the erasure of one medical technique, for it also made room for the promotion of another: In his *Waitai miyao fang* 外台秘要方, Wang meticulously replaces nearly every instance of the character for "acupuncture" (*zhen* 鍼・針) or "pierce" (*ci* 刺) in sources he cites with the character for "cautery" (moxibustion, *jiu* 灸).[106] Wang's stance on these healing modalities shaped the reception of Chinese medicine in early medieval Japan, where Tomotoshi would claim that acupuncture has died out whereas moxibustion remains the most superior treatment for the "latter age" (*matsudai* 末代). Yet as we shall see, we can also understand moxibustion in terms of how its effects cross beyond the simply therapeutic, having a distinct impact on the body. In the face of moxibustion's popularity, Yōsai 栄西 (1141–1215) in his *Kissayōjōki* 喫茶養生記 called for caution, arguing that moxibustion could create in patients "fire poison" (*kadoku* 火毒), an effect physicians of Chinese medicine had for centuries noted of alchemical substances.[107] In this dissertation, I argue that it is only when we appreciate these excessive effects of moxibustion on the body that we can understand why Jimon monks incorporated the technology into a healing ritual aimed at demonic disease. I refer to this engagement with dangerous healing technologies as a kind of "playing with fire," and explore this question most thoroughly in Chapter 4.

### COMPLICATING COMBINATION

The study of the historical intersections of Buddhism and medicine has expanded greatly since the 1937 publication of Paul Demieville's (1894–1979) classic *Hōbōgirin* article,

---

[105] *Waitai miyao fang*, 5: 768.

[106] Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon*, 1996: 491–500.

[107] *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu*, vol. 1: 175.

"Byō."[108] Of special importance is Pierce Salguero's unprecendented edited volume, *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, which includes sixty-two translations of texts of diverse genres and character from throughout premodern Asia pertaining to this subject.[109] Concerning early Buddhism, we have a clearer picture of the Buddha Śākyamuni as the "Great Physician,"[110] the sickness that precipitated his final nirvana,[111] his famed physician Jīvaka,[112] the role of healthcare and hygiene in the early monastic community and the Vinaya in particular,[113] tales depicting miraculous feats of Buddhist healing,[114] gendered discourse on bodily suffering,[115] Buddhist divinities focused on healing such as the Medicine Buddha (Sk. Bhaiṣajyaguru),[116] and the wide-ranging epistemological and therapeutic contributions Buddhists made to the development of early medical cultures in India.[117] It should be noted that much of the evidence for these studies derives from the Chinese Buddhist canon. In

---

[108] Demiéville, *Buddhism and Healing: Demiéville's Article 'Byō' from Hōbōgirin*, 1985.

[109] Examples for each of the topics that follow can be cited from Salguero's expansive volume; for purposes of space, however, only a few will be directly referenced in these notes.

[110] Granoff, "The Buddha as the Greatest Healer: The Complexities of a Comparison," 2011.

[111] Strong, "Explicating the Buddha's Final Illness in the Context of His Other Ailments: The Making and Unmaking of Some Jātaka Tales," 2012.

[112] Zysk, "Studies in Traditional Indian Medicine in the Pāli Canon: Jīvaka and Āyurveda," 1982; Schopen, "The Training and Treatments of an Indian Doctor in a Buddhist Text: A Sanskrit Biography of Jivaka," in Salguero, ed., *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, 184–204; for an examination of his place in Chinese medical history, see Salguero, "The Buddhist Medicine King in Literary Context: Reconsidering an Early Medieval Example of Indian Influence on Chinese Medicine and Surgery," 2009.

[113] Heirman and Torck, *A Pure Mind in a Clean Body: Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China*, 2012.

[114] Granoff, "Cures and Karma II: Some Miraculous Healings in the Indian Buddhist Story Tradition,"1998.

[115] Langenberg, *Birth in Buddhism the Suffering Fetus and Female Freedom*, 2017.

[116] Birnbaum, *The Healing Buddha*, 1979.

[117] Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery*, 1991, *Religious Medicine: The History and Evolution of Indian Medicine*, 1993, and "New Approaches to the Study of Early Buddhist Medicine: Use of Technical Brahmanic Sources in Sanskrit for the Interpretation of Pali Medical Texts," 1996.

addition to English-language studies, numerous monographs in Japanese treat these topics.[118] This trend has also defined more recent work on Tibetan Buddhism and medicine, which has explored topics such as discourse on the body[119] as well as the question of how traditional Tantric models of body and disease interacted with empirical approaches.[120]

As for East Asia, Salguero has produced excellent accounts of the transmission and translation of Indian Buddhist medicine to China.[121] His work also extends to the medical dimensions of the systematic treatises of Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597), the patriarch of the Chinese Tiantai school, a topic that has drawn the attention of other scholars as well.[122] An increasingly complicated picture has emerged from studies on excavated manuscripts from Dunhuang, including Buddhist healing liturgies, moxibustion body charts, and other medical texts.[123] The textual and social history of esoteric Buddhist healing in China, its rituals and divinities, has

[118] Obinata, *Bukkyō igaku no kenkyū*, 1965; Hattori, *Bukkyō kyōten wo chūshin toshita Shaka no igaku*, 1968; Fukunaga, *Bukkyō igaku shōsetsu*, 1972; Fukunaga, *Bukkyō igaku jiten, ho yōga*, 1990; Nihonyanagi, *Bukkyō igaku gaiyō*, 1994; Nanba and Komatsu, eds., *Bukkyō igaku no michi wo saguru*, 2000.

[119] Garrett, *Religion, Medicine and the Human Embryo in Tibet*, 2008; Hofer and Gerke, eds. *Bodies in Balance: The Art of Tibetan Medicine*, 2014.

[120] Gyatso, *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet. New York: Columbia University Press*, 2017; see also, "The Authority of Empiricism and the Empiricism of Authority: Medicine and Buddhism in Tibet on the Eve of Modernity," 2004. On Tibetan medicine and Buddhism, see also Garrett, "The Alchemy of Accomplishing Medicine (Sman Sgrub): Situating the Yuthok Heart Essence (G.Yu Thog Snying Thig) in Literature and History," 2009.

[121] Salguero, *Translating Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China*, 2014, and "Mixing Metaphors: Translating the Indian Medical Doctrine Tridoṣa in Chinese Buddhist Sources," 2010–2011.

[122] Yamano, "Tendai Chigi no igaku shisō josetsu," 1985; Salguero, "'Treating Illness': Translation of a Chapter from a Medieval Chinese Buddhist Meditation Manual by Zhiyi (538–597)," 2012; see also the seven articles by Watanabe Yukie 渡邊幸江 listed in the References. Zhiyi's discussions on disease and healing will be discussed later in this dissertation.

[123] Teiser, "The Literary Style of Dunhuang Healing Liturgies (患文)" and "The Most Common Healing Liturgy at Dunhuang: An Experiment in Textual Criticism," 2014; Lo and Barrett, eds. *Imagining Chinese Medicine*, 2018; Lo and Cullen, eds. *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts*, 2005.

also been the subject of multiple studies.[124] Much less research has focused on Buddhism and medicine in Korea, but this is one area that can be expected to grow in the future.[125]

A wide array of subjects has also been addressed in the case of premodern Japan.[126] Scholars for example have probed the various categories of Buddhist healers of both official and unofficial status, including semi-institutional and peripetatic (in both geographic and social senses) "holy men" known as *hijiri* 聖 and the occasionally overlapping category of healers referred to as "priest-physicians" (*sōi* 僧医), including the interactions these healers had with courtiers, court physicians, and *onmyōji*.[127] Studies have also explored cults surrounding divinities known for their therapeutic, disease-eliminating, and life-elongating powers, including the Medicine Buddha (Jp. Yakushi Nyorai 薬師如来),[128] Mañjuśrī (Monju Bosatsu 文殊菩薩),[129] Avalokiteśvara (Kannon 観音), and wrathful deities such as Fudō Myōō. Other notable topics examined include bathing, monastic baths, and hot springs (*onsen* 温泉);[130]

[124] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*; Davis, *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*, 2001; Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*, 2008; McBride, "Esoteric Buddhism and its Relation to Healing and Demonology," 2011; Yang, "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchuṣma in Tang China."

[125] Baker, "Monks, Medicine, and Miracles: Health and Healing in the History of Korean Buddhism," 1994. See also the chapters in Salguero, ed. *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources* by Juhn Ahn (pp. 390–397), Don Baker and Hyunsook Lee (pp. 494–500), and Taehyung Lee and Kang Yeonseok (pp. 549–552). On the role of immigrant groups from the Korean peninsula in the transmission of continental culture to the Japanese archipelago, including notions of immortality and medical practice, see Como, "Weaving and Binding: Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan," 2009, and "Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan," 2007.

[126] For surveys, see Shinmura, *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi*, 2013; Winfield, "Religion and Healing in Pre-Modern Japan," 2012. The majority of the topics mentioned here and indeed more are addressed in Hattori's chronological histories (1945, 1955, 1964, 1971) and Shinmura, *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū*, 1985.

[127] Gorai, *Kōya hijiri*, 1965; Nei, "Chūsei no hijiri to iryō," 1977; Kikuchi, *Kamakura Bukkyō e no michi: jissen to shūgaku shinjin no keifu*, 2011; Kleine, "Buddhist Monks as Healers in Early and Medieval Japan," 2012. On the subject of *onmyōji* and in particular the question of interaction, see the studies by Shigeta Shin'ichi listed in the References.

[128] Gorai, ed., *Yakushi shinkō*, 1986; Nishio, *Yakushi shinkō: Gokoku no hotoke kara onsen no hotoke e*, 2000; Suzuki, *Medicine Master Buddha*, 2012.

[129] Ueda, "Tōfukuji to Saidaiji: chibyō Monju shinkō wo megutte," 1993.

[130] Abe, *Yuya no kōgō: chūsei no sei to seinaru mono*, 1998; Williams, "Esoteric Waters: Meritorious Bathing, Kōbō Daishi, and Legends of Hot Spring Foundings," 2004; Butler, "'Washing off the Dust': Baths and Bathing in Late

healing and magic practices among Pure Land Buddhists, communities that have typically been understood to reject such ritualistic or apotropaic practices in favor of faith in Amida Nyorai 阿弥陀如来 but which in fact research has shown to hold more complex attitudes towards them;[131] the making and marketing of medicines by Buddhists from the late medieval through the early modern periods;[132] and the related subject of medical practice and ritual in Shugendō.[133] Healing in the context of esoteric ritual comprises another salient area of study, and one most directly pertaining to the subject of this dissertation. Pamela Winfield's examination of *kaji*,[134] Benedetta Lomi's recent articles on the Six-Syllable Rite (*rokujikyō hō* 六字経法) and ox-bezoar,[135] Anna Andreeva's work on childbirth rituals,[136] and Lucia Dolce's research on the construction of the ritual body and embryology[137] are especially worth mentioning. Japanese scholars such as Nihonyanagi Kenji 二本柳賢司, Koizumi Enjun, and Koyama Satoko have likewise produced fascinating investigations of medicines used during esoteric ritual,[138] the broader material and sensual dimensions of which have been further

---

Medieval Japan," 2005; Moerman, "The Buddha and the Bathwater: Defilement and Enlightenment in the Onsenji engi," 2015.

[131] See the works by Koyama Satoko in the References.

[132] Williams, *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen: Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan*, 2005.

[133] Nei, "Shugenja no iryō nitsuite," 1976, and "Toyama baiyaku to shugenja nitsuite," 1980; see also Miyake, *The Mandala of the Mountain*, 2005, and *Shugendō girei no kenkyū*, 1971; "Shugendō no kaiso 'En'no Gyōja' to Yamato no meiyaku 'daranisuke'," 2015.

[134] Winfield, "Curing with *Kaji*."

[135] Lomi, "Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw Dolls: Ritual Choreographies and Healing Strategies of the Rokujikyōhō in Medieval Japan," 2014, and "Ox Bezoars and the Materiality of Heian-period Therapeutics," 2018.

[136] Andreeva, "Childbirth in Aristocratic Households of Heian Japan," 2014, and "Chusei Nihon ni okeru osan to josei no kenkō—Sansei ruijūshō no Bukkyōteki, igakuteki chishiki o chūshin to shite," 2015.

[137] Dolce, "The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body: Ritual Embryology from Japanese Tantric Sources," in Andreeva and Steavu, eds., *Transforming the Void*, 253–310; and Dolce and Matsumoto, eds., *Girei no chikara*, 2010.

[138] Nihonyanagi, "Nihon mikkyō igaku to yakubutsugaku," 1997; Koizumi, "Mikkyō to honzō," 1998; Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu: byōki chiryō to rinjū gyōgi*, 2013.

elucidated by Yui Suzuki.[139] Finally, much that concerns illness, medical practice, and dying figures into Jacqueline Stone's monograph on deathbed rituals (*rinjū gyōgi* 臨終行儀) in early medieval Japan, since dying and issues of life-extension existed on a ritual continuum with childbirth and the treatment of disease.[140]

No single issue defines these diverse studies, yet all address implicitly or explicitly the question of which terms and approaches are most appropriate for examining Buddhism and medicine. Having already discussed some approaches to efficacy above, here I will highlight just one aspect within the study of Buddhism and medicine in medieval Japan. This is the trend to focus on combination, relying in particular on a familar set of categorical binaries: religion and magic (which constitute the "beliefs" of historical actors, in the sense previously discussed), on the one hand, and medicine, technology, and rationality, on the other. For example, Taira Masayuki 平雅行 and Satō Hiroo have both highlighted medicine as one field alongside engineering, agriculture, and law at which *kenmitsu* institutions excelled during the medieval period.[141] Notably, Satō and Tanaka Bun'ei 田中文英 specifically mention the use of moxibustion in a Tendai context, thus referring to the healing rituals that emerged from the practice studied in this dissertation.[142] In another study, Taira highlights the combination of ritual and *materia medica* (*honzō* 本草), a fact also highlighted by Sakai Keijun 酒井敬淳 as well as Nihonyanagi. For Taira, this combination of ritual and medicine allows him to directly locate within esoteric rituals a certain "rationality" (*gōrisei* 合理性), and he makes a similar claim about agricultural technologies. For his part, Nihonyanagi correlates the inclusion of particular medicines in the *goma* ceremony with the Korean medical classic *Dongui bogam* 東醫

---

[139] Suzuki, "Possessions and the Possessed: The Multisensoriality of Spirits, Bodies, and Objects in Heian Japan," 2014.

[140] Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 2017.

[141] Taira, "Kamakura bukkyō to kenmitsu taisei," 191–192; for Satō, see Ikemi, *Myōkenron*, 96–97.

[142] Tanaka, "Chūsei kenmitsu jiin ni okeru suhō no ichi-kōsatsu," 1988.

寶鑑, in order to demonstrate a clear utilitarian function within esoteric rites; these medicines were used, in other words, because they actually worked.

The claims of these scholars parallel one piece of a now-classic argument made by Kenneth Zysk.[143] Zysk defined early Buddhist forms of medicine as "empirico-rational" by referencing, among other factors, the use of *materia medica*. Zysk's study serves as a historical corrective that shows that much of what today falls under the umbrella as historical Ayurveda has roots in the culture of wandering *śramaṇas* in which early Buddhists also circulated. For scholars of medieval Japanese Buddhism, however, this argument from combination serves a different set of purposes. The "rationality" we can align with the apparently utilitarian use of *materia medica* or other healing technologies such as moxibustion serves to counter earlier notions of esoteric Buddhism as "Old Buddhism" as inimical to the civilizational progress of medieval Japanese society, and thus to resituate *kenmitsu* institutions at the vanguard of that society. This enables crafting of a more complete picture of what esoteric monks were up to *in addition to*—and most often in some kind of "combination" with—their prime vocation, ritual practices. This constitutes then a response to views such as that given at one point by Gorai Shigeru, who suggested that the healing practices were secondary to what would have been the primarily religious role of *hijiri* and thus constituted a "part-time job" (*arubaito* アルバイト), and who more explicitly stated that the "mining" technologies they employed were dubious.[144] It also indirectly pushes back against claims we have noted in the case of Hattori. We can place this approach in the category of scholarship on Western science and technology studies that focus "on the contributions made by ancient and medieval theologians, monastic orders, magi, and other 'religious folk' in the development of numerous technical arts,

[143] Zysk, *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery*.

[144] Gorai, *Kōya hijiri*, 139–144.

including medicine, pharmacology, architecture, astronomy, navigation, timekeeping, lenscrafting, and metal casting."[145]

Yet there is arguably an implicit structure to these arguments which combine religion and technology, in this case medicine in particular. When religion is combined with an implicit notion of what medicine should look like—which, as indicated above, typically means material therapeutics that today are defined as features of traditional medicine, and thus are accorded a certain status—religion (or its actors and institutions) is elevated to a comparable position. Combined with medicine, religion is no longer simply a harming force, for now it heals. With the inclusion of medicine, or technology more generally, Old Buddhism can no longer be understood simply as behind the times. With the addition of rationality, esoteric ritual is no longer trapped by its own magic, which is doubly its purported source of ideological control.

However, while a combinatory approach usefully rectifies our historical view of Buddhism through a realignment of values associated with categories such as religion, magic, technology, medicine, and rationality, we find that the anachronistic distinction between medicine and religion are here kept in place. They are combined, but not necessarily toward a more nuanced and historically specific account of either. This same problem defines the study of medical history in other cultures. For example, in his study of Tamil medicine, Richard Weiss observes, "Unfortunately, scholars of religion have not kept pace with [anthropology] in examining healing phenomena. Although anthropologists have for decades considered medical practice to be embedded in specific cosmologies and symbols, historians of religion seem to have accepted the biomedical division between religion and science, and they have located medicine squarely in the latter."[146] The limitations of the preceding perspectives proves that scholars have come up against a critical impasse: how do we transcend the anachronistic

[145] Stolow, *Deus in Machina*, 2013: 6.

[146] Weiss, *Recipes for Immortality: Healing, Religion, and Community in South* India, 2009: 10.

distinction between medicine and religion—in order to provide a richer history of Japanese Buddhist medicine—without reconstituting the very dichotomy that prevents this history?

In this dissertation, rather than describing the ritual I consider as a combination of Buddhism (or religion) and medicine, I focus on the specific problems of body and disease as they were understood by historical actors (esoteric monks, court physicians, aristocrats, and others) and the means by which esoteric monks sought to deal with these problems through the modality of ritual as well as the inclusion of healing technologies more commonly associated with classical Chinese medicine.

But in so doing, I do not seek to promote conflation as the answer to combination. Esoteric ritual performed by Buddhist monastics was distinct institutionally from Chinese-style continental medicine, even if aspects of the two were occasionally mixed up in history (and each in themselves, while having boundaries, bore the influences of other current healing practices). The ritual examined here, in which moxibustion is reconfigured as a ritual technology, is one of the most striking examples of a kind of mixing in medieval Japan and perhaps in East Asia of Buddhist ritual and continental-style medicine. Yet it is a significant case study for our purposes, and arguably a practice with much historical influence throughout the medieval period, precisely because it innovatively trespassed what were then-distinct constellations of healing practice in the Heian period. Moxibustion more properly belonged to the canon of classical Chinese medicine, which came to be institutionalized in early Japan and was practiced by court physicians. It came to be increasingly adopted by *hijiri* over the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who were key players in spurring the Jimon moxibustion rite. Thus, although I use the term "medicine" throughout this dissertation, and often in reference to the forms of Chinese medicine that were received in early Japan and variably localized in subsequent periods, this is not to project onto those periods the physicalist, rational, positivist, empiricist, or presentist senses that the term implies today. For one thing, we must keep in mind there is as yet no thorough study on the nature of medical knowing and practice in early medieval Japan beyond bibliographic, philological, and largely descriptive research. It is not

sufficient, then, to simply show that categories that scholars once or still might hold apart from one another as opposed were in reality "combined" by historical actors in the past. What matters for this study, rather, are the historically specific ways of imagining and enacting therapeutic knowledge and practice that informed how esoteric monks adopted moxibustion within ritual to counter a possessing and by all accounts deadly affliction that was transmitted by corpse-worms and demons.

## PERSPECTIVES ON HEALING RITUALS

In examining efficacy as it pertains to ritual healing performed by esoteric monastics, I consider three areas in particular, which also set the structure of this study: disease (Chapters 2 and 3), healing technologies (Chapter 4), and body (Chapters 5 and 6).

I treat disease in terms of textual representations, as constellations already thoroughly shaped by cultural imaginaries. This is why diseases can be said to "emerge" in history.[147] They are "historical ontologies" in Ian Hacking's sense of the word: we can trace the moments they become possible, when they gain visibility as recognizable objects.[148] Hacking was concerned with the processes through which objects become visible in the field of science. Here, my focus is primarily on disease that surfaces as a discernible entity within ritual texts produced in medieval Japan, a process I triangulate with contemporaneous documentary sources like diaries, tale literature, and Chinese medical texts. The differences between textual genres matter, because each uniquely shape the metaphors and images of disease in particular ways. Moreover, a salient concern throughout this dissertation is the translation of disease between such genres. It is precisely in the movement of disease entities from one genre to another that

[147] Kuriyama, "The Historical Origins of 'Katakori,'" 1997, and *Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*, 1999; Leung, *Leprosy in China,* 2009; Smith, *Forgotten Disease: Illnesses Transformed in Chinese Medicine*, 2017.

[148] Hacking, *Historical Ontology,* 2002.

the aims of the translator or observer, as well as the particular pathological imaginary they possess, comes to the fore.

Grasping how diseases were imagined is central to exploring the issue of efficacy because the shape of the disease typically guided the selection of healing modality. Zhiyi, the patriarch of the Tiantai school and a major influence on the ritual studied here, offers a salient example: "If an adept is suffering from an illness due either of the two diseases [caused by] demons or *māra* disturbances, these should be treated through contemplative practices or powerful spirit spells, and then the sufferer will improve. If it is a karmic disease, then the adept should use the power of contemplation internally while practicing repentance externally—his condition will then improve. These methods of treatment are not the same. The adept must understand this well. One must not wield a sword by grasping the blade only to bring harm to themselves." Just like those would-be healers Zhiyi here addresses, without understanding disease, we cannot hope to sufficiently account for how the healing modality does its work.

Healing technologies, much like diseases, have social and cultural histories. Their use is structured and enabled by images and metaphors, by packages of meaning that come to be transmitted together with the technology as it moves across space and through time.[149] Therefore, while therapeutic technologies are aimed at and understood to be appropriate for eliminating particular diseases and for transforming the body—just as technologies in general are understood to serve specific practical functions in the manipulation of the world—the actual use and perception of said technologies can never be reduced to pure instrumentalism alone. This in turn suggests something about the relationship between technologies and their users, for, "In the first instance technologies rarely (if ever) can be fully enclosed within the conceptual horizons and the operational intentions of their makers."[150] As with disease, again,

[149] For the close relationship between gods and technologies in early Japan, see Como, *Weaving and Binding*, 2009.

[150] Stolow, *Deus in Machina*, 2013: 8. Another insight from Stolow's introduction to that volume is instructive: "The assumed normativity–if not universality–of the Western Christian experience (if indeed such a monolithic

healing technologies can be translated and repurposed in new contexts, becoming powerful modalities whose functions depart from the primary usages for which they were intended in other contexts. Here, the case that concerns me is the ritualization of technology in the transformation of a Chinese medical modality into an implement redefined by esoteric tropes of ritual potency.

The site upon which healing modalities are pitted against disease—in which then, too, efficacious action must ideally take place and become legible—is the body. One problem with approaching bodies is that they often give the appearance of hanging together as collectives, internally integrated packages of which every culture or religion can claim to possess their own. When we speak of the "Chinese medical body," "the Buddhist ritual body," or even "the body proper" of biomedicine, we unwittingly take these bodies as stable departure points.[151] But bodies are not so self-contained, and their insides and outsides are constantly being mapped, often for particular purposes. In fact, even the distinction between inside and outside can prove important. For example, the ritual sources examined in this dissertation were compiled at a time when esoteric monks increasingly discussed the relationships between the "five viscera" and the five Buddhist elements, and frequently drew upon Chinese medical texts in which the "five viscera and six bowels" is a conventional feature. Thus one might be surprised to find that the ritual sources examined here present what is essentially a "body without organs"—meant here in the opposite sense from Deleuze and Guattari. That is, this was a body more superficial than deep, at least on one level. But as we shall see, this meant it could dually serve as the body of esoteric empowerment as well as the appropriate site for moxibustion, which is applied on the patient's skin.

---

entity has ever existed) thus represents a significant barrier for the integration of studies dealing with the conceptualization, reception, and use of technologies in non-Western and non-Christian religious contexts. Simply put, different religious regimes impose distinct constraints on the range of possible engagements with the pragmata of tools, devices, and machines, while at the same time through such appropriations enable quite different modes of embodied perception, action, and imagination" (19).

[151] See e.g. Lock and Farquhar, eds., *Beyond the Body Proper*, 2007; Scheid, *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis*, 2002.

Therefore, in this dissertation, rather than starting with bodies, I prefer to discuss what Projit Bihari Mukharji has called "physiograms," a concept which skillfully combines Charles Rosenberg's "body metaphor" with John Tresch's "cosmograms." Rosenberg's body metaphor is useful because it emphasizes the historically contingent nature of the body. Rosenberg also recognized that changes in body metaphor are intimately tied to changes in therapies. That is, therapeutic change is linked to changes in how bodies are understood, a dynamic that is especially important for Mukharji's study of change and technology in Ayurveda and one that was very much at play in medieval Japan as well. On the other hand, Tresch's notion of "cosmograms" refers to "inchoate images of the comos manifested in practical and material texts, objects, and practices," "middle-level generalities that are not necessarily held by everyone in a historical moment." For Mukharji, then, physiograms become "materialized physiologies or materialized body metaphors."[152] There are two senses of that combined concept that are important here. First, the body in the ritual sources I examine are very much inchoate. They are "works in progress," produced over time and by multiple generations of monks drawing upon diverse and sometimes conflicting textual sources, and thus are never fully finalized. Second, precisely because I am focused on ritual, one which incorporates numerous practices, the body is never simply an epistemological object, still less the subject of theoretical concern. Instead, it is always figured at the intersection of different material practices—I'll return to this shortly.

In this study, when speaking of physiograms, I find it helpful to retain the original link to the notion of cosmograms from which Mukharji derives the concept. This is because in many esoteric rituals, the body often serves as conduit between two different scales of reality: the earth and the stars, the human and the god, the microcosm and the macrocosm. While this is something of a structural fact of esotericism, found as it is in the basic format of *goma* and its emphasis on auto-possession, exactly how a given ritual facilitates that circuit between the sample and the principle will always prove particular. Moreover, it turns out that the

[152] Mukharji, *Doctoring Traditions: Ayurveda, Small Technologies, and Braided Sciences,* 2016: 8–9.

movement between scales is not always simply a matter of soteriology. For example, the ritual sources I examine in this study take consecration on the crown of the head as a special gateway to the divine, prescribing its activation as part of their *therapeutic* project.

As I explore how matters of disease, technology, and body relate to efficacy, I also draw upon the "empirical philosophy" of Annemarie Mol. In her book, *The Body Multiple,* Mol contends that objects of scientific knowledge, such as a given disease, while appearing singular are in fact multiple.[153] That is to say, at different sites within a single hospital, knowledge about a given disease entity is acquired through different epistemic practices, with the result that the knowledge thus acquired is not automatically compatible between such practices. A different disease is gained each time, thus disease is not one. The stakes of Mol's project thus rest in the fact that medical science (and its claims to universality) is invested in the assumption that its knowledge objects are singular and relatively stable across disparate epistemic practices. Her work would thus appear out of context in the present study, for as we will observe throughout this dissertation, esotericists in medieval Japan were not reductionists but, in fact, rather relentless multipliers. We shall see, for instance, that the disease-causing agents of corpse-vector disease as well as images of the body in the ritual texts are many, that monks apparently felt little constraint in adding more and more. This is despite the fact that such additions would appear to compromise the very objective of healing, as the targets to be eradicated only seem to proliferate.

Yet Mol's work remains useful for two reasons: First, her point is not to stress multiplicity for its own sake, as if to show that the objects of medical science are merely arbitrary, socially constructed fabrications. Rather, what concerns Mol are the specific practices by which such fragile epistemic objects, entities always on the verge of fragmentation, are made to hang together as single objects. Here she adopts the term "enact," which describes the many tasks that are employed to create coherent and seemingly singular objects—addition,

[153] Mol, *The Body Multiple*, 2002.

correlation, subtraction, distribution, translation. Again, esoteric monks in early medieval Japan do not seem to share with practitioners of a research hospital (the subjects of Mol's ethnography) the assumption that a given diseases is ontologically one. However, a close reading of the ritual sources reveals that monks nevertheless sought to correlate the assorted images of disease and the body they were dealing with into lines of coherence. For esotericists, too, disease, body, and technology had to relate meaningfully through certain kinds of logic. It is evident that doing so was seen as key to forwarding claims to efficacy in ways that made sense both to them and their patients. Mol thus provides a robust perspective for examining the ways that coherence in sticky matters of body and disease is achieved, without reducing those ways to empirical or positivist logics that define scientific practice.

Mol's work is also useful for a second reason, and that is her emphasis on material practices, a concern which dovetails nicely with Mukharji's physiograms as "materialized physiologies." The subject of this dissertation is a ritual practice, but the extant sources which describe that practice are prescriptive, and there is no direct evidence the ritual was ever conducted. Yet material practices of all sorts nevertheless course through and intersect within the textual horizons of the ritual. In paying attention to the textual traces of these practices, we can attend to how the construction of notions of body or disease in medieval Japan was never just a matter of ideas or theory. In fact, very often what shaped the contours of the coherence I have just noted was how those ideas could be put into practice and realized through action. As ritualists seeking above all to affect change at the level of disease and body, esoteric monks in medieval Japan endeavored for ever more compelling ways to literalize what they envisioned as efficacy.

## CHAPTER OVERVIEW

As indicated above, the chapters of this dissertation are structured into three areas of focus: corpse-vector disease (Chapters 2 and 3), the ritualization of moxibustion (Chapter 4),

and the patient's body (Chapters 5 and 6). In Chapter One, I introduce the Jimon moxibustion ritual, providing a summary of its practice and discussing extant editions and the question of their provenance. Then, I situate the production of these sources within the social world of the Onjōji community in the Heian and Kamakura periods.

The development of the Jimon moxibustion ritual must be grasped in terms of the pathological target Jimon monks had in mind for it: corpse-vector disease. As noted above, the Jimon moxibustion ritual stands out as the first healing ritual known in Japan to target a single, named disease. Corpse-vector disease was first explicated in Tang-period medical literature, but only began appearing in historical sources in Japan around the time the Jimon ritual developed in the late twelfth century. In light of the fact that literally hundreds of diseases and disorders are ennumerated in Chinese medical texts, why did corpse-vector disease appear in Japan at this particular historical moment?

I provide one answer to this question in Chapter Two, "Emerging Disease in a Defiled Capital," paying attention to the epistemological space shared between healers and patients in the imagination of disease. I begin by tracing the development of corpse-vector disease from classical Chinese medical texts and continental Buddhist literature to the first diary entries to describe it in Japan in the 1160's and 1170's. Then, drawing attention to the distinctiveness of its name, the fact that its transmission was mediated by bodies of the deceased, as well as its links to diseases long associated with pollution such as *raibyō* 癩病 and madness, I argue that corpse-vector disease became a figure for anxieties surrounding death defilement that plagued the Heian capital. As I demonstrate, corpses were not only the ultimate source of defilement since ancient times; their presence and risk also entailed a key problem defining the urban space of the Heian capital that aristocrats had to traverse and ritually negotiate on a daily basis. I argue these anxieties about pollution management and the recognition of new diseases eventually came to shape the pathological imaginary, and as one consequence, eventually took the guise of corpse-vector disease.

Chapter Three, "Demons, Māras, and Corpse-Worms," remains focused on corpse-vector disease but turns to the Jimon ritual sources to see how its compilers understood and transformed this disease. Briefly stated, I show how the compilers multiplied the disease. They took a contagious wasting disorder and recast it through number of etiological and pathological categories that are often assumed to be distinct: epidemic, moral, configurational, ontological, fatal, and mythical. Most importantly, Jimon monks revealed their epistemological commitments to esotericism in multiplying the agents of disease through demonology. The chapter examines the handful of disease-causing demons that appear in the rite, tracing their origins to various sources—classical medical texts, writings by Tiantai Zhiyi, esoteric liturgies, and scriptures associated with Daoism. But, drawing on the medical anthropological insights of Annemarie Mol, I argue that what is key is not multiplicity per se, but rather the ways in which these disparate images of disease were correlated and connected with one another. Tracing these correspondences allows us to identify some "outsides" of the ritual—contemporary practices that fed into the conception of the rite—as well as logical threads of the imaginary internal to the rite. For example, three demons (*sanki* 三鬼), which are to be molded in dough, soaked in oil, and thrown into the *goma* fire, derive from associations with the "three foxes" (*sanko* 三狐) better associated in this period with the Six-Character Rite (*rokujikyō hō*). At the same time, they are homologized with the three "corpse-worms," entities about which the ritual sources discuss in detail. The ritual sources thus serve not only as an index of multiple disease categories prevalent at the time but also constitute a small archive put together through particular logics that offer a window into how diseases were constructed in the context of assembling ritual texts in early medieval Japan.

Chapter Four, "Playing with Fire," turns from the disease to the question of the healing technology Jimon monks promoted to treat it. While the practice has often been described as esoteric ritual that "combines" (in Japanese, *heiyō* 併用) moxibustion, a healing technology better associated with classical Chinese medicine, a careful study of the ritual texts reveals that this was no longer the moxibustion familiar to court physicians. I draw attention to

the importance of fire, in the form of metaphor, material, visualized image, and shape. Fire was long essential to how the tradition of prescriptive esoteric literature articulated images of ritual efficacy. The Jimon ritual amplifies this image, and fire becomes the master trope for this rite. It is within this only constellation of meanings centered upon fire that we can understand the unique role that moxibustion plays within this rite. I argue that moxibustion literalizes traditional images of efficacy in a way distinctive from other esoteric technologies such as mudras, mantras, and visualizations, and even the physical flames of the *goma.* In so doing, I demonstrate that the mimetic logic of esoteric practice is not restricted to the deployment of the body, for that same magical logic informed the incorporation and application of material instruments as well. In particular, what moxibustion uniquely allows is direct engagement with the patient's body, thus foregrounding the sensory experience of the patient, an element largely omitted from mainstream esoteric rituals for healing in Japan at this time. I argue that there are important ramifications to this fact, that moxibustion significantly diminishes the distinctions between healing and harming, thus engaging patients in two senses: as patients ontologically entangled with a possessing, embodied disease and as sentient beings for whom the pain inherent to moxacautery practice was already culturally coded at the time and thus acceptable.

The next two chapters chart different routes through the patient's body, turning especially to the layers of meaning that have been inscribed onto it. Chapter Five, "Getting the Point," examines the body points to which the Jimon ritual prescribed the application of moxibustion. The Jimon ritual represents first of all a superficial treatment: it is primarily concerned with surfaces—the skin of the patient—and not the insides of the body. This makes the Jimon rite consistent with discourses that would have informed *cakra*-focused *kaji* empowerment used by members of this lineage historically, but distinct from the heavy focus shown at this time to the five viscera and six bowels (*gozō roppu* 五臓六腑) and exemplified in the Seiryōji Shaka 清涼寺釈迦 as well as Buddhist medical writings such as Yosai's *Kissayojoki* 喫茶養生記. This focus gave Jimon monks a surface upon which to distribute moxibustion points. The oral transmission document, *Essential* Notes, in fact represents the earliest

moxibustion charts of an adult male produced in Japan. Taking cues from early work by Lu Gwei-Djen and Joseph Needham on the "lore of vital spots," as well as more recent work by Vivienne Lo, I treat each of these points as windows onto the various textual sources Jimon monks brought to bear in constructing the patient's body, and show how these monks repurposed healing programs by figures like Zhiyi for their subjugation ritual. They also point to the ways in which pathology was not simply discursive or theoretical but was in fact interwoven onto different sites of the patient's body. When one applied moxa to these sites, they were in effect "enacting" (in Mol's sense of the term) the pathology of corpse-vector disease.

Whereas Chapter Five treats all of the moxibustion points collectively, Chapter Six, "The King of the Crown, Bodies of Liquid-Light," takes a single moxibustion point located on the crown of the head as a window into how soteriology is transformed into therapy. In the ritual's prescription, this process involves the invocation of Hyakkō Henjō Ō 百光遍照王, or King of a Hundred Lights Pervasively Shining, a variant being of Dainichi Nyori 大日如来 who came to be incorporated into a little-known consecration practice (*kanjō* 灌頂) in early medieval Japan. Although only traces survive in the Jimon ritual sources, the prescription suggests moxibustion applied to the crown is used to transform the patient into the Siddhaṃ character *aṃ* 暗, rather than *a* 阿, the character more typically associated with soteriologically-oriented visualization practices.

I draw attention first to the similarity between esoteric practices for distributing Siddhaṃ characters over the body for achieving union with Dainichi and the therapy of moxibustion. Doing so reveals the importance of the crown as a site of both ritual and therapeutic transformation more generally. On the one hand, I link this to Buddhist consecration practices like such as bestowal of precepts (*jukai* 授戒) that were similar in focusing on the crown and increasingly used in late Heian and early Kamakura Japan as forms of healing. On the other hand, I show how this speaks to the longstanding role of the crown in the ritual imaginary, a boundary point between cosms micro and macro, and a gate (and

"fountain," in the western anatomical tradition), into the person. At a time in history when the circulation tracts associated with acupuncture and moxibustion were little mentioned, the crown emerges as a central pivot of a body constituted by "one hundred channels" through which liquid-light surges.

The dissertation closes with a conclusion exploring the legacy of the Jimon moxibustion ritual in bibliographic terms. This is meant to demonstrate the longer significance of the ritual under investigation here in medieval medical culture, and to preview future iterations of this study.

# Chapter 1
# The Ritual of Shōmen Kongō for Expelling Demons and *Māras*

IN WHAT FOLLOWS I provide a basic summary of the Jimon moxibustion ritual. At the outset, it is necessary to clarify the sources to which I refer throughout this study. The Jimon moxibustion ritual is preserved in two types of prescriptive sources: (1) a liturgical compilation, which outlines the most complete and basic form of the ritual; and (2) a "secret transmissions" text containing numerous "oral transmissions" (*kuden* 口伝) and "notes" (*shōmotsu* 抄物) about the rite. This is, in other words, information theoretically only given to initiated disciples (although as we shall see, this material fell eventually into "enemy" hands). Extant editions of the liturgy are titled *The Ritual of Shōmen Kongō for Expelling Demons and Māras* (*Shōshiki Daikongō yasha byaku kima hō* 青色大金剛薬叉辟鬼魔法). The text also circulated under the abbreviated title, also given in the liturgy itself, "Distinguished Rite for Expelling Demons" (*Byakki shuhō* 辟鬼殊法). Throughout the dissertation, I refer to the basic liturgical text as the *Ritual for Expelling Demons.* The most complete edition of the "secret teachings" text is titled, *Essential Notes on Corpse-Vector Disease and Treatment Methods for Wasting Disorder* (*Denshibyō kanjin shō narabi ni sōbyō chihō* 伝屍病肝心抄并痩病治方). I'll refer to this throughout as *Essential Notes*.

The ritual is conventional in the sense of being a *goma* 護摩 (Sk. *homa*), or fire ceremony, the basic framework for esoteric rituals performed throughout Asia. More precisely, it falls into the genre of subjugation (*gōbuku* 降伏/*chōbuku* 調伏; Skt. *abhicāraka*), one of the four or five basic types of esoteric rituals. Subjugation rites are performed to subdue enemies, but they function as healing rites in esoteric Buddhism because of the close relationship there

between pathology and demonology; that is, treatment typically involved the elimination of disease-causing diseases, conceived as enemies (*onke* 怨家) of the person. But ritual genre categories were treated somewhat flexibly. In *Essential Notes*, for example, instructions at the end of the manuscript read: "Fire ceremony: subjugation, or averting calamities." "Averting calamities" (*sokusai* 息災) was another type of esoteric ritual typically performed as a prophylactic against disasters and realm-wide disturbances like epidemics.

As noted at the start of this paper, the ritual is unique in its *honzon*, Shōmen Kongō (Ch. Qingmian Jin'gang). In this study, we might as easily refer to this deity as Blue-faced Vajrayakṣa or use the Chinese. However, owing to the later fame of this deity as part of the *kōshin* cult in Japan, I prefer to use "Shōmen Kongō" throughout. This, of course, would happen much later. At the time the Jimon moxibustion ritual appeared in the late twelfth century, this deity was essentially unknown in Japan. This is to say, there were no other liturgies addressed to him and, at least so far as I have been able to determine, none that invoked him even in a minor way.

Where did Shōmen come from? Judging from citations in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy, the Jimon compilers undoubtedly drafted Shōmen Kongō from the Ucchuṣma fascicle (nine) of the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* (*Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集経).[1] Aside from this scripture, I have been able to locate only one other precursor for this deity: *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 (T. 1239). This text is also important for the Jimon ritual sources. T. 1239 is one of four major sutras concerning the *vidyārāja* Āṭavaka (Azhaboju 阿吒薄俱, etc.), the demon-king of the wasteland, in the Taishō canon, several of which came to Japan. In it, we find a "Blue-faced Blue Vajra" (Qingmian Nilanpo; Jp. Shōmen Niranba 青面尼藍婆; "blue vajra" is *nīla-vajra* in Sanskrit), a figure counted among the generals under Āṭavaka. It appears that Jimon monks may have been familiar with this connection between this "Blue-faced Blue Vajra" and

[1] See Yang, "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchuṣma in Tang China," 2013: 29.

Āṭavaka. This is indicated by the fact that in *Essential Notes*, the aforementioned T. 1239 is cited, in particular, a narrative that provides a backstory for Āṭavaka.

Although not explicitly stated in the ritual sources, I understand this citation as an attempt on the part of Jimon monks to link Shōmen Kongō to Āṭavaka.[2] There was, after all, a good reason to make this connection. As noted, Shōmen Kongō was basically unknown, whereas Āṭavaka would have been familiar to many esoteric monks. In Japan, Āṭavaka was known by the Daigensui Myōō 大元帥明王, a name he's given in the above-mentioned scriptures. In Japan, god was mainly associated with imperially sponsored realm-protection rites performed especially by Tōji Shingon 東寺真言. By linking Shōmen Kongō to Āṭavaka (who as we just noted were in T. 1239 originally two distinct deities, a general and his subordinate), Jimon monks surely sought to play on a variant of Āṭavaka to raise the profile of Shōmen Kongō and of the ritual as a whole. We can imagine that as a strategy this would have been relatively obvious to esoteric monks at the time. As Kōshū would comment later in his *Keiranshūyōshū*, "As for Āṭavaka, this refers to Taigen Myōō 太元明王. Therefore, in the Tōji 東寺 lineage, the Shōmen Kongō rite and the Taigen Myōō rite are identical [lit., "one body," *ittai* 一体]."

The iconography for Shōmen Kongō described in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* derives from the *Tuoluoni ji jing*. To summarize: he is blue-colored with three red eyes and four arms, each one holding a symbolic weapon—a wish-fulling jewel staff, noose, long sword, and a golden wheel. A skull nests in his blazing red hair and additional skulls adorn the jewelry of his neck, around which a snake coils. He wears a tiger skin skirt and stands atop corpse-like demons in iconographic portrayal of his subjugation of the disease for which they, the viewer is presumably to understand, are held accountable. This would later become more than a suggestion, for one corpse-vector disease demon would be named after these corpse mounts.

[2] I discuss other functions for the citation of this story in Chapter Three.

At least one illustration of Shōmen Kongō survives from Onjōji from the medieval period (Muromachi period, sixteenth century; see FIG. 2).

FIG 2 Shōmen Kongō, Onjōji (Muromachi period). After Ōtsu-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, *Miidera butsuzō no bi*, 2014: 121.

But Shōmen Kongō was in fact not the only noteworthy deity incorporated into the *Ritual for Expelling Demons.* We see this when we look at the liturgiy's description and illustration of the altar the officiating priest is to arrange. The impartial tracing from the Taishō canon (T. 1221) has been reproduced here (see FIG. 3 below). We see that Shōmen shares the privileged space beyond the center of the altar with "Holy Immovable Wisdom King" (Shō Mudō Myōō 聖無動明王). Also installed on this altar is the triad of Golden-Wheel Shaka (Shaka Kinrin 釈迦金輪), Medicine Master of Lapis Lazuli Light Buddha (Yakushi Rurikō Butsu 薬師瑠璃光仏), and Sacred Wish-fulfilling Wheel King Bodhisattva [Avalokiteśvara] (Shō-Nyoirin ō Bosatsu 聖如意輪王菩薩). The altar is then surrounded by the Four Heavenly Kings (Shitennō 四天王), as well as items of martial symbolism, such as swords and dharma-wheels.

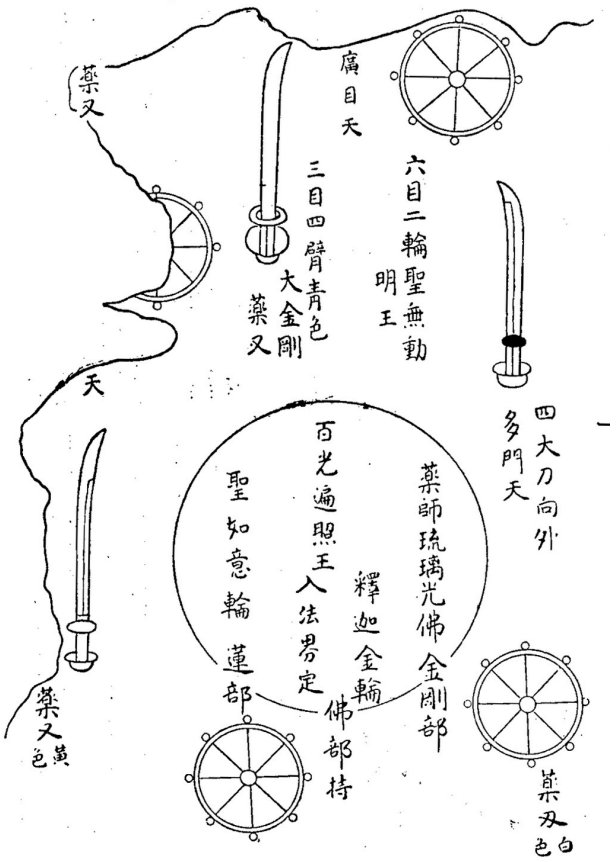



FIG 3. Altar illustration, *Shōshiki daikongō yasha byaku kima hō* (T. 1221).

Of the deities arrayed, two can be spotlighted as especially unique. The first, who apparently has a role as important as Shōmen Kongō, at least spatially, is Shō Mudō Myōō. "Mudō" is simply another way to render Fudō (Sk. Acala). What is not common is for Fudō to have six eyes. As far as I've been able to determine, the only other source mentioning these extra eyes is in the *Record of Secret Treasures* (*Hōhiki* 宝秘記) compiled by Keihan 慶範 (1155–1221). As we shall see, Keihan was a central figure in the compilation, transcription, and transmission of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy as well as *Essential Notes.* In the *Record of Secret Treasures* in a section entitled, "On the matter of the six-eyed, two armed Fudō in the Blue-face [Vajrayaksa] rite," Keihan responds to what appears to be confusion within his own lineage about this rare Fudō variant. Apparently unaware of the origins himself, Keihan resorts to highlighting a similarity with the apparently equally uncommon four-eyed version of Kongō Yasha 金剛夜叉. He compensates for his meager answer with a pair of humble illustrations.[3] Perhaps, then, the six-eyed Fudō might have been a failed experiment in iconographic novelty, thus marking a great contrast with the success of Onjōji's Golden-Colored Fudō" (Konjiki Fudō 金色不動尊), or more commonly, "Yellow Fudō."

The second strange presence on the altar is Shaka Kinrin. Shaka Kinrin is said to be one form of "One-character Golden Wheel Buddha" (Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪; Skt. Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣacakra), the other being Dainichi Kinrin 大日金輪. In Japan, Ichiji Kinrin was the primary "buddha-crown worthy" (*bucchō-son* 仏頂尊), a class of buddhas that are deifications of the Buddha's crown (*uṣṇīṣa*). Rites associated with Ichiji Kinrin and his different forms were extremely popular, and it is no surprise that Jimon monks are here participating in that cult by incorporating Shaka Kinrin, if not as the *honzon.* However, the incorporation here is not without some oddities. As we can see on the altar illustration, Shaka Kinrin is referred to in this

[3] *Hōhiki,* 216. The very first section of the lists the main liturgical sources for Fudō, including the following which share the same name: 金剛手光明灌頂経 (the inner title for which is given as 最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌, translated by 不空 with the note 貞元新入, this year being 976)— this and all the ones before are indicated as all being recorded by the *hakke* 八家 or eight Tendai masters; 聖无動尊念誦儀軌 translated by 金剛智; 大聖無動明王守護国界法 translated by 不空; and 聖無動尊決秘要義 (p. 94)

ritual as "The King of a Hundred Lights Universally Illuminating, Shaka Golden Wheel Buddha" (Hyakkō Henjō Ō Shaka Kinrin Butsu 百光遍照王釈迦金輪仏). The problem here is that "King of a Hundred Lights Universally Shining" is an epithet traditionally given to Dainichi, not Shaka. As Keihan himself notes in his *Hōhiki*, there was considerable confusion between these two forms Shaka and Dainichi. Apparently, if the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* is any indication, this was confusion that even monks of his own lineage could not completely avoid.[4] I will discuss the role of the King of a Hundred Lights Universally Shining further in Chapter 6. Suffice it to say here that the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* frequently mentions a consecration ritual (*kanjō* 灌頂) that was likely associated with this deity, alternatively mentioned as "Dainichi Kinrin hō" 大日金輪法 and the "Dainichi Kinrin kanjō hō" 大日金輪灌頂法. This is a mysterious and otherwise unattested work/rite, yet serves again as another example of how Jimon monks sought to institute a kind of novelty (mixed with the currency those deities possessed in early medieval Japan) into their new ritual.

Let us now talk technique. Certain of these deities are linked to spells and mudras in the prescriptions in the ritual sources. The ritualist would have been armed with more than enough of these, beginning with several for Shōmen Kongō. The instructions for forming his "Great Fundamental Mudra" (*daikonpon'in* 大根本印), and for reciting his "Mantra for Eliminating the Harms of All Māras and Demons" (*saimetsu issai maki nangai shingon* 摧滅一切魔鬼難害真言), appear at the beginning of the liturgy. In *Essential Notes,* the latter is also given three alternative names: "Great Mind Spell," "Great Body Spell," and "Yasha Mind Spell." Later instructions in the liturgical text somewhat contradictorily state the ritualist must always recite the fundamental mudra and mantra of Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王. A similar prescription in this regard, appearing in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy, was one that concerned Fudō: "This 'special method for eliminating demons' is an utmost secret method among secrets. [The adept] must constantly use the Fire Realm [spell] and Fifteen Mudras

[4] See Keihan's *Hōhiki*, 135.

when performing empowerment and protection contemplations."[5] This prescription signals the importance of Fudō as a kind of implicit *honzon* for this rite, a subject we will take up further in Chapter 4.

Meanwhile, a host of other mudras and recitations appear in the *Essential Notes*, including the "Treating All Demonic Diseases Mudra" (*ryō issai kibyō in* 療一切鬼病印), "Subjugating *Māras* Mudra" (*gōbuku ma in* 降伏魔印), "Mudra of Yashas Expelling Heavenly Demons" (*yasha tsui tenki in* 薬叉追天鬼印), and "[Spells for] Treating Diseases of Body and Mind" (*chi shinshin-byō* 治心身病). In sum, it's clear that certain of these mantras and mudras are to be performed throughout the rite, chiefly the fundamental ones associated with Shōmen, Kujaku, and Fudō, but in many cases, the exact timing and use is not spelled out. Judging from the names alone, we can nevertheless see how these practices amplify (in an albeit overdetermined manner) symbolic aspects of the rite's purpose, namely, expelling disease-causing demons through the invocation of yakṣas and other powerful deities.

In the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy, explicit instructions for ritual action come after the note that if the sufferer of corpse-vector disease is not treated in forty-nine days, they will die. The first pair of treatment methods come in the way of altered citations from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*: 1) Intone the Great Body Spell thirty-seven times and toss mustard seeds in the face of the sufferer; 2) Intone the Great Body Spell thirty-seven times and flog the sufferer with a tree branch (either willow or pomegranate). A confident prognosis is then given, borrowing language from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*: "If continued in this manner for three days, the demon will depart and the disease shall be cured." But this statement is immediately qualified with a statement written by the Jimon compilers: "If the sufferer does not heal, the adept must apply moxibustion on the diseased person." At this point in the liturgy, instructions for moxibustion follow. But it's worth mentioning another miscellaneous esoteric technique, on par with the mustard seeds and tree branch flogging, that appears only

[5] 此辟鬼殊法祕中極祕密法。常以火界十五印加持護念。The "special method for eliminating demons" is a common abbreviation for the name of this ritual found in medieval sources.

in *Essential Notes*, presumably to be performed at this same juncture in the rite (before resorting to moxibustion). The prescription is taken from *The Sutra on Mixing Medicines and Healing Illness by the Thousand-Armed, Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara* (*Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合藥経, T. 1059; ca. 650),[6] and instructs the ritualist to fumigate the patient's nostrils with *gum guggul*, i.e. Parthian incense (*ansokukō* 安息香), when the illness is moderate, which is said to stop corpse-vector disease.

The language of these somewhat miscellaneous instructions reads less like a strict sequence for the ritualist and more like a rhetorical way to set up instructions for applying moxibustion, which constitutes the core treatment method of the ritual. Once said methods fail, the ritualist is at this point to turn to moxibustion. As will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5, both ritual texts give eleven distinct point names which are loci on the body upon which the ritualist will apply moxibustion. Generally but not consistently, those locations fall in a sequence, starting from the crown of the head and ending on the feet. For the first six points, mantras in the form of sequences of Siddhaṃ characters are written, suggesting the ritualist is to recite these as he applies moxibustion onto each point. Instructions thereafter state that the Great Body Spell is to be recited when performing moxibustion, and that the ritualist is to "perform *kaji* on the moxa points" using the fundamental mudra of Shōmen Kongō.

The application of moxibustion is to be followed by a cleansing of the locations to which the burning has been applied. The liquid to be used is essentially empowered water one finds often in esoteric prescriptions, but this time with incredients specific to this rite: agarwood (*jinkō* 沈香), sandalwood (白檀), *heisō* grass 芮草, and the tree branches that were used for flogging, willow and pomegranate.

[6] For a translation of this text, see Unschuld 2010: 314–21.

The liturgy then moves on to describe the altar and other details, but I'd like to turn to the next method, which is essentially the last. This involves fashioning effigies out of dough that are said to represent the "three demons" (*sanki* 三鬼). Those demons are placed in a vat of oil and the Fire Realm mantra (*kakai shingon* 火界真言) of Fudō is recited 108 times as those effigies are boiling. Then the ritualist tosses the effigies into the flames of the *goma* hearth "for twenty-seven nights," which is to be continued for thirty-seven days if there is no effect.

This is essentially the gist of the practice. But we might wonder, what is the exact sequence of this rite's procedures? This is not entirely clear. After the instructions for applying moxibustion, the liturgy notes: "Thrice daily must the adept recite the Body Spell and continue this for thirty-seven days, circumambulate the altar in a procession, reciting the spell, performing the empowerment, applying moxibustion and hot water on the sufferer." The number "thirty-seven" corresponds to that given above, although there, the instructions were to do it first for twenty-seven days. Given these statements, we must assume that the clock does not start on this temporal sequence with the initial miscellaneous methods, such as the use of mustard seeds, flogging, and perhaps fumigation, since there it says that moxibustion is to be applied only if these prove ineffective. We might also note a potential contradiction in additional instructions, appearing in the liturgy after the instructions for the application of moxibustion, which mention "upholding the Three Refuges and Five Precepts on the *kōshin* day" in connection with applying moxibustion. The language suggests those instructions are aimed at the patient, and certainly not a fully ordained priest. Yet one gets the sense it would be difficult to perfectly align all of these different schedules: preliminary measures take three days, the rite goes on for twenty-seven or thirty-seven days, which somehow must overlap with the fifty-seventh day on the sexagenary cycle (*kōshin*), yet all of that better transpire within forty-nine days (which itself clearly has a symbolic valence, relating to death and rebirth), otherwise the patient shall pass away.

Since we have no external or documentary sources attesting to the performance of this ritual, we have no way of knowing exactly what was envisioned for the sequence. In other

words, there is perhaps no way to resolve these temporal misalignments in such a way to perfectly reconstruct the ritual. In reading the ritual sources, however, which are less than exact in laying out the healing program as a formal ritual, one gets the sense that exact timing was not the central concern of the compilers. Some of these instructions with regard to timing and sequence might in fact be traces from the other liturgies upon which this one was modeled. Moreover, as noted above, certain of the language appears to work rhetorically, for example, to establish the urgency or correct timing for the moxibustion treatment.

On the whole, these issues are less important for the present study than the fact that Jimon monks in the late twelfth century chose to adopt moxibustion, a Chinese medical modality rather than an esoteric technology, against corpse-vector disease. That this pairing of healing technology and disease was indeed what constituted the innovative core of this healing program is attested by the longer history of its transmission over the medieval period. For example, one clearly discernible trend in that trajectory is the gradual atropy of liturgical elements, including Shōmen Kongō who, as the rite's central deity, we might least expect to fall away. This was accompanied by an increased focus on the texts' description of corpse-vector disease as well as the moxibustion program. Eventually, in the fourteenth century, moxibustion treatment programs clearly in the genealogy of the Jimon moxibustion ritual would appear that were wholly devoid of ritualistic elements. Yet these sources would go on to exert much influence on the development of other forms of medieval medicine, including moxibustion/acupuncture lineages.

But this longer history is beyond the scope of this study. In any case, from the perspective of other esoteric liturgies for healing produced in the same period, in which patients are typically peripheral participants, sometimes not even physically present at all, the Jimon ritual is significant because the adoption of moxibustion in this rite necessitated the physical presence of the patient-recipient. At the same time, it meant that the priest would apply burning moxa directly onto the patient's body. This is a radical departure from other

esoteric rituals for healing in this period, and thus one of the key questions that will concern us in the pages that follow.

### EDITIONS AND THE QUESTION OF PROVENANCE

The editions of ritual sources used in this dissertation were explained above, but it is important to further clarify issues related to extant versions and the intertwined issue of the provenance of these sources. Both the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes* have been known to scholars throughout the twentieth century because of their inclusion in the Taishō canon (*Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大蔵経). In both cases, however, these texts, while easily accessible, are far from ideal. The Taishō edition of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* (T. 1221) is rife with textual omissions and errors, and an illustration of the ritual altar contained therein is partial (see Fig. 2). The manuscript used for the Taishō text must have been in poor condition. Moreover, although it was once held by Tōji Hōbodai'in 東寺宝菩提院, its current whereabouts are unknown. In 1967, in an edited volume on Daoism and Japan, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊 (1916–1979) published a transcription and fascimile of a manuscript dating to 1758. Known as the Haruo-shahon 春雄写本, this manuscript (actually a pair of manuscripts bound together) had been discovered in the Kōyasan University 高野山大学 library among documents donated by Sanbō'in 三宝院.[7] The discovery of this text enabled Yoshioka to fill in many of the gaps of the Taishō.

More recently, in 2017, I was able to access another manuscript of the liturgy held at the Ōsu Bunko 大須文庫 library of Shinpukuji 真福寺, Nagoya 名古屋 (also known as Ōsu

[7] *Shōshiki Daikongō Yasha byaku kima hō* 青色大金剛藥叉辟鬼魔法 and *Shōmen kongō no hō* 青面金剛之法

* These texts were "transcribed together" (号写), that is, they are included in the same mauscript, therefore Minobe et. al. ("Denshi 'oni' to 'mushi'," 2008: 71) mention them together; they are two of the four texts he compares with the *Denshibyō kanjinshō* 伝屍病肝心鈔.

Kannon Hōshō-in 大須観音宝生院).[8] Copied by Anō 穴太 monks of Sanmon-Tendai around 1300, some 130 years after the earliest Jimon colophons for the liturgy, this manuscript is not only the oldest and most complete of existing editions but also the easiest to trace back to Onjōji monks. When referring to the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* throughout this dissertation, it is to this Shinpukuji manuscript I refer.

Attesting to the significance of this rite in the medieval period, several other medieval witnesses exist. A copy of likely the same manuscript (as evidenced by the colophons), titled *Shōshiki Kongō Yasha byakukima hō* 青色金剛藥叉辟鬼魔法, is held at the Kissuizō 吉水蔵 archive of the *monzeki* 門跡 temple Shōren'in 青蓮院.[9] In the same archive we find another copy, again probably identical to the previous and produced by largely the same scribes but with shorter colophons and with a different title: *Shōshiki kongō yasha myōō hō* 青色金剛藥叉明王法. An abbreviated edition with sections rearranged also exists, and was probably in more recent history given its title, *Ōsu Shinpukuji shozō koshi chū-shō iji sha shōsha no ichi* 大須真福寺所蔵故紙中渉医事者抄写之一. As the the title demonstrates, this text also passed through Shinpukuji, though the two surviving editions are held today by Fujikawa Bunko, at Kyoto University, and the National Palace Museum in Taipei.

Accessibility of *Essential Notes*, the secret teachings document, has also improved in recent years. Designated an Important Cultural Property (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財) in 2007, the Kamakura-period manuscript for *Essential Notes* is held in the Bunkachō 文化庁 annex of the Tokyo National Museum. This manuscript served as the basis for two separate texts in the Taishō canon: (1) *Oral Transmissions on Corpse-Vector Disease* (*Denshibyō kuden* 伝屍病口伝, T. 2507); (2) *Moxibustion Treatment for Corpse-Vector Disease* (*Denshibyō kyūji* 伝屍病灸治; T. 2508). *Denshibyō kuden* is a transcription of the text of the *Essential Notes* manuscript, but several sections were omitted. *Denshibyō kyūji,* on the other hand, simply contains tracings of

[8] I am indebted to Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎 for generously making the Shinpukuji manuscript and several others available for my research, and to Miyoshi Toshinori for providing me photographs.

[9] Box 82, #1. See *Shōren'in Monzeki Kissuizō shōgyō mokuroku*, 431.

the two moxibustion body-charts that appear at the start of the *Essential Notes* manuscript. These two Taishō texts might give those who discover them the impression of complete and separate works. Fortunately, Ōta Yukiko 太田有希子 published a transcription of the entire work in 2014. I use Ōta's edition throughout the dissertation, as well as photos of the manuscript.[10]

Although generally-speaking there are relatively few studies that have treated either of these texts, one larger issue defining the research that does exist has been the assumption or possibility that the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* was produced in China. It is necessary to treat this problem here because many of the arguments pursued in this dissertation are launched from a different conclusion, namely, that these texts emerged in early medieval Japan and within the Jimon lineage in particular.

The notion that these texts were produced in China was already suggested early on by the way they are catalogued in the Taishō canon. The *Ritual for Expelling Demons* (T. 1221) appears in the "Esoteric Buddhism Section" (Mikkyō bu 密教部) in Vol. 22 along with a host of mostly Chinese scriptures. In contrast, while *Denshibyō kuden* (T. 2507) and *Denshibyō kyūji* (T. 2508) appear in Vol. 78, in which all texts in the table of contents are identified as Japanese works, that is, written by Japanese authors, these are the only two not listed as such. Instead, no information as to authorship is given.

This is not suprising, for two reasons. First, many questions remain about the authorship of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy. In the Shinpukuji manuscript, after the title we read the following: "Recorded by the *ācārya* Kongji of Shark-Dragon Grotto" 鮫龍洞阿闍梨位　空基述.[11] I've rendered this in Chinese, but who is Kongji and what do we know of his origins? Or perhaps this ought to be Kongqi 空棊, if we follow the transcription in T. 1221; indeed, cursive renditions of *ji* 基 and *qi* 棊 are close. Scholars have taken this figure to be a

[10] Some of these photographs were provided to me by the Agency of Cultural Affairs and TNM image archive. A complete set was graciously given to me by Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁 during a visit to Fujikawa Bunko.

[11] For *ji* 基, T. 1221 has *qi* 棊.

Tang-period Chinese monk.[12] Whether *ji* or *qi*, however, I've been unable to find a figure with so named in the Taishō canon.

The closest we get to some kind of answer is a mysterious note in Keihan's *Hōhiki.* On the issue of the original creation of the treatment method for corpse-vector disease, i.e. *The Ritual for Expelling Demons*, we read: "Chōen [*a*]*jari* 重円闍梨 says: Of the four disciples of Xuanzang, Fangzhi 防制 wrote the text."[13] If speaking of the four main disciples of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), this must be a reference to the Sillan monk Sinbang 神昉 (fl. seventh century), who was part of Xuanzang's team of translators. Yet while works connected with esoteric Buddhist elements are known, no text like the liturgy has ever been mentioned in reference to Sinbang.[14] If we accept the possibility that Sinbang is indeed the person identified as the creator, we might read this attribution differently. That is, perhaps this is an attempt to link the liturgy to a Sillan monk. This makes some sense, given the important connections between Silla and Onjōji highlighted by Sujung Kim.[15]

Importantly, however, the name does not match what we have on the liturgy itself. Thinking again about Xuanzang's disciples, is it possible that the author was Kuiji 窺基 (632–682), one of Xuanzang's best known disciples? After all, the first character *kui* 窺, might conceivably have been simplified in cursive to *kong* 空. But here too we come up with little to substantiate the possibility. In fact, we know much more about the work of Kuiji, enough to know that he's not associated with any text even remotely resembling the *Ritual for Expelling Demons.* Because this is as much information we have about the authorship as it appears directly on the liturgical text, we cannot say more except perhaps what was just suggested. That

[12] For example, see the entry in BKD, v. 5: 341.

[13] *Hōhiki*, 221.

[14] Orzech, et. al., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, 2011: 581–582.

[15] On the significance of Silla within the community of Onjōji, see Kim, "Transcending Locality, Creating Identity: Shinra Myōjin, a Korean Deity in Japan," 2014.

is, we can appreciate that it was not common in this period in Japan to claim continental authors as a means of lending a local production some sense of authority or legitimacy.

It is precisely this strategy of legitimizing one's text that can be related to the second reason why the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* has long been considered a Chinese, or at least imported, work. This is because of one colophon and information found elsewhere that claim the ritual was brought back to Japan by Enchin, the founder of the Jimon lineage. The Taishō text (T. 1221) contains colophons written by Keihan in 1171 and 1172, a Miidera monk named Kōun 公雲 from 1207,[16] and finally by Sōkaku 相覚 in 1220. This is the only edition with this line of transmission, thus it was not nearly as influential as the line from Jimon to Anō lineage monks I will describe shortly. However, Sōkaku notes something of interest: "This liturgy is a secret book imported through the Mii lineage. As to its depths, later people say this was added."[17] Exactly what he means by "added" (*kuwau* 加) here isn't clear. But in claiming the text was imported (*shōrai* 請來) through the Miidera lineage, Sōkaku implies it was brought to Japan from Tang China by the lineage founder Enchin. Although he was writing much later, Kōshū would agree with this assessment in his study of the materials in his *Keiranshūyōshū*:

> My teacher says: "As for this rite, neither the Sanmon nor Tōji has the fundamental [version]. It was transmitted under the auspices of Chishō Daishi [Enchin]. Thus, it was cultivated and transmitted as a secret rite of the Mii lineage. But in the world today it has been transmitted to and circulates in the Sanmon [lineages]."

Similar records appear in connection with the *The Scripture of Seeking Long Life by Guarding the Fifty-Seventh Day by Laozi* (*Rōshi shu kōshin gu chōsei kyō*; Ch. *Laozi shou gengshen qiu changshang jing* 老子守庚申求長生经; hereafter, *Kōshinkyō*).[18] This scripture

[16] The last character is missing here: 三井公雲□

[17] 此軌三井流請來祕本也。此奧後人物云加者也

[18] Commonly, the character for *rō/lao* was rendered *ko/xiao* 孝, thus rendering this part of the title "[Expounded by] the Filial Son."

details practices and beliefs surrounding the *kōshin* (Ch. *gengshen* 庚申) cult centered around the "three corpse-worms" (*sanshi* 三尸). Conducted every fifty-seventh day of the sexagenary cycle of days, the *kōshin* became a regular feature of aristocratic court life in the Heian period and would later, in the late medieval period, transform into an important feature of popularity religiosity across Japan. The history of this practice in Japan was intimately tied to Onjōji and the textual sources for the Jimon moxibustion ritual, since it was in those texts that extended parts from the *Kōshinkyō*, one of the only known sources for the practice in full, were included and transmitted.[19]

We will delve more deeply into *kōshin* and its integration in the Jimon ritual later in this study. What is important here is that later records associated with the Jimon lineage repeat the claim we saw above for the *Ritual for Expelling Demons*, namely that the *Kōshinkyō* was imported by Enchin. For example, we find such records in the *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記, a ten-volume collection compiled some time after Kōei 康永 1 (1343) and one of the few extant medieval sources for Onjōji. One passage centering on *kōshin* entitled "On *Sen* 璇 and *Ki* 璣" notes the following: "The preceding is a deeply secret teaching of the Daishi. It must be respected. As a result [of the existence of this teaching], persons under the Mii gate do not get this illness."[20] "Great Teacher" here refers to Chishō Daishi Enchin. Another section more clearly indicates the *Kōshinkyō* was imported by Enchin. This comes in a section quoting a text known as the *Huichong cunbai meilüe* 蚘蟲寸白梅略 as well as parts clearly derived from the *Kōshinkyō*. It concludes with this statement: "Chishō Daishi imported [this text] from the Great Tang. It only exists in the scriptural treasury of Miidera and thus does not circulate in

[19] Research on *kōshin* is extensive and its full consideration outside the scope of the present study. For studies that deal directly with the Jimon ritual texts, see for example Yoshioka, "Shōmen Kongō to kōshin shinkō," 1967, "Kōshinkyō seiritsu no mondai," 1978; Kubo, *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū: Nicchū shūkyō bunka kōshōshi*, 1961, and "Kōshi shu kōshin gu chōsei kyō nitsuite," 1978; and Nagai 1988; Kobanawa, *Koshin shinkō*, 1988. For an introduction in English and translation of the scripture, see Kohn 1993–1995; in English, see also Kubo, "Introduction of Taoism to Japan," 159; Saunders, "Kōshin: An Example of Taoist Ideas in Japan," 1960; and Miyakawa, "Medical Aspects of the Daoist Doctrine of the Three Cadavers (*sanshi* 三尸), 1995."

[20] DNBZ 127: 33: 是等大師深秘之説也。可レ仰レ之。加フルニ三井門人不レ可レ受二此病一云々。

the world. It very much must be kept secret, must be kept secret."[21] Moreover, although this section in the *Onjōji denki* is without a title, we find an incredible attribution that affirms the role of Enchin: "Written by *Śramaṇa* of China (*Shintan no kuni* 震檀国), Tripiṭaka Master (*sanzō-hōshi* 三蔵法師) Xuanzang 玄奘. Transmitted by *Śramaṇa* of Japan, Enchin, of the rank Master Transmitting the Light (*dentō hōshi* 伝燈法師)."[22] Here, then, the two claims noted above are intertwined: the claim that materials related to the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources (i.e. the *Kōshinkyō*) could be attributed to Xuanzang (or those in his circle) and the claim that Enchin imported the ritual (or its key sources).

The entangled and unclear suggestions of these records have proven to be major problems for the few scholars that have worked with the sources for the Jimon moxibustion ritual. But that focus also speaks to exactly where the interest for most scholars has been placed until recently. That is, the majority of research on the Jimon moxibustion ritual texts have been focused on *kōshin* in one way or another, since these sources are the earliest and most complete. Such scholars, such as Kubo Noritada, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, and Kobanawa Heiroku have thus been interested in the Jimon ritual sources insofar as they can help us answer questions like: (Looking retroactively back from the late medieval and early modern practice,) where and when does the *kōshin* cult begin? Was the *Kōshinkyō* composed in China or in Japan? Can the *kōshin* cult be taken as evidence of Daoism in Japan?

Without going into the arguments here, I follow the consensus of scholars who argue the *Kōshinkyō* was composed in China, and was either imported by Enchin or sent by another Onjōji monk, Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081), in the Song period.[23] As we shall see, it certainly ended up in the hands of Onjōji monks such as Keihan and especially Keisei, who interwove it into the

---

[21] DNBZ 127: 30–31: 智証大師。自大唐請来。独在三井寺之経蔵。不流布世間。甚以可秘之。

[22] DNBZ 127: 30.

[23] DNBZ 127: 7. Interestingly, the passage is included in the section "On Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神." On Shinra Myōji, see Kim, "Transcending Locality, Creating Identity: Shinra Myōjin, a Korean Deity in Japan," 2014; Yamamoto, *Ishin*, 2003.

moxibustion ritual sources. However, the problem is that undue focus has been given to the question of *kōshin*, with all use of the Jimon sources geared almost exclusively to resolving this issue, much, I would argue, to the detriment of understanding those sources themselves and the meaning they had in their time. These questions have been left wholly unaddressed.

## ONJŌJI AND THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE RITE

In our concern throughout this study to better understand the reasons for why this ritual departed from predominant forms of esoteric ritual healing in the early medieval period, we must become better acquainted with the group of monks who were involved with its compilation and transmission. This is not least because the monks who produced this rite belonged to a lineage that excelled in those more traditional healing practices. Thus, in order set the foundations for much of the analysis to follow, it is necessary that we situate the moxibustion ritual and its textual sources squarely in the Jimon lineage of the late Heian and early Kamakura periods. Although not my primary aim, in examining the textual sources of a healing ritual produced by Jimon monks in the early medieval period, I hope to contribute to expanding the study of a relatively underexamined community of monastics whose historical significance is beyond dispute.

It is important to begin with some history of the Jimon lineage, given as that history has shaped the sources available for its study. The headquarters of the Jimon lineage is Onjōji 園城寺, better known as Miidera 三井寺 (both terms were used in the medieval period, but one mainly hears Miidera today). This is a monastery complex located in present-day Ōtsu city 大津市, situated south-west of Lake Biwa 琵琶湖 and south-east Mt. Hiei 比叡山.[24] Onjōji is said to have been founded as a clan temple for the Ōtomo 大友 clan in 686, but its rise to

[24] The opening passage in the *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記, for example, draws out the sympathetic resonances between the Womb mandala (Taizōkai 胎蔵界) and the Jimon lineage specifically in terms of its geographic location overlooking Lake Biwa (the Womb mandala is likewise said to be constructed over a great body of water) and the deities housed in its halls (many of which correspond with those in the Womb mandala).

prominence occurred in the year 859 when Chishō Daishi Enchin 智証大師円珍 (814–891), having returned from his journey to Tang China the year before, established a library there known as Tōbō 唐坊 (that is, Tō'in 唐院, more on which later), as well as other halls. Tōbō would house the sacred writings Enchin brought back from China and would also become the hall in which later members of the Jimon lineage would worship him. In the year 866, Onjōji became a branch temple (*betsuin* 別院) of Enryakuji 延暦寺, the chief temple for the Tendai school.[25] As is well known, relations between the Sanmon 山門 and Jimon branches, both of whom initially residing on Mt. Hiei, would eventually corrode. This culminated in the departure of over a thousand Jimon monks from Mt. Hiei to Onjōji in the year 993. We need not delve too much into the history of the fraught relationship between these two branches of Tendai now, especially given that it has been described in many other studies.[26] Suffice to say that their rivalry, which often revolved around issues pertaining to religious authority such as the establishment of an ordination platform at Onjōji, thereafter evolved into full on military conflict. Over the next few centuries, Onjōji would be devastated by arson at the hands of Sanmon monks as many as seven times.

One effect of those attacks that immediately concerns us here is the present lack of extant textual sources for the Jimon lineage. This has been the primary reason why the study of Onjōji and the Jimon lineage has paled in comparison to that of other schools, namely Tendai-Sanmon and Shingon lineages.[27] One of the contributions of this dissertation, therefore, is that

---

[25] On Enryakuji, see Groner, *Saichō*, 1984 and *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei*, 2002. On the medieval developments of Tendai, see Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, 2003. For medieval Tendai esotericism more specifically, see Dolce, "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School," 2011, and "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," 2012.

[26] McMullin, "The Sanmon-Jimon Schism in the Tendai School of Buddhism," 1984; Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 2000, and *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha*, 2007.

[27] One foundational work on Onjōji is Miyagi, et. al., *Onjōji no kenkyū*, 1978. Several recent studies have shed light on the Jimon branch in the medieval period, all of which were central to this study: Matsumoto, "Chūgū gosan to mikkyō: 'Hōhiki' Sonjōō hō goshuhō wo megutte," 2008, and "Onjōji-bon 'Hōhiki' kuden to Kujō sekkanke—Tendai jimon-ha ni okeru Han-ryū no keisei," 2010; Tachi, *Onjōji Kōin no kenkyū*, 2010.

I am working with extant sources that were passed through the hands of several generations of Onjōji monks. While some of the sources I examine have been studied by previous scholars, most have sought to read these sources as precursors for later phenomena, for example, the development of the *kōshin* cult in Japan, or the longer history of moxibustion-acupuncture lineages. In this study, I examine these sources as products of the Jimon lineage.

Of the sources I use, *Essential Notes* is the most remarkable example, for although its transmission route after the medieval period is not known, it is undoubtedly a Kamakura-period text probably in the hand of an Onjōji monk. I also make use of the *Hōhiki*, an important compilation of teachings regarding ritual matters in the medieval period. As I shall discuss below, this source is doubly important for this study because it was written by Keihan, a key monk involved with the production of Jimon moxibustion ritual texts. I also avail myself of more well-known sources, including the *Jimon kōsōki* 寺門高僧記 (ca. 1289), *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記, and the *Jimon denki horoku* 寺門伝記補録 (compiled between the Ōei 応永 years, 1394–1428). Finally, I employ sources that passed through the Jimon lineage but which came to be preserved by monks of other lineages. The most striking example of this, and one which is central to this study, is the Shinpukuji manuscript for *Ritual for Expelling Demons.* This work contains colophons of Jimon monks, but in the hand of the monks who copied, preserved, and transmitted it, monks of the Anō branch of Sanmon-Tendai. This was not the only work that passed from the Jimon to the Anō lineage, but it is instructive given longstanding assumptions about the rivalry between the Jimon and Sanmon. My study of these sources thus demonstrates there was more interaction between lineages of Tendai than has previously been appreciated.

In sum, it should be said that I am primarily working with prescriptive ritual texts produced or circulated by members of elite monasteries. At the same time, in elucidating the contexts of those sources, I also draw upon classical medical literature, some of which would have been available to Jimon monks. Such texts circulated among court physicians and sometimes Buddhist priests with sufficient clout to access them. Finally, in order to situate the

healing ritual better within the world of those who would have been (at least theoretically, based on empirical trends) the beneficiaries of the rite, that is courtiers, I also draw extensively on courtier diaries. It is the aristocratic world, then, and not a "popular" one, that concerns me here. In tracing the religio-medical dynamics of *kizoku shakai* 貴族社会 through the use of diaries, I follow scholars that have done similar work, including Shigeta Shin'ichi 繁田信一, Ueno Katsuyuki 上野勝之, Koyama Satoko 小山聡子, Sakō Nobuyuki 酒向伸行, and (summarizing much of that work) .[28]

In what follows, I first outline my reasons for taking the sources of the moxibustion ritual to be products of monks of the Jimon lineage, and not liturgies composed in China and imported by Onjōji figures like Enchin or Jōjin, as has sometimes been suggested. In addition to setting up the arguments pursued throughout this dissertation, this will also provide a segue for examining the social world out of which this ritual and its key sources came into being in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

* * * *

FIRST, NO CONTINENTAL OR JAPANESE PRECEDENTS for the Jimon moxibustion ritual have been noted in previous research (of which there is much dealing specifically with the possibility of Chinese provenance) and I've found none myself. Given that, as I noted above, there are a handful of features that make this ritual distinctive, this means several things. To summarize: There are no known esoteric rituals that take Shōmen Kongō as the *honzon*, or primary object of worship. There are none that extensively incorporate *kōshin* ideas, aside from those of later periods. More importantly, there are no Buddhist rituals, esoteric or otherwise, which

[28] Shigeta, *Onmyōji to kizoku shakai*, 2004 and 2005; Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi: Heian kizoku no shinkō sekai*, 2013; Koyama, *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu: byōki chiryō to rinjū gyōgi*, 2013; Sakō, *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku*, 2013; Oda, *Jubaku gohō abishahō: setsuwa ni miru sō no genriki*, 2016.

incorporate moxibustion.[29] And there are no full liturgies aimed at treating corpse-vector disease. In sum, then, it follows that there are no rituals which bring all of these elements together.

The fact is that the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* is not a liturgy (*giki* 儀軌) in the strict sense the term was used for imported continental scriptures. Rather, it is, and was historically understood as, a liturgical compilation. In his study of this ritual in his *Keiranshūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集, Kōshū 光宗 already noted as much:

> "Question: Is this liturgy based on a scriptural liturgy or is it a compilation of [parts from other] liturgies?"
>
> "Answer: This liturgy is not based on scriptures, and thus is a compilation of [parts of] liturgies. Thus some [sections] rely on the explanations in *Tuoluoni ji jing*, whereas others rely on [sources such as] the Tamonten liturgy. Thus the *Tuoluoni ji jing*, fascicle nine, explains the efficacies associated of the dhāraṇī of Daishōmen Kongō-yasha in this way: 'Practitioners who recite this Daishōmen Kongō *dhāraṇī* will subjugate and exterminate the harm wrought by the corpse-vector disease demon."

The fact that the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* is a compilation of disparate liturgical sources is key for understanding its emergence and significance in early medieval Japan. As will be explained further below, this dissertation builds upon this fact by taking several passes through the ritual sources, each time focusing on an element that concurrently had relevance outside the ritual. In order to properly set this up, I therefore need to explicate the connections between this ritual and its sources to their compilers, monks of the Jimon lineage who were based mainly at Onjōji.

---

[29] As we shall discuss in Chapter Six, James Benn ("Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism," 1998) sees burning the body practices in premodern Chinese Buddhism as distant references to moxibustion. While I think this is an important assessment, however, this is not comparable to the manner in which moxibustion has been incorporated in the Jimon sources, where the term for moxibustion (*kyū*) is used unambiguously and often, and points that are clearly moxibustion points are outlined.

First of all, it was very much in the character of the Jimon lineage to develop a healing ritual at this moment in history. That is, that monks of the Jimon lineage would in the late twelfth century innovate an unprecendented healing ritual is not surprising given the unique role that Jimon monks played as healers at court from the time of Enchin through the Heian period. By the late Heian period, Onjōji monks were widely perceived as forerunners in ritual healing. In terms of ritual therapeutics—one sphere of the practically-oriented endeavors that Lucia Dolce has called the "socio-political interface of the Tantric lineages," several studies have brought to light the fact that the monks of Onjōji were not mere contenders among other lineages.[30] Members of the aristocracy sought the remedial expertise of Jimon monks more often than those from either the Sanmon lineage—the other major branch of Tendai—or the Shingon school, the two rival esoteric Buddhist communities of the day.[31]

As noted in the discussion of efficacy above, the term reserved for such healers was *genza* 験者 (alt. *genja*). In line with that discussion, we can understand this term to mean those who manifest "efficacy" (*gen/shirushi* 験), often in terms of this-worldly outcomes such as healing. The therapeutic success of *genza* depended on procedures known as *kaji* 加持 (Skt. *adhiṣṭhāna*), or empowerment, flexible modules of ritual actions through which the unseen agency of a deity is directed by the ritualist toward various ritual outcomes.[32] At the core of these actions were mudras (hand gestures), mantras (invocations), and visualizations—the

---

[30] Dolce 2012: 337; studies emphasizing the particular significance of the Jimon lineage include Tokunaga, "Kumano sanzan kengyō to shugendō," 2002; Sakō, *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku*, 2013; and Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 2013.

[31] This is not should not be taken to mean that monks of these schools were not also actively involved with medicine. Not only were some *hijiri* healers lineage recipients in one or the other of these schools, Shingon priests played a crucial role from early on in the production and transmission of medical knowledge. Important examples include the voluminous *materia medica* (*honzō*; Ch. *bencao* 本草) treatises of Jōrenbō Ken'i 成蓮房兼意 (1072–?), which incorporate Buddhist scriptures and dictionaries (*ongi* 音義), Chinese *bencao*, ancient Japanese dictionaries, and Chinese and Japanese mytho-historical sources; a remarkable number of early editions of these texts are extant. Additionally, some of the earliest if incomplete manuscripts for pivotal Chinese medical texts, namely the *Taisu* 太素 and Mingtang, as well as the *Ishinpō*, have long been preserved at Ninnaji; see TIZS, vols. 1-3 for the former two.

[32] On *kaji* and its therapeutic application, see Winfield, "Curing with *Kaji*," 2005.

"three mysteries" (*sanmitsu* 三密) of body, speech, and mind basic to esoteric Buddhist practice. Doctrinal and soteriological formulations of *kaji* often revolved around Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来, but in healing applications it became especially popular to invoke Fudō Myōō 不動明王. This fact underscores the multiple scriptural sources on which *kaji* could be based.[33] Moreover, although credit for initiating the practice in Japan often goes to Kūkai, the founder of the Japanese Shingon school who famously theorized *kaji*, evidence from subsequent periods suggests that actual cases of *kaji* healing drew influence not from his writings, in fact, but from *āveśa* rites outlined in continental scriptures—these were practices for which Jimon monks would become renowned.[34]

*Āveśa* (*abisha* 阿尾奢) is a subset of esoteric rites known in the local idiom in Heian Japan as "possession prayers" (*yori kitō* 憑祈禱). The therapeutic process entailed transferring a disease-causing *mononoke* from the body of the patient to the body of a medium (*yorimashi* 憑坐). While the spirit was contained in the latter, the priest employed mantras and mudras to discern its identity and—to use the language of diaries—"drop" the spirit (*otosu* 落とす). Treatment in the *āveśa* model, when successful, was a kind of exorcism for extracting disease-causing spirits from the patient's body and relocating them into another vessel for safer handling and finally expulsion.

Although these sources were known in Japan from an early date, several scholars have recently argued that the adoption of these rites into practice, and thus their localization, is appropriately attributed to Enchin, the founder of the Jimon lineage, and his successors. The

[33] See Strickmann (2002: 194–227) for a discussion of several sources for *āveśa* and related rites. Two notable scriptures that concern healing directly are *Jinggangshou guangming jing zuisheng liyin shengwudongcun daweinuwang songnian yigui fapin* 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品 (T. 1199) and *Dilisanmeiye budong zunshengzhe niansong mimi fa* 底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦祕密法 (T. 1201).

[34] The history of *kaji* is sometimes written solely in terms of Kūkai, in which the reader is taken from the early Heian period to the early modern and modern periods; see e.g. Winfield 2005; Josephson, "An Empowered World: Buddhist Medicine and the Potency of Prayer in Japan," 2013. From the perspective of this study, the problem with this approach is that it assumes Kūkai established the efficacy of *kaji* once and for all, after which later practitioners could simply partake if they wished. In fact, as this study demonstrates, efficacy must be continually demonstrated. More specifically, the endurance of *kaji* as a form of healing during the Heian period and throughout much of the medieval era is indebted to the work of Onjōji monks, among others.

attempts of these monks to explore the therapeutic virtues promised by these received techniques led to a current of *kaji* healing within the Jimon lineage that increased its traction with influential members of the court over the centuries. Thus, in Heian period diaries describing scenes of healing at court, we find the names of many Jimon *genza* involved with possession prayers, including Shin'yo 心誉 (970-1029), Eikō 叡効, Nenkaku 念覚, Myōson 妙尊, and Sensan 千算.[35]

Jimon monks had a reputation for powerful ritual performances with discernible efficacy in many fields. Healing was one significant field, but there were others. From the mid-thirteenth century on, for example, Jimon *genza* also monopolized rituals for the safe birth of potential heirs to the throne. We might wonder then, why were Jimon monks so potent? Or, to rephrase the question in terms of the perspective of the courtiers and imperial figures who sponsored their rituals: what factors led to their being perceived as such?

Tokunaga Seiko 徳永誓子 connects the aristocratic employment of Jimon monks in birth rituals and as healers with their role as supervisors over pilgrimages in the mountains of Kumano (*Kumano sanzan kengyō* 熊野三山検校). The administration of the Kumano pilgrimage routes was by and large overseen by the principal abbot of Onjōji (*chōri* 長吏).[36] Their role as administrators at Kumano to some degree overlapped with their management of Shōgoin 聖護院, a *monzeki* 門跡, branch temple of Onjōji, where the Honzan-ha 本山派 of Shugendō came to develop. As D. Max Moerman explains, "Kumano thus served as the training ground for what would become the earliest Shugendō organization, established in the late eleventh century."[37]

It is clear that many factors contributed to the perception of Jimon ritual power. Their control over numinous ascetic sites in the mountains undoubtedly italicized the fact that they

---

[35] For more on these monks, see Sakō, *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku*, 2013: 72–76.

[36] Tokunaga, "Shugendō seiritsu no shiteki zentei genza no tenkai," 2002.

[37] Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, 2005: 49.

were treating elite patients successfully on a regular basis. Here, in fact, though, we might come to flip again a common assumption about efficacy, namely about mountain sites and their power. Certainly, from the perspective of the court, and perhaps in the words of Jimon monks themselves, we may find the ascription of efficacy to their ascetic work in the woods. Yet in fact, we can also say that the numinous forces associated with mountains, which were thought to imbue the ritualists who practiced there, depended upon actual success down and away from the mountains, at court. Efficacy is thus not a power that resides inherently within the mountains, but rather the imaginary thread that enables ritual success at a local scene to transform into mountainous sacrality at a distance.

In any case, there can be little doubt that Jimon monks were not letting all these imaginary threads form all by themselves. In addition to their ascetic labor atop mountains, and healing demonstrations at court, they gave discursive shape to their efficacy, highlighting it as a unique feature of their lineage. For example, Haruko Wakabayashi has discussed and translated a fascinating petition written by Jimon monks called *Ōmi Onjōji gakuto shukurō ra mōshijō* 近江園城寺学徒宿老等申状 dating to the year 1319. It is the significant overlap between the content of this petition and the content of the *Tengu zōshi* 天狗草紙 (1296) that allows Wakabashi to argue for Jimon authorship of the latter. What's important for us here is that both works attempt to carve out the particular importance of the Jimon lineage among other monastic communities. Not suprisingly, when they do so, they invoke efficacy in familiar terms. The petition reads: "When we ponder the essence of other temples Nanto [Nara] and Kōfukuji are exoteric but not esoteric, Tōji and Ninnaji are esoteric but not exoteric. Although Tōdaiji and Enryakuji are both exoteric and esoteric, their virtues are far from *shugen*. Onjōji is the only temple that studies all three: exoteric, esoteric, and *shugen.*"[38] As is now clear, Jimon monks could back these claims up.[39]

[38] Translated in Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls*, 169.

[39] Jimon monks also saw care of the body and healing as integrative to monastic life, as this passage in the *Onjōji denki reveals*: "In general there are two types of practitioners on the Buddhist path. The first, unconcerned with the life of the body, performs demanding practices and ascetic practices. The second kind nourishes their life,

The practice of *āveśa* for healing continued on through the twelfth century, but Jimon monks were also involved with other rites for managing the body and dealing with disease. Bernard Faure cites an example of Fudō rites for prolonging life (*enmei hō* 延命法): "According to the Tendai priest Keien 慶円 (var. Kyōen, 1140–1223), Fudō's life-prolonging rituals were a specialty of Miidera, but because of their similarity to Dakiniten rituals, they were labeled as heterodox by Enryakuji."[40] Another ritual associated with Fudō of much interest to Jimon monks was the "Expelling the Great Death Ritual" (*jo daishi hō* 除大死法). We can speculate as to its significance for the Jimon lineage, since it is discussed extensively by Keihan in his *Hōhiki.*[41] Unlike *āveśa*, the *enmeihō*, and the Shōmen Kongō moxibustion ritual, all of which tend to focus on individuals, this ritual was aimed at pestilence on a larger scale. Yet it is especially notable because it resembles the moxibustion ritual that is the subject of this dissertation. Most basically, Fudō is the *honzon* for "Expelling the Great Death." As I shall explain in Chapter 4, although not the *honzon*, Fudō is central in many ways to the moxibustion rite as well. Second, both rituals are centered around the use, and ritual burning, of a particular plant material. "Expelling the Great Death" focuses on the burning of "skeletal grass" (*kotsurosō* 骨婁草). The Shōmen Kongō ritual, because it is prescribes moxibustion, is focused on the burning of mugwort. Without going into depth here, both of these herbs have symbolic associations with death and corpses. As we shall see in Chapter 1, the imaginary that constellated around death in early medieval Japan is critical for understanding why corpse-vector disease, the target of the Jimon rital, emerged when it did.

In sum, we can say that well before, leading up to, and well after the creation of the moxibustion ritual, the monastic community at Onjōji maintained special interest in ritual

---

helps their body and [in this way] is able to practice the Buddhist path. The secret method of nourishing life is, in the first, pine needles. As to that method…" 凡佛道修行有二種。一不惜身命難行苦行。二養生助身可行佛道。養生之秘術者松葉第一也。其方云。

[40] Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 2016: 136.

[41] *Hōhiki*, vol. 3: 110–114.

forms of therapy. The emergence of the moxibustion ritual, a highly innovative healing practice, must be understood as an extension of these interests and activities.

Let us turn now to the primary line of Jimon monks who were directly involved with the compilation and transcription of the moxibustion ritual sources. It is through their actions that these texts still survive today. We are fortunate in this regard to have numerous colophons mentioning the names of these monks on the manuscripts for *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes*, as well as other editions which shall be mentioned here.

The first name that typically appears in these colophons is Jōjōbō 乗々房. This is the only name that appears just within colophons, rather than as the author of a colophon. Jōjōbō is mentioned in colophons written by Keihan, which appear first on the manuscripts. Learning more about this figure would shed greater light on the origins of the ritual, but regrettably very little is known. The first thing we might note is that this name is probably of the hall with which this figure became associated. One monk associated with this hall was Raikaku 頼覚, but I believe this is a different individual from the one Keihan mentions.[42] The name "Jōjōbō appears several times throughout Keihan's *Hōhiki*, including a couple mentions of "Jōjōbō's [ritual] program" 乗々房次第.[43] Another entry indicates that he is Keihan's former (that is, late) teacher (*senshi* 先師). This confirms what we might expect, that Jōjōbō was Keihan's master. Notably, another instance in *Hōhiki* is glossed, "Preceptor Chi" (Chi *risshi* 智律師).[44] This corresponds with the name Gyōchi 行智, which toward the end of the *Essential Notes* manuscript, not as a full colophon but simply as a note: "Recorded by Gyōchi" (see FIG. 4 below). This appears, moreover, immediately before Keihan's colophons began. Therefore, we can cautiously conclude that Jōjōbō Gyōchi was a precept master and perhaps teacher of Keihan, thus the latter became a recipient of the ritual sources.

---

[42] Matsumoto, "Inseiki no Tendai-shū jimon-ha nishihakaten shiryō ni okeru shōten," 2009: 17-8

[43] *Hōhiki*, 109, 143.

[44] *Hōhiki*, 137.

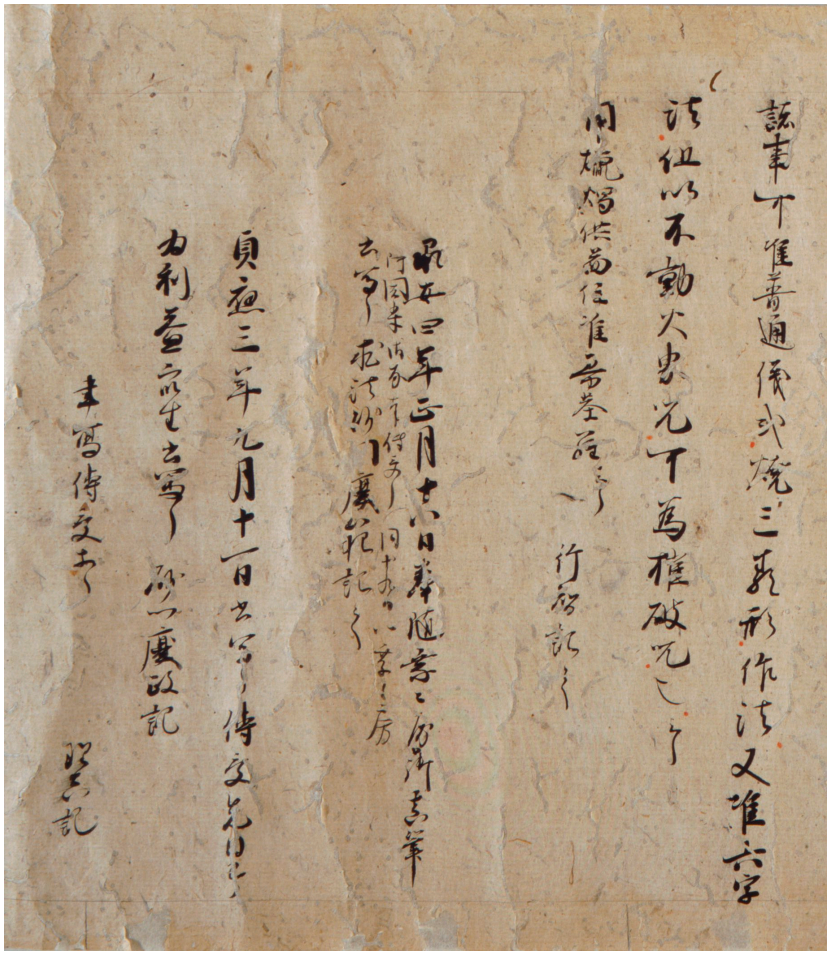


FIG. 4. Note for Gyōchi, followed by colophons by Keihan (mentioning Jōjōbō), Keisei, and Rishin, *Essential Notes* ms.
Source: Courtesy of Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. Image: TNM Images Archives.

The editions of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes* that survive today were put to writing at around the same time, in the early 1170's. This is significant because this overlaps with the period in which, as Matsumoto Ikuyo has explained, Onjōji monks made considerable efforts to consolidate different lineages under the Jimon umbrella through the collection of teachings.[45] Central to this project was Keihan, whom we've already noted on several occasions. The son of Taira Chikanori 平親範 (1137–1220), Keihan was of the Taira 平

[45] Matsumoto, "Onjōji-bon 'Hōhiki' kuden to Kujō sekkanke: Tendai Jimon-ha ni okeru Kei-ryū no keisei," 2010.

clan. He was related to Shinkaku 心覚, the scholar of illustrations of esoteric iconography (*zuzō* 図像) who originally studied at Onjōji and later went to Kōyasan and other places.[46] Keihan is primarily known for compiling his master Shin'en's 真円 teachings to make the *Hōhiki*, an important collection of Jimon ritual knowledge in the early medieval period.[47] Colophons in the *Hōhiki* show much of that work was completed at Nyoiji 如意寺, originally a clan temple of Keihan's family. Nyoiji eventually came to be assimilated into Onjōji in the first half of the thirteenth century, in large part due to Keihan's involvement. (Nyoiji thus appears on medieval maps of Onjōji, such as the *Onjōji keidai kozu* 園城寺境内古図, a five-scroll map in which Nyoiji occupies one entire scroll).[48] As Matsumoto Ikuyo has pointed out, Keihan completed other parts of the *Hōhiki* at a villa of the Kujō 九条 family, one of the five branches of the powerful northern Fujiwara 藤原.[49] We see here hints of the important relationship between Onjōji and the Kujō family. For instance, in his *Hōhiki*, Keihan records rites performed by his teacher Shin'en 真圓 to ensure the safe delivery of the child of Kujō Taeko 九条任子 (1173–1239), consort to Emperor Gotoba 後鳥羽 and daughter of the progenitor of the Kujō family, Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207). In any case, given Keihan's critical role in the institutional organization of Onjōji, as well as the textual consolidation of its teachings, it is not surprising that Keihan's name appears first within the colophons for most surviving editions. For this reason, the moxibustion ritual sources conversely serve to shed light on the larger changes Onjōji was undergoing in the late twelfth century.

---

[46] I am indebted to Michael Jamentz for this insight (among many others).

[47] On the *Hōhiki*, see Matsumoto, "Chūgū gosan to mikkyō: 'Hōhiki' Sonjōō hō goshuhō wo megutte," 2008 and "Onjōji-bon 'Hōhiki' kuden to Kujō sekkanke: Tendai Jimon-ha ni okeru Kei-ryū no keisei," 2010; and Dolce, "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School," 2011, and "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," 2012.

[48] For more on Nyoiji, see Oyamada, "Nyoiji no sōryō-tachi," 1993, and "Nyoiji no sōken ni kansuru oboegaki," 1993; Yamagishi, "Nyoiji garan no keisei to sono seikaku," 1991; Kajikawa "Nyoiji-seki: Heian-jidai sōken no sangaku jiin," 1991.

[49] Santa, "Sekkan-ke Kujō-ke no kakuritsu," 2000.

As a typical pattern in the moxibustion ritual sources, Keihan's colophons are followed by those of Shōgatsu-bō Keisei 證月房慶政 (1189–1268), who copied the texts in the early 1220's.[50] Keisei came to be irrevocably associated with these texts because, owing to his fame, his name was added as an external title on the Bunkachō *Essential Notes* manuscript: "Collection of medical methods by Keisei" (*Keisei ihō shū* 慶政医方集).[51] A member of the aforementioned Kujō household, Keisei was son of Kujō Yoshitsune 九条良経 (1169–1206) and the older brother of Kujō Michiie 九条道家 (1193–1252), a powerful statesman associated with, among things, the creation of Tōfukuji 東福寺. This means that Kanezane was Keisei's grandfather and Jien 慈円 (1155–1225), four time abbot (*zasu* 座主) of Enryakuji and author of the *Gukanshō* 愚管抄, his grand uncle.

Keisei's fame stems largely from his authorship of the *setsuwa* 説話 tale collection *Kankyo no tomo* 閑居友, as well as the *Hirasan kojin reitaku* 比良山古人霊託. He also transcribed numerous hagiographies of rebirths in the pure land (*ōjōden* 往生伝).[52] As a monk at Onjōji, Keisei was a student of Keihan. That much is already suggested by the moxibustion ritual sources. The *Onjōji denpō kechimyaku* 園城寺傳法血脈, which describes Keihan as one of the fifty-nine students who received teachings from Shin'en, lists Keisei Shōnin (Shōgatsu

[50] Shōgetsu-bō 證月房 is alternatively written as the following in sources, although Hashimoto Shinkichi ("Keisei no jiseki," 157–8) believes they are mistakes: 澄月・勝月・照月). In Hashimoto's well-known report, he also quotes a mention of one Shōgatsu-bō 勝月房 in *Tōji shingon kechimyaku* (*Shōchi'in-bon*) 東寺真言血脈 (正智院本). Myōe 明恵 is mentioned in the same entry and, given the close association between the two, this attests to the possibility that the monk mentioned was Keisei. Furthermore, listed under Shōgatsu-bō is one Gyōkū 行空, who is identified interlinearly as Gyōchi-bō 行智房. As we have seen, Gyōchi may have been one name for Jōjōbō, the monk who passed several corspe-vector disease texts to Keihan, Keisei's teacher. Moreover, one line of these texts, represented by T. 1221, did indeed surface at Tōji, later to be stored at Hōbodai'in. Despite these possibilities, however, later scholars, pointing out the mention of monks from Jingoji 神護寺 in the same entry, argue that this was a different figure at Jingoji. The correct identification of Jōjōbō may lead to a different interpretation of this entry in the *Tōji shingon kechimyaku*.

[51] It is arguably Keisei who brought scholars more firmly rooted in literature to the study of the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources. For example, this may have been true of the late Minobe Shigekatsu, a pioneer in the study of these works, and more recently Ōta Yukiko, who as noted created the first full transcription of *Essential Notes* and who has studied Keisei's involvement.

[52] For an introduction to *Kankyo no tomo*, particularly as it concerns women and sexuality, see Pandey 1995.

Shōnin 證月上人) as one of the eight disciples to whom Keihan conferred his teaching.[53] This relationship is further supported by the mention of Son'en 尊圓 immediately proceeding Keisei in this entry. Nine years following the death of Keihan, in 1230 (Kangi 寬喜 2), Keisei participated in and led fundraising activities (*kanjin* 勸進) with Son'en for the purpose of repairs at the famous Yumedono 夢殿 of Hōryūji 法隆寺, suggesting that these students under Keihan shared a lasting relationship.[54]

It seems clear that Keihan copied the moxibustion ritual texts as part of a larger textual consolidation project for Onjōji. But why, some fifty-years later, did Keisei take interest in these sources, receive the teachings, and make his own copies? Ōta Yukiko suggests that one reason was to increase his collection of sacred works (*shōgyō* 聖教) at his modest temple in Matsunoo 松尾 in Nishiyama 西山 (west Kyoto), Hokkesanji 法華山寺.[55] Indeed, during the years between 1219 (Kenpō 建保 7) and 1222 (Jōō 貞応 1), Keisei is said to have been setting up camp at Hokkesanji, after having returned to a trip to Song China in 1217 (Kenpō 5).

But Onjōji had a rather large library, and Keisei surely could have chosen to transcribe any number of texts. Why the moxibustion ritual sources? There is ample reason to suspect that Keisei took great personal interest in matters of the body and healing. Turning back the clock, we know Keisei entered Onjōji at a very young age, taking Nōshun 能舜 and Enrō 延朗 as his teachers.[56] This was not at all odd in the period, but we might still wonder the reasons

---

[53] This entry is quoted in the entry for Keihan's death in Jōkyū 承久 3 (1221) in *Dai nihon shiryō* 5-1, p. 312: 園城寺東林房法印慶範寂ス.

[54] *Hōryūji bettō shidai* 法隆寺別當次第, in Hashimoto, "Keisei Shōnin kō," 176. This event is indicative of Keisei's relatively unexplored participation in the reconstruction activities of Nanto (Southern Capital, Nara) Buddhism and highlights the continuing cultic importance of Shōtoku Taishi 聖徳太子 in his life and work, an importance that cuts across medieval Japanese religion.

[55] Ōta, "Hokkesanji no kyōzō," 2014.

[56] Little is known about Nōshun. As for Enrō, we have the following information. He is known to have possessed a rare intelligence while young, and left the householder life to become a monk at age fifteen. The *Azuma kagami* records similar biographical information as additional notes for an entry describing how Enrō, in Bunji 2 (1186)/3/26, received estate land in the province of Tanba 丹波 from the recently victorious Minamoto Yoritomo, ruler of the Minamoto clan and soon-to-be founder of the warrior regime in Kamakura. The defeat of the Taira clan at Dannoura 壇ノ浦 was a major turning point for members of the monastic world, the fate for which depended largely on how alliances were negotiated before, during, and after the Genpei 源平 wars (and indeed

behind his early entry into monastic life. After all, we might recall that Keisei was the older brother of Michiie, a man who would go on to have an illustrious political career, and whose son Yoritsune 頼経 (1218–1256) would as a result become the fourth *shōgun* 将軍 of the Kamakura bakufu 鎌倉幕府. Why not *establish* monasteries—as Michiie eventually did with Tōfukuji—rather than *enter* them?

It has been suggested that the impetus for Keisei's reclusion, and perhaps the reason why he did not succeed the Kujō line and his younger brother did, relates to a bodily handicap. The story goes that, as an infant, his wet nurse accidentally dropped him, causing part of his back bone to permenantly stick out. This deformity might have directed his interest toward the body, namely its imperfections and impurities. There was certainly much Buddhist discourse on that topic. Moreover, as has been noted by other scholars, Keisei was certainly drawn to that understanding of the body, since it comes to the fore in several stories related to *fujōkan* 不浄観 (meditation on the decaying corpse) in his *Kankyo no tomo*.[57] Those stories evince a fascination with the corpse, particularly as an object inspiring religious awakening. This is perhaps why Keisei was also associated with a method for determining the time of death: *Chi shigo hō* 知死期法.[58] This fascination with death and the corpse is intriguing, as we shall see, because of the connections between the dead and corpse-vector disease, the affliction that the Jimon moxibustion ritual is meant to treat.

In addition to the body, it is evident that Keisei also took interest in healing practices, and perhaps performed them himself. We know this from the *Hirasan kojin reitaku.* In this work, written by Keisei himself and presumably "non-fiction," we are told Keisei's younger brother Michiie becomes ill in 1239. Keisei goes to Hosshōji 法勝寺—the future site of

earlier). As Bowring (2005: 270) has indicated, Yoritomo followed his military successes with steps for redistributing land to be used for the reconstruction of temples, most famously Tōdaiji of Nara through the transferral of the Suō 周防 province. That Enrō, too, was given land in this way suggests he was on the winning side when the battlefields had emptied.

[57] See *Kankyo no tomo*, 1993: 403–413.

[58] BKD, vol. 8: 2.

Tōfukuji—to treat Michiie and, through the mediation of a medium, learns that what afflicts his brother is an old *tengu* 天狗 spirit of Mt. Hira 比良山. The rest of the work describes how Keisei engages in dialogue with the spirit through the medium. Keisei comes to learn much about a host of other spirits, deceased priests and political figures of recent history, about whom the *tengu* possesses special knowledge.

What is notable about this fascinating text in light of our discussion here is that its narrative structure parallels *āveśa*, exorcism in the form of possession prayers. As discussed above, this was a predominant ritual for healing in the early medieval period, and one for which Jimon monks were particularly well-known. Keisei is thus performing the role of *genza* here, an exorcist who has come to subdue the demons haunting his brother Michiie—but not without first extracting some otherworldly gossip.[59] *Hirasan kojin reitaku* thus attests to the fact that Keisei was steeped in the therapeutic legacies of the Jimon lineage, so much so that he himself performed its most famous practice, or at least cast himself in that role in his own narratives. It is thus not hard to imagine why he would come to be interested in the moxibustion ritual, which was not only a novel therapeutic practice, but one which also touched most directly upon his other abiding if mixed fascination in the dead.

Returning to the colophons, following Keihan and Keisei, Rishin 理真 (d.u.) is typically the third and last of the Jimon monks to appear. Rishin, whose original Buddhist name was Saijo 済助, was also a Kujō, and the son of *sesshō* 摂政 Kujō Norizane 九条教実 (1211–1235). This information comes from the *Mii zoku tōki* 三井続燈記, a text describing Jimon lineages, so we know Rishin was a Onjōji monk. More interestingly, because Norizane was the son of Michiie, this makes Rishin Keisei's nephew. Rishin was clearly Keisei's student, for in addition to the Jimon moxibustion ritual texts, he also received such texts as the *Shoshazan shingon sho* 書写山真言書.[60] Rishin may have lived at Ichion'in 一音院, a *tacchū* 塔

[59] On *Hirasan kojin reitaku*, see Abe, "The Book of Tengu"; and Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls*, 42–49.

[60] Shiba, "Shoshazan no hisetsu wo megutte."

頭 of Hosshōji, the monastery on which land Michiie would build Tōfukuji. Importantly, Rishin is the final name on the *Essential Notes* manuscript. This suggests the probability that the work is in Rishin's hand. No dates are provided for his colophons on this manuscript. However, the date 1257 appears in one Shōren'in Kissuizō edition of the liturgy.

Although not much else is known about Rishin, it is clear he fits into the social contours that we have been sketching here. But in addition to his ties to Keisei and the Kujō family, Rishin plays a unique role in that it was the texts that he transmitted that went on to be preserved by members of the Anō lineage of Sanmon-Tendai. This opens the door to the longer medieval history of Buddhist moxibustion/corpse-vector disease literature. Although we will not discuss this longer history in the present dissertation, it is here worth briefly outlining that transmission process: Rishin transmitted the teachings to a monk named Ryōgon 良舍. (In fact, we know from the *Shoshazan shingon sho* that Ryōgon went to the Kujō villa to receive transmissions of that text, so perhaps something similar occurred with the moxibustion ritual sources). Ryōgon was a lineage holder of both Taimitsu and Tōmitsu 東密 (Shingon). (Incidentally, this may explain why the Taisho edition of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* (T. 1221) ended up at Tōji). But for the most part, it seems Ryōgon transmitted the materials to monks of the Anō lineage, namely, Chōgō 澄豪, who then transmitted it to Gyōhen 行遍.

The transmission of these materials to the Anō lineage is both historically significant and fascinating. It is historically significant because these works would end up in libraries such as the Kissuizō of Shōren'in and Ōsu Bunko at Shinpukuji. They also comprise the route by which the texts surely ended up in the hands of Kōshū, for he was a recipient of teachings that came through these monks. Moreover, Anō lineage monks would come up with their own abbreviated forms of the Jimon moxibustion ritual, and design rather unique and new forms, most especially the *Denshibyō shu no koto* 伝屍病種事. The study of these texts lies outside the scope of the present dissertation, but it is worth mentioning what justified this production of new texts. Basically, although Anō monks had received the texts from Ryōgon through Rishin,

they eventually came to claim them for their own through visionary experience. This comes out in a narrative found in colophons repeated on many of the texts:

> My [=Gyōhen] teacher [Chōgō's] book says,
> "At the time when I was in seclusion for one-hundred days at Hiyoshi Shrine, the sage from Yokawa Anraku'in came to visit and told me a story. He said, 'The Shōmen Kongō Yasha ritual for treating corpse-vector [disease] is a secret method of the Anō school.' Thereupon, I humbly received the rite. Around that time, some time before, I had obtained the Mii-style [version of the rite]. But I had not heard that the method existed in this [our, Anō] lineage. Now for the first time I've attained this rite, a sign of a miraculous response—how joyous, how joyous!
>
> Chōgō of the Anō branch lineage recorded this; the copy was complete on the third day of the second month of Shōō 6 [1294]."
>
> My comments:
>
> The Master went into seclusion at Hiyoshi [Shrine] and, owing to his abiding vow, he experienced an event during the seclusion. The Master had previously received the Shōmen Kongō Ya[sha] ritual of the Mii lineage. Then afterwards (during the seclusion) he obtained the rite based on this [the Anō] lineage. Now (I) Gyōhen, because of a karmic connection, have humbly received both the first and the later transmissions. Thereupon, when putting the two texts together (I discovered that) there were originally no differences between them.
>
> Gyōhen, unlearned monk of Tendai, wrote this.

In an unexpected way, the colophon here serves to reiterate my main argument in this section. That is, as Gyōhen admits, the Shōmen Kongō rite was ultimately a product of the Jimon lineage. While Gyōhen might claim for his teacher a kind of divine transmission that brought an identical practice into the hands of the Sanmon-Tendai devotees of Sannō 山王 at the foot of Mt. Hiei, the colophons of Keihan, Keisei, and Rishin point to an earlier set of developments centered around the monks of Onjōji and their involvement as competitive healers at court. It is in the context, straddling the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, that

in this dissertation we shall try to make better sense of the emergence of a moxibustion ritual meant to treat corpse-vector disease.

# Chapter 2
# Emerging Disease in a Defiled Capital

THE NOTION THAT a disease might "emerge" in history is, at first glance, a curious one. Numerous studies have intimated that diseases might each possess their own biographies, careers that discernibly span decades, generations, and centuries. The main insight of this research has been to show that little sense can be made of the complex ways people sought historically to engage body and mind in the past if afflictions are defined solely in terms of the biomedical "body proper." Instead, as this work demonstrates, diseases are historically contingent—rather than ontologically universal—entities. Because of the ways these entities shape-shift through time and through culture, they always stubbornly resist historians' attempts to retroactive diagnose the ills of the past with the pathological terminology of today.[1] At the same time, however, in holding the disease concept in its sights over a given period, the biographical approach tends to confer a kind of individuality. This is perhaps inevitable when applying the metaphor of a person's life to the narrative structure of historical study. Yet it must be admitted that the metaphor isn't conceptually alien to the actual ways that diseases are passed down and transformed over time, for a disease may only be forgotten precisely because it is remembered.

Still, much less has been said about why a given disease should surface at a particular historical moment.[2] This is precisely the issue raised by "corpse-vector disease" (*denshibyō* 伝屍

[1] Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan*, 1995; Leung, *Leprosy in China,* 2009; Hanson, *Speaking of Epidemics in Chinese Medicine*, 2013; Smith, *Forgotten Disease: Illnesses Transformed in Chinese Medicine*, 2017. In Chinese scholarship, see e.g. the essays in Lin, ed., *Jibing de lishi*, 2011.

[2] One study that addresses this issue is Kuriyama, "The Historical Origins of 'Katakori,'" 1997.

病) in early medieval Japan. Numerous historians have retrospectively identified corpse-vector disease as tuberculosis (*kekkaku* 結核).[3] But as historical epidemiology tells us, tuberculosis bacilli have co-existed with humanity for a long stretch of time, "late in the history of our planet, but long enough ago to inhabit the world of the pharaohs."[4] The exact moment when aristocrats and monks and physicians in Japan begin talking about corpse-vector disease, however, is more or less clear. The term shows up first in entries diaries written by aristocrats in the 1170's and 1180's. And not coincidentally, I will argue here, it was just around this time that monks of the temple Onjōji crafted a new healing against it.

It should be noted that the issue is not simply one of transportation across geographic space and culture. Historians of Chinese medicine and religion will recognize "corpse-vector disease" (Ch. *chuanshibing*), for it appears in across genres in Tang-period sources and aspects of it can be traced back even earlier. Like Buddhist scriptures and icons, medical texts and pharmaceuticals, corpse-vector disease can be said to have ridden on the boats that brought Japanese travelers and diplomatics back to Japan, insofar as it was an artifact preserved within medical and Buddhist textual sources. Corpse-vector disease appeared in a handful of the most influential Chinese medical sources, yet those texts were in Japan several hundreds of years before the 1170's. Moreover, corpse-vector disease was not the only disease therein described. These works mentioned hundreds upon hundreds of other disease concepts. Theoretically, then, any one of these disease concepts could have emerged in place of corpse-vector disease in the late twelfth century. It is thus significant that they did not.

This chapter examines corpse-vector disease as it appears across documentary, medical, and Buddhist sources in the late Heian period in order to explore the question of how and why diseases emerge at particular historical moments. In focusing on why it was this disease that appeared, I hope to make better sense of the Jimon ritual that was created precisely to make it

---

[3] Hattori, *Heian jidai igakushi no kenkyū*, 1955; Johnston, *The Modern Epidemic*, 1995.

[4] Hacking, *Historical Ontology*, 2002: 11.

disappear. In the first half of the chapter, I trace out a genealogy of corpse-vector disease in Chinese medical and Buddhist texts, and examine how these relate to medical texts produced in Japan as well as clinical cases of corpse-vector disease affliction that were recorded in courter diaries. In the second half of the study, I connect the emergence of corpse-vector disease to anxieties about corpse pollution in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, concerns that not only shaped the fraught ways they were forced to navigate the defiled urban space of the capital, Heian-kyō, but also came to guide the pathological imaginary. In so doing, I suggest that the personalized metaphor of disease might be less appropriate in this case than a perspective that attends to relationality and "common sense" in shared spaces, both physical and epistemological.

## *A Genealogy of Corpse-vector Disease*

### CHINESE MEDICINE

Our historical survey of corpse-vector disease must begin in classical Chinese medicine, and more specifically with the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論, or the *Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Disease* (hereafter, *Treatise on Disease Origins*). The *Treatise on Disease Origins* is an expansive medical work thought to have been compiled in 610 (Daye 大業 6) by Medical Erudite (*taiyi boshi* 太医博士)[5] Chao Yuanfang 巢元方 (550?–630?).[6] Recent consensus among scholars sees the text as a collective compilation of a group of medical erudites, of which Chao Yuanfang was just one member. It remains the sole extant medical

[5] "Medical Erudite" is the translation favored in Hinrichs 2015: 25.

[6] "Bingyuan" 病源 was how the text title was commonly abbreviated in Japanese sources, including medieval Buddhist moxibustion sources, when the text was cited, whether accurately or not. For dates for Chao Yuanfang, see e.g. Leung, *Leprosy in China: A History*, 2009: 20. We have little information on Chao except from that fact that he served as *taiyi boshi* at court sometime between the dates of 605 and 616. On issue of authorship, see Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon*, 1996: 387–388 and the more extensive exploration in Yang, "Prescribing 'Guiding and Pulling': The Institutionalisation of Therapeutic Exercise in Sui China," 2018: 270–275.

work of the Sui 隋 dynasty (581–618), and was the first medical treatise to extensively outline the manifold origins and manifestations of disease.[7] It represents an exhausting digest of medical knowledge acquired through the Six Dynasties period. Its nosological framework is based on, but far surpasses in detail, understandings of the body and disease as set out in the literature of the *Huangdi neijing* 黃帝內經 corpus (the *Suwen* 素問, *Lingshu* 靈枢, and *Nanjing* 難経).[8] Its classification of diseases, their causes, signs, symptoms, progressions, and connections would irrevocably shape views of disease in the medieval period in China.[9] Until the printing of the *Treatise on Disease Origins* in the Song period four hundred years after its compilation, the text was transmitted and adopted in various transcriptions in manuscript form. Considered by later writers as the primary source for knowledge on the classification and identification of diseases, the *Treatise on Disease Origins* greatly influenced all major medical works completed in the Tang and onwards, including Si Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方 and *Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方, Wang Tao's *Waitai miyao fang* 外台秘要方 (hereafter, *Arcane Essentials*), the *Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖惠方, and the *Shengji zonglu* 聖濟總錄. The *Treatise on Disease Origins* would also significantly come to impact ancient and medieval Japan as well. Tanba Yasuyori 丹波康頼 cites the treatise more than any other text in his

[7] See Dolly Yang's dissertation on the *Treatise on Disease Origins,* "Prescribing 'Guiding and Pulling': The Institutionalisation of Therapeutic Exercise in Sui China," 2018.

[8] Although the Taishō-Shōwa period medical historian and pharmacologist Okanishi Tameto 岡西為人 contended that the *Treatise on Disease Origins* represented a departure from the theories of the *Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內経素問, Kosoto Hiroshi has shown that the text is in fact replete with direct citations and similar passages from it, and the same can be said about the *Lingshu* 靈樞 and *Nanjing* 難経. Ishida Hidemi, too, has noted that the *Treatise on Disease Origins* overlaps with the pathological focus and organization of the *Huangdi* corpus by starting with Wind ailments and moving to depletion-exhaustion, ailments of the back, *jiesan bing* 解散病, and then on to fever diseases such as cold damage (Ishida, *Chūgoku igaku shisōshi: mou hitotsu no igaku*, 1992: 203). There are also notable connections with the *Shanghan lun* 傷寒論 and *Jingui yaolüe* 金匱要略, an influence we see in the sections on fever diseases, while also major differences, for example, in the way that the works attributed to Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 attempt to consolidate disease categories while *Treatise on Disease Origins* exhibits a plurality. Other texts that influenced the *Treatise on Disease Origins* were the *Mai jing* 脈經, *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方 (although as we shall note, the historicity of much of this work is problematic), and the *Bencao jing jizhu* 本草經集注. Many of the diseases treated also reflect a geographic shift corresponding to the southern migration of the period, as can be seen in the focus on illnesses such as *jiao-qi* and parasitic diseases, ailments that had been, it seems, largely unknown to the northerners (ibid., 1992: 203).

[9] Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon*, 1996: 410.

*Ishinpō* 医心方, thus comprising roughly twelve percent of the entire work.[10] As Nathan Sivin has noted, "Ch'ao's authority was so overwhelming that for a period of centuries his is the first work to consult."[11]

The *Treatise on Disease Origins* is thus a logical starting point for tracing our genealogy of corpse-vector disease, but in fact, it does not include the term "corpse-vector" (*chuanshi*) or "corpse-vector disease" (*chuanshibing*). However, it is nevertheless crucial for understanding the conceptual foundations through which corpse-vector disease would later emerge in Tang-period medical works. Various aspects of its early conceptualization are distributed in the *Treatise on Disease Origins* text over multiple disease categories, and these are often linked. By examining these categories and the nodes at which they are intersect, it is possible to identify features that would feed into the complicated profile of corpse-vector disease as it eventually developed historically. Far from deterministic categories of disease divided by mutually exclusive etio-pathologies, the conceptualization of these seeds of corpse-vector disease reflect the porous and sometimes fragmented understanding of illness characteristic of medieval Chinese medical culture. It is this mutually dependent quality and multiplicity that my analysis will highlight.[12]

---

[10] A total of 556 times (Kosoto 1996: 536). For a breakdown of all citations, see Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon*, 1996: 539–40. Ma Jixing's count was 563 times in 668 lines, in volumes 3–25 and 29 (Ishinpō Issennen Kinenkai, ed., *Ishinpō: senshin issennen kinen*, 1986: 49, 79). Kosoto compares the use of *Treatise on Disease Origins* in the *Waitai miyao fang* with its use in the later *Ishinpō* and finds that, of the 1726 distinct sections of *Treatise on Disease Origins*, *Waitai miyao fang* cites 378, whereas *Ishinpō* quotes from 558. Only 155 of those sections overlap in the latter, indicating that Yasuyori did not rely on the *Waitai miyao fang* for his inclusion and interpretation of *Treatise on Disease Origins*. Moreover, while Wang Tao generally provided faithful citations, Yasuyori often abbreviated them, a notable tendency we see elsewhere in the work (Kosoto 1996: 536). As Kosoto notes, the most telling example of Yasuyori's tendencies to trim can be seen in his wholesale deletion of sections on vessel theory (*mailun* 脈論). It should be noted, though, that the *Treatise on Disease Origins* is itself is highly repetitive; see for example fascicle 24 on *zhu*-infusion diseases (*zhubing* 注病), a topic to which we shall return, in which each section begins with the same formulaic expression. This may explain to some extent Yasuyori's editorial practice.

[11] Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy,* 1968: 312.

[12] My analysis of *Zhubing yuanhou lun* is based on my translations of the text, as no full translations in English currently exist; Yang 2018 includes a translation of the preface, the table of contents, and 110 entries for diseases for which *daoyin* 導引 exercises are prescribed. Here, the base text used was the fascimile edition of the Southern Song print version held in the Kunaichō Shoryōbu, also known as the Ochiuji Kaisenkaku-bon 越智氏懐仙閣本, published by *Tōyō igaku zenpon sōsho* 東洋医学善本叢書 in 1981. This is the oldest extant edition of the text.

The first major category to be noted in connection with corpse-vector disease is Depletion-Exhaustion (*xu lao* 虛勞; fascicles 3–4), the second to appear in *Treatise on Disease Origins* only after Wind (*feng* 風; fascicles 1–2). The Depletion-Exhaustion section includes discussion of a total of 74 distinct disorders. First and foremost, this is the category under which corpse-vector disease will later be incorporated in works such as the *Arcane Essentials* and the *Ishinpō*.

The *Treatise on Disease Origins* is the first known work to link Depletion and Exhaustion, what were probably two distinct categories in earlier periods.[13] Individually, both terms already appear in the *Huangdi neijing* corpus. In the *Suwen*, for example, when Huangdi asks about the "depletion and repletion" (*san xu* 虛實), Qi Bo replies: "When evil *qi* is abundant, this is repletion; when essence and *qi* are stolen, this is depletion."[14] Later, he elaborates the "five depletions" (*wuxu* 五虛): "Vessel [movements] are thin, the skin cold, *qi* is lacking, passage front and back is [characterized by] leakage, drink and food do not enter—

For reference I also consulted the *Siku* edition (欽定四庫全書 巢氏諸病源候總論) as well as an Edo-period manuscript (Umemura Yaemon 梅村弥右衛門 正保 2[1645] (ヤ 09 00136). The title of the text sometimes appears as (*Chaoshi*) *zhubing yuanhou zonglun* (巢氏)諸病源候總論, "(Chao's) Comprehensive Treatise on the Origins and Symptoms of Disease," for example, in the *Siku* edition and the Edo ms. Some scholars adopt this as well; e.g. Hinrichs and Barnes 2013.

[13] The combined term "depletion-exhaustion" (*xu lao*) appears in the *Xuebi xu lao bing maizheng bing zhi* 血痹虛勞病脈證并治 section of the *Jingui yaolüe*, a text we noted above is traditionally attributed to Zhang Zhongjing. This would suggest that Zhang linked Depletion and Exhaustion already in the Later Han period, before the appearance of the *Treatise on Disease Origins*. However, there are complications surround the compilation date of the *Jingui yaolüe*. The first woodblock printing of the text, produced in the Northern Song period (960–1127), presumably provides the basis for all later extant editions of the text, yet this first printing should not be understood as a neutral replication of the text as originally written in the Later Han. Rather, this was the production of a new compilation which was, moreover, informed by the interests of a larger, realm-wide project to stabilize an authoritative set of medical classics within the government. No copies of that original printing survive from the period, or from the subsequent Southern Song period either—all extant versions derive from five traditions of copies of the Yuan period. The presence in the extant editions of the *Jingui yaolüe* of citations from texts such as Si Simiao's *Qianjin yaofang* and *Qianjin yifang* (late 6th c.) and Wang Tao's *Waitai miyaofang* (752), all of which were composed in the Tang, demonstrates caution is needed when assessing the historicity of diseases for the period in which Zhang was active. For more on the textual history of the *Jingui yaolüe*, see Kosoto 1996: 300–310. Putting aside the complicated textual history of the *Jingui yaolüe*, a closer look at the content of the section on Depletion Exhaustion there reveals that the text draws directly from categories set out in the *Treatise on Disease Origins*. The indications for which the *Jingui yaolüe* lists formulas (虛勞裏急, 虛勞虛煩不得眠, 虛勞腰痛,虛勞諸不足 etc.) appear verbatin in fascicles 3 and 4 of the *Treatise on Disease Origins*.

[14] 通評虛實論篇第二十八; translation in Unschuld and Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen*, 2011: 459.

these are called the five depletions."[15] The *Lingshu* describes a separate set of "three depletions" (*wuxu* 五虛) as those times when one "is in the declining [periods] of the year, [when one] encounters the emptying of the moon, [and when one] loses harmony with the seasons. As a result of [these conditions], one is damaged by bandit wind; these are called the three depletions."[16] Also described was a set of "five exhaustions" (*wulao* 五勞): "Regarding the damage of the five exhaustions,[17] gazing for a long time damages the blood (exhaustion occurs in the heart), lying down for a long time damages *qi* (exhaustion occurs in the lungs), sitting for a long time damages the flesh (exhaustion occurs in the spleen), standing for a long time damages the bones (exhaustion occurs in the kidneys), walking for a long time damages the sinews (exhaustion occurs in the lungs)—these are the so-called damages caused by the five exhaustions."

The discourse on Depletion-Exhaustion in the *Treatise on Disease Origins* begins by setting out types under the category: "Great depletion-exhaustion consists of the five exhaustions, six extremes, and seven damages."[18] In my reading, the text then gives, in fact, two sets of "five exhaustions," one numbered and the other not. The first is only a list, which includes exhaustion of the will, thought, the heart, anxiety, and wasting.[19] As we have seen, the "five exhaustions" of the *Suwen* consisted of bodily postures and activities, but this set of five is a rather heterogenous mix that includes three elements of what we might call mind or emotional factors (will, thought, anxiety), one concerning the viscera (the heart), and a

[15] 玉機眞藏論　三部九候論; see translation in Unschuld and Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen*, 2011: 349–350.

[16] Translation in Unschuld, *Chinese Medicine: A History of Ideas*, 269.

[17] Unschuld and Tessenow translates *wu lao* as "five taxations"; see their in Unschuld and Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen*, 2011: 410.

[18] 夫虛勞者、五勞六極七傷是也。

[19] 五勞者、一曰志勞、二曰思勞、三曰心勞、四曰憂勞、五曰瘦勞

pathological condition (wasting). Without providing more detail, the text proceeds to a more extensive discourse on the second set of five exhaustions, this time unnumbered:

> [In cases of] exhaustion of the lungs, *qi* [i.e. breath] will be short, the face swollen, and the nose unable to smell fragrances and smells. [In cases of] exhaustion of the liver, the face and eyes will be dry and black, the mouth bitter, essence and spirit will be unprotected, one will be afraid, unable lay down alone (to sleep), and the eyes will be opaque. [In cases of] exhaustion of the heart, one will be confused and often forgetful, defecation will be agonizingly difficult or sometimes [like] viscous duck [feces], and inside the mouth ulcers will form. [In cases of] exhaustion of the spleen, the base of the mouth is bitter, and one cannot acquire saliva in the throat. [In cases of] exhaustion of the kidneys, it hurts when one bends down or up; urine does not pass, it has a color of red-yellow, there is remaining drippage, pain in the stalk [i.e. penis], [there is] *yin*-damp, and ulcers manifest on the scrotum; the lower abdomen is full with urgency.
>
> 肺勞者、短氣而、面腫、鼻不聞香臭。肝勞者、面目乾黑、口苦、精神不守、恐畏、不能獨卧、目視不明。心勞者、忽忽喜忘、大便苦難、或時鴨溏、口内生瘡。脾勞者、舌本苦、直不得咽唾。腎勞者、背難以俛仰、小便不利、色赤黄、而有餘瀝、莖内痛、陰濕囊生瘡、小腹滿急。

Aside from the placement of the heart in the middle of both lists of "five exhaustions," the relationship between these two sets of five remains unclear. Further, the discussion only increases in complexity as it advances thereafter into an elaboration of, first, the "six extremes" (*liu ji* 六極)—*qi*, blood, sinews, bones, skin, and essence—and, second (again in two different elaborations, the connection between which is again obscure), the "seven damages" (*qi shang* 七傷). The relationships between depletion, exhaustion, the six extremes, and the seven damages, which have not been theoretically linked in the *Treatise on Disease Origins* up to this point, are then given some explicit if curt cohesion in a final general discourse on diagnosing these illness categories through vessel (*mai* 脈) reading. The connections are decidedly simple: "A large vessel in a normal male indicates exhaustion and [conditions of the] extremes. Depletion becomes exhaustion." Another part reads, "if in the vessel [movements] feebleness

and moistness combat each other, this will become the five exhaustions; if [in the vessel movements] feebleness and weakness combat each other, the injury of depletion will become the seven damages." At the very least, then, we have some clarification that these conditions are connected in a kind of sequence, and perhaps on a spectrum of severity. That sequence is about *becoming*: starting with depletion, to exhaustion, to extremes, and then to damages, each stage of which can be diagnosed by movements in the vessels. The key is that these conditions always begin with depletion: depletion becomes exhaustion and may also become the seven damages. This way of describing illness—in terms of categories in which types are multiplied, and which are defined fundamentally by continual transformations—is broadly characteristic of the *Treatise on Disease Origins*.

The particular explanation for the relationships between depletion and exhaustion by itself might not be wholly satisfactory in the context of the rest of the text's intricate discussion, however, the logic of whose complex assemblage of disorder names, causes, signs, and symptoms is not immediately apparent. For example, how exactly does depletion transform into a condition of exhaustion, extreme, or damage? Although these passages forbid any easy interpretation, it is perhaps because of this juxtaposition of ambiguity with assured concreteness that the influence of this work on later medical thinking was so monumental. It is comprehensive, but ever allowing for the incorporation of pathological diversity. While building upon the more rudimentary pathological categories of the *Huangdi neijing* corpus, Chao and his team forged links between the categories of depletion, exhaustion, the extremes, and damages, and substantiated these links with diverse descriptions of concrete, observable symptoms bound to psycho-somatic states and structures. It is in the horizons of the category of Depletion-Exhaustion, developed for the first time in the *Treatise on Disease Origins*, that corpse-vector disease would eventually come to be conceptualized.

Given the importance of links between particular disease types, we might already suspect that corpse-vector disease cannot be grasped in a vacuum. Thus, we must also mention one particular disorder that is included within the Depletion-Exhaustion category, "bones-

steaming" (*guzheng* 骨蒸), which is placed under the larger category of "steaming disorders" (*zheng hou* 蒸候):

> Indications of Depletion-Exhaustion–Bones-Steaming
> In general, there are five types of steaming diseases. The first is called bones-steaming. Its root is in the kidneys. In the morning when one wakes, the body is cool; during the day and evening, heat [develops]. One suffers with irritation and sleeps but without peace; food has no taste; the urine is red-yellow; one is confused and in a chaotic state due to vexation; one gasps thinly and has no strength; there is lower back pain, the two feet have chills moving in reverse; and the palms of the hands are always hot. When the steaming is in abundance and excess, this damages the inner, which then turns into *gan* 疳 [worms] that eat the person's five viscera.[20]

At the same time, corpse-vector disease was not entirely bound to the Depletion-Exhaustion category, even if it was the one it would later settle in within later medical texts. Another category critical for understanding the later development of corpse-vector disease is the "corpse disease" (*shibing* 尸病) category, the subject of fascicle 22. Corpses are agents that act like parasites in the body, and were thus often aligned with the "nine worms" (*jiuchong* 九蟲). In order to distinguish these creatures from corpses of the deceased, and given their connection with worms, it is probably best to refer to them as "corpse-worms." These "corpses" came in a wide variety of forms: flying, hidden, sunken, concealed, chilled, and cold. There were also corpses associated with wind, with yin, with the practice of mourning the dead, with *qi*, and another special type called corpse-*zhu* infusion to be discussed shortly. But the most important kind for thinking about the later development of corpse-vector disease were the trio of corpse-worms that reside in the human body:

> In the human body, there are innately three corpse-worms. These worms are born together with the human, but these worms hate and detest blood. They often have mutual transference with demons and spirits and always attract external evils to make the person suffer and be injured. As to the manner in which the disease manifests, some sink and sink and fall silent, not

[20] *TIZS* 4-1: 38.

> knowing exactly from what it is they suffer but having no place that is not bad; some have pain in the abdomen with swelling that is urgent; some have stones or masses that leap up and rise; some have cramps and pulling in their lower back and spine; essence and spirit are mingled and confused. The transformation forms have many kinds of beginnings, and the diseases [that then develop] are in general the same, although there are small differences. However, it is because one method is used to treat [all of] them that this is called [diseases] of the corpse-worms.

The three corpse-worms described here are those which will later become the center of the *gengshen/kōshin* cult. The association between corpse-worm diseases and corpses (as bodies of the deceased) is discussed in a section on "corpse-qi":

> Indications of Corpse-*qi* (*shiqi hou* 尸氣候)
>
> There are times when people directly touch the corpses of the dead or look over corpses. The *qi* of those corpses will enter the belly of the person and, in mutual attraction with the [already existing] corpse-worms, make disease. The manifestation also includes stabbing pain in the heart and abdomen, with swelling and fullness, and urgent breath. This disease is called corpse qi because it begins when one smells the qi of corpses.

A third category in *Treatise on Disease Origins* that need be mentioned is *zhu*-infusion (*zhubing* 注病), the subject of fascicle 24.[21] Thirty-four types of *zhu*-infusion are discussed there, and many of them open with this refrain: "The word 'infusion' (*zhu* 注) [means] 'to reside' (*zhu* 住). Because the malicious-*qi* resides (*zhu* 住) in the person's body, the [the disease] is called 'infusion' (*zhu* 注):"[22] A complex etiology and pathology is elucidated:

> This state is caused by the workings of wind, cold, heat-damp, and exhaustion and fatigue, owing to a loss of one's guard over yin and yang and emptiness and depletion in the vessel networks. [When] one suffers from cold damage but does not sweat, or releases sweat but cannot obtain [the release of] true sweat, yin is transmitted to the three yang [conduits] and

[21] On the translation for this term and related terms throughout this section, see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 2002, esp. 23–28; and Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy*, 1968.

[22] 凡注之言住也。謂邪氣居住人身内、故名為注。

> enters the five viscera where it cannot be eliminated or treated and persists and stagnates; or there are imbalances of lodging of food (*sushi* 宿食)[23] and cold and hot, with the infusion of malicious *qi*; or if one suddenly is affected by the generative and killing *qi*, unexpectedly violated by the essence of a spectral entity—in all these conditions can this disease manifest.

As with corpse disorders, there are many types of *zhu*. The text first lists nine: wind *zhu*, cold *zhu*, *qi zhu*, living *zhu* (*shengzhu* 生注), cool *zhu*, wine *zhu* (*jiuzhu* 酒注), food *zhu*, water *zhu*, and finally, corpse-*zhu*. But there is also another set given: demonic (*guizhu* 鬼注), rolling (*zhuanzhu* 轉注), living, death (*sizhu* 死注), *gu*-poisoning *zhu* (*guzhu* 蠱注), weeping (*kuzhu* 哭注), and exhaustion (*laozhu* 勞注).

It should be clear from the above that the relationship between disease categories and types in *Treatise on Disease Origins* forbids any easy interpretation. But some coherence can be derived when we link what we've seen thus far. First, Depletion-Exhaustion represents what might at first be called a configurational or functional category. It attributes disease to fatigue and exhaustion, which leads to a lack of *qi* and other vital energies. On the other hand, worms, corpse-worms, and *zhu* appear more like ontological categories, for they invade the body from the outside. In fact, while we might distinguish these types with such categories, the categories and the disorders themselves are quite porous and more complicated. For example, we saw above that bones-steaming, a major disease of the Depletion-Exhaustion category, leads to *gan*, that is *gan ni* 疳蠹. This refers to a condition of splenogastric depletion related to a variety of worms that consume the viscera and bowels and which is otherwise triggered when a person has many desires for sweet tastes.[24] The discussion of this disorder in the *Treatise on Disease*

---

[23] The term *sushi* refers to a pathological indication where food and drinking collects 停 and accumulates 積 in the bowels. It manifests in many cases because of excessive consumption or due to digestive inactivity as a result of splenic depletion (Sōikai Gakujutsubu, ed., *Kanpō yōgo daijiten*, 508).

[24] *Gan* is not discussed in any of the texts belonging to the *Huangdi* corpus. While it does appear in the *Jingui yaolüe* in a section entitled "Xiaoer ganchong shichi fang" 小兒疳蟲蝕齒方, as discussed previously, this text is replete with later interpolations; the section title alone suggests it draws from *Treatise on Disease Origins*, for we find a similar title in section 4, fascicle 48 (小兒雜病 蠶鼻候 疳湿瘡候). It does not appear in the *Shanghanlun*. The first systematic conceptualization of *gan*, as we have seen with depletion-exhaustion and steaming diseases, comes in the *Treatise on Disease Origins*. Wiseman and Zmiewski ("Rectifying the Names,"

*Origins* portray *gan ni* worms in such a way that it sounds as if they are identical to the nine worms or the three corpse-worms:

> When one has suffered from this disease, the intestines and stomach are depleted with heat, [a state that] causes the three corpse-worms and nine worms to move and invade and eat the five viscera. Above they exit through the mouth, below they reach the anus, the stomach is depleted and the qi moves in reverse, which then transforms into vomiting and belching. The damage incurred because of the worms consuming the five viscera then causes blood stasis.[25] If it's like this, one will die.

In part, then, what is going on here is that Depletion and Exhaustion, as for example in the concrete form of bones-steaming, cause the body to be compromised, and thus unguarded, vulnerable to the actions of worms. This can hold true for both worms those that are residing inwardly, like the three corpse-worms, which are born with the human, or for agents that are out there in the external world and which therefore invade, such as corpse diseases as well as disorders of *zhu*-infusion. The best example of the latter is what's referred to as the corpse-*zhu,* a mutant hybrid of corpse and *zhu*-infusion disorders:

> Indications of Corpse *Zhu*
> As for corpse *zhu*-infusion disease, this is in other words the corpse zhu among the five corpse conditions. The *qi* of enclosing, external demonic evils pours into the body, making the person hot and cold, in a state of strangury and dripping, sinking and falling into silence, without knowing exactly from what it is they suffer [or from what they are suffering from] yet there being no place that is not in a bad condition; some have abdominal pain with swelling and fullness, panting with urgency where one cannot breathe, ascendency into the heart and chest, and side attacks in the flanks; some have stones or masses that leap up and rise [becoming visible from the surface?]; some have cramps and pulling in their lower back and spine; for some, the lift the body is sunken and heavy, essence and spirit are mingled and confused. One always experiences stupor and confusion, at each season qi is transformed, thereupon causing

1989: 59–60) mention that *gan* is "often but not always caused by splenogastric vacuity," precisely the pathology unpacked in *Treatise on Disease Origins*.

[25] Wiseman and Zmiewski, "Rectifying the Names," 1989: 62.

> great evil; as months pile on and years accumulate gradually there is obstruction, and this leads to death. After one dies [the disease entity] is exchanged with people nearby and eventually leads to the destruction of the gate [i.e. the household]. It is because this corpse-worm disease pours into and transfers to people nearby that it is called corpse pouring.

It is likely because of this passage that Nathan Sivin would refer to corpse-vector disease as a type of *zhu*, despite the fact that it is in some ways more explicitly linked to the Depletion-Exhaustion category. Perhaps drawing upon Sivin's work, Michel Strickmann likewise took corpse-vector disease as synonymous with *zhu*.[26] It is not my purpose here to police these porous categories with rigorous distinctions. Indeed, the passage above is evidence enough of their convergence in the Chinese medical imagination. In particular, the ending of the passage above is critical for thinking about the character of these disorders. That is, what is described there is the incredible ways the disorder transmits from one person to another. This begins when a person dies, and eventually leads to the destruction of the entire family. This will become a hallmark of corpse-vector disease.

What we have in the example of corpse *zhu*, then, is a case study of the extent to which these disease concepts were plastic, and came to be molded together through association and resemblance. Corpse-vector disease as a complex concept came together through just this kind of logic and the convergence of categories. All of these different disorders could in fact be used to articulate different aspects of a complicated disorder. It was related to exhaustion and thus vulnerability; to malicious agents consuming the insides of one's body; and to contagion, as when the sufferer dies those agents move and transfer between victims.

When did "corpse-vector disease" as a named disorder first appear in medical sources? The earliest mention of the exact term "corpse-vector" (or "transmitting corpse," *chuanshi*) probably appears in *Zhou hou beiji fang* 肘後備急方, written by Ge Hong 葛洪 (281?–341). There, *chuanshi* is mentioned in section 7 of the first fascicle (治尸注鬼注方第七; 17–20). A

[26] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 2002: 31–32.

method is given for treating "*chuanshi*, demonic *qi*, coughing, *zhu*-infusion *qi*, blockage of blood and *qi*, and gradual emaciation." But Ge Hong's text ultimately cannot be trusted.[27] As Kototo Hiroshi explains, "The extant version of *Zhouhou beiji fang* was originally composed by Ge Hong, went through the additions and revisions of Tao Hongjing, and further went through the corrections of Yang Yongdao. That editorial process is quite unclear and still today investigation into this matter has not been sufficiently carried out."[28] Besides, what we find there reads like quotations from the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*. And the particular text cited for this method, in which corpse-vector disease appears, is the *Shiyi xinjing* 食醫心鏡, a Tang dynasty work.

The term next appears in the works of Sun Simiao (?–682). But these are at most only passing mentions. For example, in the *Taiqing Danjing Yaojue* 太清丹経要訣, we find a method for making a "calomel elixir" (*zao genxuedan fa* 造艮雪丹法) that can be used to treat *chuanshi* and other diseases.[29] Unfortunately, such mentions do not tell us much specifically about how the disease was understood.

The work that would take up corpse-vector disease most thoroughly was Wang Tao's *Arcane Essentials*. The discussion on it appears in fascicle 13, the subtitle for which is "bones steaming, corpse-vector, demonic *zhu*, demonic spirits, [etc. over] twenty-six gates." But the information there largely did not come from Wang Tao himself. Rather, as is clear from citations, it was culled from the *Xuangan chuanshi fang* 玄感傳屍方. Written by Su You 蘇遊, this is one of at least two known Tang-period monographs devoted specifically to corpse-

[27] In the opening general discussion on *zhu* in the *Treatise on Disease Origins*, we read that "the transforming conditions [of this disease] have many beginnings, reaching some thirty-six and ninety-nine types, but [prescription] texts do not list all of their names." On this point Strickmann (*Chinese Magical Medicine*, 2002: 26) notes, "Ch'ao mentions the reputed thirty-six and ninety-nine varieties of *chu* but notes that Ko Hung never bothered to reveal the names of most of them. Ch'ao describes an alternative nosological system of nine types of infestation: [...]." It is possible that the discourse found in the transmitted *Zhouhou beiji fang* was in fact based on the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*. Moreover, thirty-six and ninety-nine here figure as they do elsewhere as hyperbole in which the compilers of the *Treatise on Disease Origins* carve out space for a more circumscribed set.

[28] Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon*, 1996: 334.

[29] Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy*, 1968: 179, 231. Sivin translates this on p. 179 and the section in the original is on p. 231.

vector disease.[30] Although no longer extant, the *Xuangan chuanshi fang* was quoted extensively in the *Arcane Essentials*.[31] This is the text that would largely transport corpse-vector disease to Japan—through the vessel of the *Arcane Essentials*. Therefore, it is worth quoting in full the most influential sections of that treatise as they appear in *Arcane Essentials*:

> Su You's treatise says: "Generally, the indications of corpse-vector disease for men and women [are as follows]: the chest is filled with a vexing pressure; agonizing pain is felt in the back and shoulder blades; both eyes are clear and bright; and the four limbs lack strength. Although one wants to lay down to sleep, they are constantly unable to. The backbone acutely hurts [and] the knees and shins are sore and ache, [so] one lies down often and rises infrequently. This condition resembles a feigned illness (*yang bing* 佯病). Every time morning arrives and the sufferer awakes, they are in good spirits, as if there was no disease. From the afternoon onward, the four limbs turn slightly hot; the face has good complexion; they enjoy watching people pass by. They constantly harbor anger; when they do not speak their intention, they are displeased and angry. In walking or standing, their legs are weak. At night, when laying down [to sleep], they have night sweats and dream of having intercourse with demons. Some see the already departed, some are frightened. Sometimes the *qi* [here, breath] is quickened, other times the sufferer has a cough. Although they ruminate about drinking and eating, they are unable to consume much. Death may be just around the corner, but they [remain] in good spirits. For some, both sides of the ribs are depleted and bloated. Sometimes there is slight diarrhea (*li* 痢), the nose is dry and the mouth is parched. Always there is much sticky saliva. Sometimes the lips are red, sometimes they wish to sleep. Gradually, they decline and waste away, just as [fish] in evaporating water are unaware they will soon die.
>
> Also, the treatise says: As for the affliction of corpse-vector, its manifestation originally has no cause. It doesn't matter whether old or young, man or woman, all have this illness. In general, this illness arises through mutual conquest (*xiangke* 相剋). First poisonous *qi* is transmitted

[30] Sivin, *Chinese Alchemy,* 1968: 298.

[31] Additional comparison was made for several sections as they appeared quoted in *Waitai miyao fang*, the *Siku* edition 欽定四庫全書 外臺秘要方 as well as an Edo ms. (Teiendō printing). It should be mentioned that Kosoto argues against the use of this Teiendō printing (and the Yamanaki-bon based on it) for the study of Origins. He argues that these latter texts impose inappropriate additions and corrections on the original that are not found in the superior Song version of the *Waitai miyao fang*. I have duly noted Kosoto's wisdom here, and employ the Song version of the *Waitai miyao fang* when dealing with that text, but have utilized the text here for the purposes of comparison and training with no intention of producing an authoritative base-text or English translation.

> into [the body], which permeates all around in the five viscera. One progressively wastes until they die. When they die, this then spreads to the family or somebody close, thus it is called "corpse-vector." It is also called "rolling *zhu*-infusion." Because when one first acquires it one spends half the time lying down and half the time up, it is called "progressing calamity" (*yedie* 殗殜). When someone has quickened qi and a cough, this is called lung dysfunction (*feiwei* 肺痿). When inside one's bone marrow it is hot, it is called "bones steaming." When it transmits inside to the five viscera, it is called "hidden link" (*fulian* 伏連). If you don't know how to treat it, it leads to the destruction of the family line. For example, if a man acquires this because of depletion-injury, this is called "exhaustion extreme" (*laoji* 勞極). In the Wu 吳 and Chu 楚 regions, it is called *linli* 淋瀝. In Bashu 巴蜀, it is called "extreme exhaustion." As for its origin, in the beginning it starts from the kidneys.[32]

Thereafter, the treatise describes the transmission of the disease from viscera to viscera in terms of "receiving the *qi*" (*shouqi* 受氣) of the disease, moving from the kidneys to the heart, then to the lungs, the liver, and the spleen. This sequence ends with the appearance of "signs of death" (*si zhi zheng* 死之證). Many of the symptoms noted above are repeated here in this section but in more detail; we will not look at the entire section. What is important in this passage is that we see that corpse-vector disease is no longer simply a type of Depletion-Exhaustion but has become a kind of category in itself. Different names are given for the different stages. For example, two are "rolling *zhu*-infusion" and "bones-steaming," which we can recognize as what were two diseases distinct from, if related to, corpse-vector disease, in *Treatise on Disease Origins*. Other relevant diseases are found throughout this fascicle of *Arcane Essentials*, including varieties of corpse disorders and *zhu*-infusions. But the quoted section from the *Xuangan chuanshi fang* does something significant for the organization and potential hierarchy of diseases. In the organization of *Arcane Essentials*, the first section is entitled "Depletion-Exhaustion Bones-Steaming" and the second is "Bones Steaming." In contrast, in the *Xuangan chuanshi fang*, bones steaming is treated as just one variety or stage of

[32] TIZS, pp. 245–246 (13-14–15).

corpse-vector disease. Given that bones-steaming was originally prior, this subordination have ushered in a major shift in the conceptualization of these diseases.

BOTH THE *Treatise on Disease Origins* and *Arcane Essentials* had a tremendous impact on Tanba Yasuyori's compilation of the *Ishinpō*. As Kosoto has argued, *Arcane Essentials* is not cited as often as it quoted, but its structural influence is evident. Not surprisingly, corpse-vector disease appears in fascicle 13 of the *Ishinpō*, corresponding to where the disease is discussed in *Arcane Essentials*. This section in the *Ishinpō* is unique because Yasuyori in fact does not draw from the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, as he does extensively in other sections. Rather, he focuses on the material from *Arcane Essentials*. This fact alone should be taken as reason enough to avoid conflating "corpse-vector disease" with other disorders that were already articulated in the *Treatise on Disease Origins*, as when Sivin and Strickmann noted that the disease was a variety of *zhu*. (As we just noted, corpse-*zhu* is given its own section in *Arcane Essentials*.) As elsewhere, Yasuyori quotes *Arcane Essentials* without citing it, and most of the important information derives from Su You's *Xuangan chuanshi fang*.

Can we gauge how important this discussion of corpse-vector disease was for Yasuyori? Without his commentary, it would be hard to say. Yasuyori does place corpse-vector disease toward the end of the fascicle, suggesting it was perhaps not a priority. At the same time, we should not fault to notice that the section on corpse-vector disease in this fascicle is by far the longest among all disorders. Because the information is mostly repeated from the *Arcane Essentials*, and thus covers the translation provided above, we need not go into detail here as to content.

But there are a couple additional facts to note about the reception of this fascicle after Yasuyori's time. The Heian period manuscripts of the *Ishinpō* (fascicles 1, 5, 7, 9, 10) preserved at Ninnaji 仁和寺 are well known.[33] Less well known is that fascicle 13, that which contains the

[33] *Ishinpō* [1], vol. 8: *Ninnajibon eishabon, Takike kyūzōbon* 仁和寺本影写本・多紀家旧蔵本.

section on corpse-vector disease, was preserved in a Kamakura-period manuscript at another temple, known as Kongōji 金剛寺.[34] This is the only fascicle that's been found. Thus, we might cautiously speculate that this particular fascicle had a unique after-life in terms of its reception. Perhaps more specifically this suggests the monastic dissemination of Chinese medical knowledge about corpse-vector disease. Indeed, this is precisely what is confirmed by the Jimon ritual sources, which as we shall see drew from this fascicle or from *Arcane Essentials*—evidence suggests the former. Finally, as a separate kind of evidence for the dissemination of *Arcane Essentials* or another text that transports its information, we might also note that in Kajiwara Shōzen's *Ton'ishō*, fascicle 9 is titled "Corpse-Vector Disease, appended [with a section on] Bones Steaming" (*denshibyō, tsuki kotsujō* 傳屍病 付骨蒸). In other words, Shōzen here follows the priority of corpse-vector disease over bones-steaming that we saw in *Xuangan chuanshi fang.* The Jimon ritual sources will do the same.

### PSEUDOTRANSLATIONS OF ESOTERIC BUDDHIST TEXTS

Before turning to survey corpse-vector disease in the Jimon ritual sources, it is important to briefly return to Chinese material, since in addition to medical texts, the term corpse-vector disease appeared in pseudotranslations of esoteric Buddhist works.[35] The first to note is the *Tuoluoni ji jing* (T. 901), the translation of which is attributed to Atikūta (Adijuduo 阿地瞿多; fl 651–654). In fascicle 9, we read: "If one suffers from ailments of bones steaming, progressing calamity (*yedie*), hidden link, or corpse-vector *qi*, recite the spell one-thousand times and the illness will heal."[36] A second example comes in the roughly contemporaneous

[34] See *Ishinpō* [4], Yamamoto et. al. 1994: 47–62 (transcription) and 123–190 (fascimile); also, Tōno, "Kōchi Kongōji shinshutsu no Kamakura jidai shosha Ishinpō kan dai jūsan nitsuite," 1985.

[35] As noted in Salguero 2014, pseudotranslations have typically been called "apocrypha." His work discusses a number of such texts that have direct relevance to Buddhist medicine as it was transported from Central and South Asia and translated into Chinese.

[36] T. 901: 867b21–23: 若患骨蒸伏連傳尸氣病者。誦呪千遍其病即愈。

*Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合藥經 (T. 1059; ca. 650–660), the translation of which is attributed to Bhagavaddharma (Qiefandamo 伽梵達摩). We find this passage: "If there are persons suffering from corpse-vector, demon-*qi*, [or, the demonic-*qi* of corpse-vector], or hidden-link disease, take *gum guggul* incense, recite the spell thirty-seven times, and burn it so that it permeates the nostrils [of the sufferer]."[37] A third and almost identical example comes in *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經 (T. 1060), which is likewise attributed to Bhagavaddharma: "If there is one who suffers from corpse-vector, demon-*qi* [or, the demonic-*qi* of corpse-vector] or hidden corpse link disease, take *gum guggul* incense, recite the spell thirty-seven times, and burn it so that it permeates the nostrils [of the sufferer]."[38]

Some of the terminology in the above examples appears muddled. For example, *fushilian* 伏屍連 in T. 1060 is probably a confusion of "corpse-vector" and "hidden link," as is clear from the slightly more straightforward text in T. 1059. We might therefore interpret these passages in multiple ways. In any case, that they correspond to the information found in the *Xuangan chuanshifang* is without question. All of these passages list a similar set of ailments. What is particularly striking about these appearances, given our preceding discussion of medical literature, is their early date. All of these passages appear in Buddhist texts that were compiled a hundred years or so before *Arcane Essentials*. And it is in *Arcane Essentials* that serves as our earliest *extant* text in which things are lined up this way. This suggests that Su You's monograph, or at least the information he conveys in his *Xuangan chuanshi fang*, dates to the early Tang, after which it soon became available to Buddhist who were translated (or pseudo-translating) scriptures from abroad. Importantly, both sets of sources noted above were known and used by the Jimon monks who put together the textual sources for the

[37] T. 1059: 104a19–20: 若有人等患傳屍鬼氣伏連病者。取拙具羅香。呪三七遍。燒熏鼻孔中。

[38] T. 1060: 110b14–16: 若患傳屍鬼氣伏屍連病者。取拙具羅香呪三七遍。燒熏鼻孔中。

moxibustion ritual against corpse-vector disease. The *Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing* is cited by name, and the passage noted above is given, with minor alterations. The compilers of the Jimon rite were no doubt influenced by these passages. This may have been one of the key reasons for why they focused on the disease. Let's turn now to them.

## *Corpse-vector Disease in the Jimon Ritual Sources*

The monks at Onjōji who compiled the liturgical text, *Ritual for Expelling Demons*, as well as the notes, oral transmissions, and secret teachings that came to be collected in *Essential Notes*, drew upon Chinese medical literature as well as Buddhist sources in putting together their account of corpse-vector disease. In terms of Chinese medical texts, it would appear that the primary source they used was some passed down form of *Xuangan chuanshifang*. As we might expect, there is no indication that they had access to a copy of the original. The only evidence of this treatise survives in *Arcane Essentials*. Therefore, like Yasuyori before them, Jimon monks more likely drew from *Arcane Essentials,* or perhaps even a copy of fascicle 13 of the *Ishinpō*, which as we saw, had been transmitted to at least one monastery in the Kamakura period. Importantly, however, Jimon monks did not limit themselves to sources that dealt directly with corpse-vector disease. They brought to their construction of corpse-vector disease diverse textual sources—and perhaps even voices from clinical experiences with sufferers of diseases they saw as corpse-vector disease or at least related. We will consider what those were in this and the following chapter. First, however, we must begin with an overview of how corpse-vector disease is described in the ritual sources. We will do so with reference to some of the material mentioned above in order to highlight how the Jimon ritual sources draw from a continental trajectory. Rather than follow the exact sequence of the ritual texts, we will follow the categories given in the text.

After describing the mudra and mantra associated with Shōmen Kongō, the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy turns to what are there called the "signs of the disease" (*byōsō* 病相). "If there is one who wishes to eliminate the harms wrought by the corpse-vector disease demon," the text reads, "they must know the signs of the disease":

> As for the signs of the disease, the body and mind are feverish and vexed, and one increasingly dries out and emaciates. Sometimes the sufferer does not drink or eat. Sometimes they sleep often. Sometimes they fall into despair and go mad. Sometimes, without a path, they give rise to an evil mind of anger. Sometimes they are broken to their core (*kotsuzui* [*wo*] *kudaite* 骨髄砕イテ) [i.e. they suffer tremendously]. Their [minds] are deflated.[39] Their sufferings are of many types; the distinctions [between those types] cannot be described in detail [here].

The vexing and gradual nature of the disease, the inability to eat, the emotional ups and downs, the anger—much of this already reads like it was adapted from *Xuangan chuanshifang*. Indeed, while reading the latter one gets the impression that the varieties of suffering brought about by the disease are so many, and so varied, that they cannot be fully elaborated. Yet between the compilation of the liturgical text here and *Essential Notes*, the concrete details about the disease grew in number. Those who added those details either read further into medical literature, or, as seems more likely, incorporated details from clinical experiences, encounters with sufferers of the disease. The "signs of the disease" in the "Oral Transmission on Corpse-Vector Disease" (*denshibyō kuden* 伝屍病口伝) section of *Essential Notes* are thus much expanded (see FIG. 5):

> (In general, this ailment is moderate at first but thereafter turns serious. Gradually the [sufferer] declines and wastes away, just as fish in evaporating water are unaware they will soon die.)[40]

---

[39] "Mind" is added from Haruo-bon, p. 239.

[40] This is an interlineal note in smaller writing under the normal-sized characters for *byōsō.* The Anō lineage *Denshibyō kanjin shō* (Kyōu Shooku) likewise begins with this line, after "The transmission says" (*den iwaku* 伝云), no doubt referring to *denshibyō kuden.* The part from "gradually" 漸就 to "die" 死矣 appears in the *Waitai*

Although the sufferer feels fine in the morning, from midday on they will begin to feel unpleasant. This aspect resembles [the condition known as] rising feeling (*okori-kokochi* 発心地).

Some experience agony in body and mind, progressively dehydrate, and become emaciated. While trying to abide in correct mindfulness, some sufferers indulge [in thoughts of] demonic paths; others trying to abide in correct mindfulness will begrudge [losing] their human body Some sufferers cannot eat at all and constantly desire to sleep. Some might awaken the aspiration for enlightenment at an inappropriate time and weep sporadically. Lustful desires may develop, along with feelings of hatred and anger. At times the sick one is excited but at other times they rest. When the great matter of death approaches, they will favor lying down on their lower left side, and when they die, no effort is expended. In the beginning, this disease throbs under the left breast. When this [throbbing] transfers to the right breast, death is certain. After the sufferer has passed away, one observes that [the corpse] resembles the flesh of a rat. [. . .] Around the time of death the legs will gradually swell. Also, this disease arises following Wind-Fever.

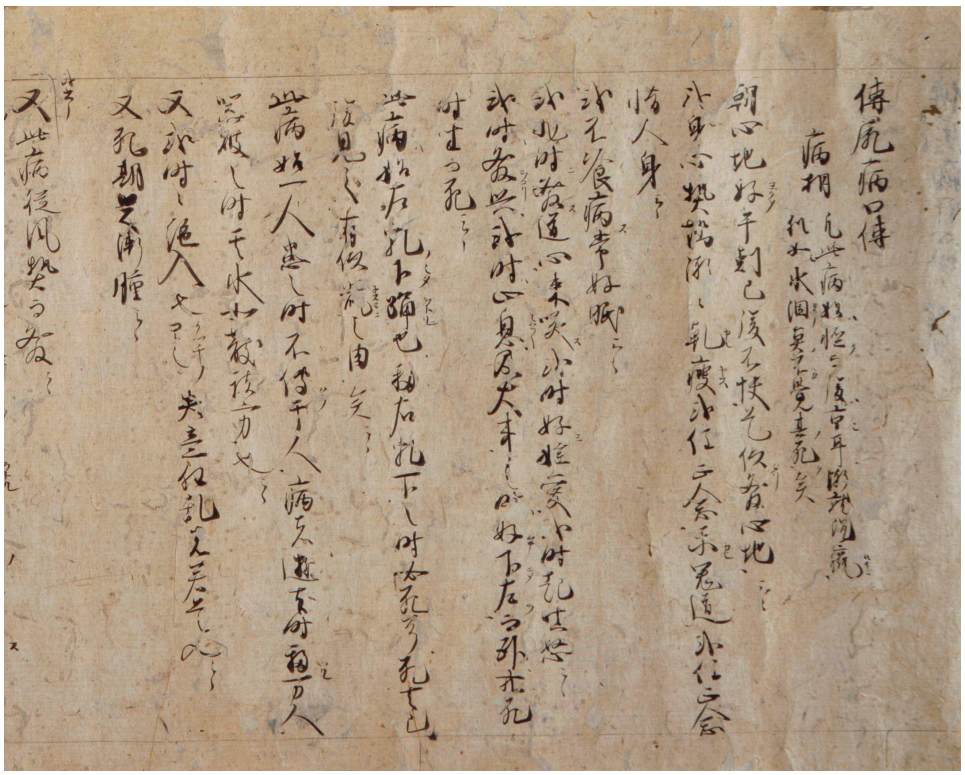


FIG. 5. "Signs of Disease" in "Oral Transmission on Corpse-Vector Disease," *Essential Notes* ms. Source: Courtesy of Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. Image: TNM Images Archives.

*miyao fang*, where it is attributed to the *Xuangan chuanshi fang*. However, there is an important addition in the present not found in any of the other works, not mentioned in Minobe et al.: the character for fish 魚.

The discourse here expands the overlap between the Jimon understanding of corpse-vector disease and that articulated in earlier centuries in the *Xuangan chuanshifang*. Indeed, the first line about gradual wasting with the metaphor about water evaporating is certainly taken from the first paragraph of Wang Tao's quotation of that text in the *Waitai miyao fang*.

However, the quotation as it appears in *Essential Notes* suggests the Jimon monks were not drawing from that text directly. In addition to the *Waitai miyao fang*, that quote appears later in the both the *Taiping shenghui fang* (992; in fasc. 31) and the *Shengji zonglu* (1118; in fasc. 14). Yet in all three of those Chinese works, the character for "fish," the subject of the metaphor, is in fact absent. It is telling, then, that we find the phrase with the character for fish in the *Ishinpō* version. This is at least one critical suggestion that the Jimon monks had gotten their information from a circulating edition of fascicle 13 of the *Ishinpō*.

Like corpse-vector disease as described in the *Xuangan chuanshi fang*, the ailment described here has a deceptive character. You feel fine in the morning, just as when Su You reported that "every time morning arrives and the sufferer awakes, they are in good spirits, as if there was no disease." But from the afternoon on, the sufferer begins to feel unpleasant. Su You there suggested this is the reason the disease resembled a feigned illness (*yang bing*). The Jimon compilers, however, compare it with another disorder: "rising feeling," or *okori-kokochi*. As we shall discuss later, this was one of the vernacular terms for the disease otherwise known as *gyakubyō* 瘧病, an ailment that appears frequently in courtier diaries in both terms. It was characterized by tidal feelings: one might feel good when they wake up, as if there were no disease; but then in the afternoon, things would turn worse again. In any case, in this instance, it becomes clear that Jimon monks were relying not only on classical medical or Buddhist texts, but were also drawing from a vernacular of disease, from the language of pathology that, importantly, they would have shared with their patients (the authors of diaries).

Some of these symptoms are best understood with reference to what might be called the companion diseases of corpse-vector disease. These are mentioned briefly towards the end of the *Ritual for Expelling* Demons: "The disease suffering [caused by] one demon transmits

to offspring, brothers and sisters. Therefore, people of the time also call it transmitting-death [i.e. corpse-vector disease], progressing calamity (*enchō* 厭蝶), hidden link (*fukuren* 復連), and bones-steaming diseases."[41] *Essential Notes* provides more information about those diseases:

> Progressing calamity, hidden link, bones steaming
> Progressing calamity is a disease in which the four limbs are twisted and confused.
> Hidden link is an affliction in which the bowels are bloated.
> Bones steaming is a disease in which there is pain in the marrow of one's bones.
> These are all of the corpse-vector disease species.

In making these afflictions different types or species (*rurui* 流類) of corpse-vector disease, the Jimon compilers here follow Su You in privileging corpse-vector disease. Here, too, we see Chinese medical influence that clearly goes all the back to the *Treatise on Disease Origins.*

Indeed, there is some discernible overlap with the "signs of the disease" of corpse-vector disease above and bones steaming, starting with the key symptom of "progressive wasting," which is also perhaps the defining characteristic of corpse-vector disease as described in the *Xuangan chuanshifang.* As noted in the *Treatise on Disease Origins*, steaming disorders "all cause lower back pain, make the chest full, [cause one to be] depleted and weary with no strength; as days pass, one gradually emaciates and wastes 日漸羸瘦; for some there is constant alternation between cold and heat; for some the hands and feet are agonized with heat, or there is reverse cold, or they are uninhibited, or rough, or sweaty."[42] Also, the final note in *Essential Notes* stating that the disease arises after Wind-Fever (*fūnetsu* 風熱) suggests another similarity with bones steaming, namely that both follow heat-related disorders: "Generally speaking, many of the steaming diseases arise after one has healed from ailments of heat and then consumes beef or goat meat or fat, or when one violates [regulation in] the chamber [i.e. sexual

[41] The characters used in the liturgy and in the *Essential Notes* passage below are different from those used in Chinese medical sources. For purposes of highlighting coherence across sources, however, I here translate them the same way. Note that *Ishinpō* glosses *enchō* as *yōyō*.

[42] This comes from a section on *gan ni* worms (*gan ni hou* 疳蠹候).

intercourse] or drinking alcohol. If protracted steaming disease is not removed [i.e. if it is not treating quickly], in many cases it becomes *gan* [worms]."

We can also find overlap with "progressing calamity," said to be a condition where the limbs are twisted and confused. For example, among the signs of the disease in *Essential Notes* is that the sufferer favors lying down on their left side. *Xuangan chuanshi fang* indicates that "in walking or standing, the legs [of the sufferer] are weak." Moreover, the very definition of the disorder as a stage of the transmission of corpse-vector disease in and around the body corresponds to the above definition: "Because when one first acquires it one spends half the time lying down and half the time up, it is called "progressing calamity."

Another noteworthy overlap between the Jimon ritual sources and the Chinese medical understanding as represented in the *Xuangan chuanshi fang* is the focus on death. In addition to the metaphor of water evaporating to explain the sufferer's lack of awareness of their gradual death, Su You also notes things such as "death may be just around the corner, but they [remain] in good spirits." He also describes numerous symptoms that he calls the "signs of death" (*si zhi zheng* 死之證). The Jimon ritual sources devote even more attention to this pessimistic prognosis. For example, *Essential Notes* reads, "When the great matter of death approaches, they will favor lying down on their lower left side, and when they die, no effort is expended. In the beginning, this disease throbs under the left breast. When this [throbbing] transfers to the right breast, death is certain." It also says, "Around the time of death the legs will gradually swell." Finally, it even notes what the corpse of the deceased sufferer is to look like: the flesh of a rat. This suggests again clinical experience. But why is there so much focus on the death of the patient in a ritual meant to treat the living? We will return to that question in a later section.

Beyond the patient, the Jimon ritual sources, particularly *The Ritual for Expelling Demons*, discuss corpse-vector disease as a highly virulent epidemic with realm-wide ramifications:

> This demonic disease progressively rolls around from place to place, flowing and moving. It spreads from husband to wife to children, and then to brothers and sisters. Thus, some call it 'corpse-vector demon-disease.' None under heaven, including eminent physicians, can treat it. When the Dharma of the Buddha is diluted and wanes, kings, officials, queens, concubines, and monks and nuns of the realm will all suffer harm wrought by this demon-god. For those of high virtue, it will become *rai*, for those of middle virtue it will become corpse-vector [disease], and for those of low virtue it will become madness. Because of this, fathers and mothers will forget their parental affections, wives and children become suspicious of gratitude and justice.

The liturgy has set the epidemic in the apocalyptic end-time of the Final Age, or *mappō* 末法. The nature of the contagion is summed up nicely in *Essential Notes*: "At the onset when only a single person is suffering, this affliction is not contagious. Upon the passing of the sufferer, however, it spreads to ten thousand people. It is like when a vessel shatters and the water in it splashes out in all directions." *Xuangan chuangshi fang* contained something similar: "When they die, this then spreads to the family or somebody close, thus it is called 'corpse-vector.'" And this is the key feature of corpse-*zhu:* "After one dies [the disease entity] is exchanged with people nearby and eventually leads to the destruction of the gate [i.e. the household]. It is because this corpse-worm disease pours into and transfers to people nearby that it is called corpse pouring."

Finally, the transmission and pathology of corpse-vector disease is attributed to particular agents, sometimes vaguely indicated and other times called out by names. For example, there is the "corpse-vector disease-demon" noted in the passage above. The liturgy will also note the demons named Tenmarakeishitta, Tokeira, and Cat Demon. *Essential Notes* will add to this a more ancient demon in the way of Harita. These demonic agents are culled from esoteric Buddhist scriptures as well as writings associated with Chinese Tiantai. Then, there are the three corpse-worms, those same agents we saw from the *Treatise on Disease Origins*. Lastly, we should note the inclusion of a quote from Zhiyi describing three categories of disease: demon, *māra*, and karmic.

We will have much more to say about these aspects of corpse-vector disease in the next chapter. Suffice it for now to say that between the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes*, a surprising number of disease categories are on display. As a wasting disorder of the Depletion-Exhaustion category, corpse-vector disease can be called configurational, functional, and chronic. At the same time, the identification of demonic agents suggest it is an ontological ailment, that invades from the outside. Indeed, this is how, at a wider level, its transmission as an epidemic is explained. Here, too, is the notion that is a contagion. It is also a karmic disease, related to the moral status of the victim. But there is another way to approach the presentation of corpse-vector disease in the Jimon ritual texts, one that offers a better way to understand its emergence at this particular moment in Japanese history.

## *An Affliction Emerges at Court*

The mere transmission to Japan of medical literature concerning corpse-vector, while serving potentially as the foundation for later developments, does not in itself constitute an emergence of the disease on the ground. After all, the *Ishinpō*, comprised almost entirely of translation from continental medical texts, contains a great many number of diseases, the majority of which were probably never known in Japan beyond a select few court physicians who could read so extensively. The number of diseases that actually were observed and dealt with in practice was undoubtedly much fewer. One of the key windows available to historians for gauging which diseases those were, and what their reception actually looked like, are diaries written by courtiers (*nikki* 日記). It is these sources that concern us in this section.

In the years between 1165 and 1180, the years surrounding the compilation date of the earliest Jimon moxibustion ritual texts, "corpse-vector disease," or an entity close to it, appeared in diaries four times. Specifically, these entries appear in two diaries: *Sankaiki* 山槐記 (1150–1194), the diary of Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131–1195), which contains three

relevant entries, and *Gyokuyō* 玉葉 (1164–1205), the diary of Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207), which contains one. In this section, we will survey these entries for what they tell us about the early emergence—or "historical ontology," to borrow Ian Hacking's term—of corpse-vector disease in late Heian Japan. In my analysis, I will make observations of overlaps between what symptoms or conditions we find in the diaries and information we've touched upon in the preceding discussion of Chinese medical sources. This might give us some sense about what kinds of patient conditions were thought appropriate to label and diagnosis with this term among observers. I will also note significant parallels with the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources. I do so not to imply that the disorders identified in these different kinds of sources were the same in anything other than name and perhaps shared genealogy in earlier medical sources; rather, I wish think about what was observed in cases of ailing courtiers and how those observations may have ended up in the Jimon sources.

The first entry, from the *Sankaiki*, dates to 1165 (Eiman 永万 1)/6/28 and concerns the illness of Go-Shirakawa's 後白河院 first son, Emperor Nijō 二條天皇 (Shin'in 新院):

> Someone said: "Shin'in's affliction is still not moderate. Today, Iwaya Shōnin visited in secret, and he performed moxibustion on [Shin'in's] chest in two places, twenty-one cones each. The governor (*kami* 守) of Sagami Nobuyasu offered moxibustion [ …]. [It is said that] [Iwaya] Shōnin treats rolling-corpse disease. [It is said that] Middle Counselor (*chūnagon* 中納言) Taira raised [the idea to summon him]. On [Daigo] Tenno's deathbed, Myōren Shōnin of Shigisan was called in; when [Konoe-in] was going to pass away, Mitaki no Shōnin was summoned. Although there have been [such] precedents, [the medical treatment in this case is not the same]. Later, I heard that he ate plain food, after which he got diarrhea and lost consciousness. After that, he would not eat."

The term we here take to mean corpse-vector disease in the above passage is *tenshibyō* 轉屍病. There has been some confusion over precisely how to read this part of the diary. Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美 did not see this as a three-character compound, but rather took the phrase to mean, "Shōnin treats (*ryōten* 療転) death diseases (*shibyō*/*shiniyamai* 死病)," that is, that this *hijiri* Iwaya Shōnin's potencies were such that he could bring those on the verge of dying back

to life.[43] (We will discuss Iwaya Shōnin and his unique treatment method in more depth in Chapter Three). It is true that the twenty-three year old Nijō was on the verge of dying: a great number of rituals were performed on his behalf yet at this juncture no sign of improvement could be seen, and as it turns out, he would die one month or so after the date of this entry.[44] However, *ryōten* does not exist as a term. I agree with scholars such as Ueno Katsuyuki (2013: 260–261) who understand this as an entry about corpse-vector disease. For one, it is telling that the character here is *shikabane* (corpse) rather than *shi* (death). We can also add to this the evidence from diary entries from ten years later that testify to the notion among aristocrats that Iwaya Shōnin was known treating corpse-vector disease specifically—more on those entries shortly. As it happens, also, the symptoms of not eating and losing consciousness match with those of the Jimon ritual's "signs of the disease" we discussed earlier.

What, then, are we to make of the "mistake" in the first character? Whenever we are reading diaries, we cannot rule out mistaken transcriptions. In this case, such an error may have occurred when the *Shiryō taisei* 史料大成 edition of the *Sankaiki* was created. Indeed, the typeset edition is not in good shape. Komatsu speculates that there must have been much insect damage in the original line of the different manuscripts lines, because there are many places, such as this entry, which are unclear and difficult to read.[45] After all, *ten* 轉 and *den* 傳 share the same left-hand side character 叀, and thus can easily be mistaken in manuscripts. In fact, three of the four diaries entries we will look at here have "*ten*" rather than "*den*." Another possibility is that the mistake could occurred already with the diarist, in this case Nakayama Tadachika. Perhaps Iwaya or somebody else mentioned "*denshibyō*" vocally (there's no indication of anything being written down and passed along) and Tadachika, unfamiliar with

[43] For Komatsu's analysis, see Komatsu ed., *Shigisan engi*, 1987: 141–144.

[44] Popular sources such as Shinoda, *Rekidai tennō no karute*, 2006 accept this interpretation.

[45] The base text for this edition is an Edo manuscript, the Onkodō kyūzō bon 温故堂旧蔵本, held in the Naikaku Bunko.

the term or how it's written—this being, after all, perhaps the first mention of the disease in courtier diaries—wrote "*tenshibyō*" instead.

As we shall see, all of the other entries mentioning corpse-vector disease contain transcription idiosyncrasies, perhaps "errors," perhaps not. This kind of mistake can be more productively read as a sign that this disease was indeed unfamiliar to the authors of these texts. Perhaps, then, the two possibilities are related. As mentioned, "*ten*" and "*den*" are similar characters, but the meaning of *ten* here is also not unimaginable in the context of a description of corpse-vector disease. As the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* notes, "this demonic disease progressively *rolls around* from place to place, flowing and moving" (emphasis added).[46] The *Eichikushō* 英蓄抄, an anthology of empowerment procedures transmitted by Shingon lineages but partaking of the teachings of a wide variety of monastic communities, likewise includes procedures for "eliminating rolling corpses" (*jo tenshi* 除転尸). In other words, the character "*ten*" has conceptually resonates with the contagious nature of the transmission, which clearly informed alternative names for it.

The next entry featuring corpse-vector disease also appears in the *Sankaiki*, on the date 1175 (Angen 安元 1)/8/16. Once again, Iwaya Shōnin is called in, this time probably by Kazan'in (Fujiwara) Tadamasa 花山院忠雅 (1124–1193), to treat his daughter, Tadako 忠子 (d.u.) then the official wife (*kita no mandokoro*) of Matsudono Motofusa 松殿基房 (1144–1230):

> I visited the Lord Regent (*kanpaku-dono* 関白殿) (Matsudono 松殿 [ . . . ]). [This visit was] because Kita no Mandokoro 北政所 [i.e. the Regent's wife] has been unwell. On this night she was especially afflicted, but in the morning her condition had somewhat settled. Iwaya Shōnin arrived from a quiet place and offered empowerment. The former Dajō Daijin [Matsudono] summoned this sagely dharma master to perform rites to protect the body (*goshin* 護身). Within the palace, [Iwaya] has no connections—that he could pass through the Daikyūden 大宮殿 (the palace of Kita no Mandokoro) was declared by Shōkoku [i.e. Kazan'in Tadamasa], but the men and women serving there declared that this kind of thing should be absolutely forbidden, as there are shiny objects within the Daikyūden. Is it on account of her sickness that

[46] 此鬼病漸漸展轉處處流行。

> [the Regent] allows [Iwaya] to pass through? This ought not be. But he declared that the sage be summoned, and [indeed] he was summoned. [Iwaya] is a dharma master that protects [the body] from the [affliction of] *tenshinbyō* which has arisen in recent years. Five months into her pregnancy, [Kita no Mandokoro] has become unable to eat food, and on top of this, she sometimes has warm *qi*, the inside of her body is acrid and bitter, she has dramatically emaciated from her exhaustion, and wears fright and fear on her face.

Once again, the term used in this entry is off, this time even more so than the last: *tenshinbyō* 轉申病. Unless the base manuscript of *Sankaiki* was considerably damaged here, it is unlikely the transcriber(s) of the *Shiryō taisei* edition would have mistaken *shin* 申 for *shikabane* 屍 or *shi* 死. Ten years since the previous entry, perhaps Tadachika still does not know the proper characters for the disease. But he appears to remember Iwaya, whom he calls a "dharma master that protects [the patient's body from] *tenshibyō*." This is not surprising, given his consternation about his summoning for the treatment of Go-Shirakawa's son ten years ago, an anxiety here replicated by servants and ladies-in-waiting at the Daikyūden—might he get his hands on some of the precious items there?—after all, he has no apparent connections to the court. At the same time, Tadachika betrays some knowledge about the disease. He notes that *tenshibyō* is a disease "which has arisen in recent years." While brief, this statement confirms the suspicion of this chapter: that corpse-vector disease emerged in this period, that this is when it became a recognizable object to historical actors.

But what is interesting is that it did not emerge all by itself. Despite the lingering ambiguity about even the characters for the disease name, there appears to have been among Tadachika's circle a kind of healer/disease tagging going on: Iwaya, a healer about whom suspicions are openly expressed, was linked to this particular disease, about which concern is so great the risks of inviting the marginal healer appear justified. Medical historians have read the phrase "*tenshibyō* which has arisen in recent years" differently. This phrase has given some medical historians the impression that the disease was "out there." But what the reappearance of Iwaya tied to the disease as its specialist suggests is that disease categories came to be

disseminated by certain individuals that passed in and out of courtier networks and their villas. After all, there is no indication in entries prior to this in the *Sankaiki* that anyone thought Tadako's disease was corpse-vector disease; it was only when Iwaya appeared that this statement is made.

Let's think more about the symptoms. Tadako's condition is complicated because she is five months pregnant. Yet the terminology swirling around the condition of her body in the entry nevertheless checks off a few boxes in terms of how corpse-vector disease was understood. She is unable to eat (*fushoku* 不食), a non-specific symptom but one which was noted in texts like Su You's 蘇遊 monograph on corpse-vector disease, *Xuan gan zhuanshi fang* 玄感傳屍方 : "although [sufferers] ruminate about drinking and eating they cannot consume much."[47] Unable to eat and running hot with warm *qi* (*onki* 温気), that she is wasting as well is perhaps not surprising. The term Tadachika uses, *shōsui* 憔悴, more specifically means to become gaunt as a result of exhaustion. In this way, the term aligns closely with the mainstream medical understanding which sees corpse-vector disease as a major depletion-exhaustion disorder which involves physical emaciation. Indeed, citing from Su You's work, the *Ishinpō* mentions "wasting disease" (*sōbyō/yaseyamai* 瘦病) as the term used exclusively for corpse-vector disease in Sichuan (Shokudo 蜀土) (fascicle 13).[48] Jimon monks also saw corpse-vector disease in this light, for *Essential Notes* contains a text called "treatment for wasting disease" (*sōbyō chihō* 瘦病治方). Finally, we can note Tadako's frightened facial expression, which undoubtedly set a tone of much anxiety among those in attendance around her sick bed. Undoubtedly drawing on earlier medical sources, *Essential Notes* also links exhaustion with a shifting psychological state: "First, the sufferer's body weakens and fears are many."[49]

---

[47] Cited in the *Waitai miyao fang* 13-14, p. 245.

[48] *Ishinpō* [2], vol. 13: 162.

[49] 先身弱怖畏多。

We are fortunate to have a second witness of this scene in the way of another diary. This is our third entry mentioning corpse-vector disease—although this time we are on less sturdy ground—and it appears in Kanezane's *Gyokuyō* for six days after the above entry from the *Sankaiki*:[50]

> The regent's wife is suffering from malicious *qi*. (She has been with child these past months, reaching five months now). Her condition worsens day by day. Iwaya Shōnin (his name is unknown) applied moxibustion treatment ([is it because it's] *dengyakubyō* 転虐病?). There is yet no sign of positive effect. Then, Court Chaplain Kakukan (son of [Minamoto no] Masakane; of Miidera) [came to] pray for her. During that time, the aforementioned Shōnin, within the screen, likewise prayed for her. The Court Chaplain overheard this from his side [outside the screen] and, in a great burst of anger, stormed out. Although the regent tried assertively to stop him, he still would not consent, whereupon other monks were summoned.

In our earlier analysis, we noted how this episode turns on the spatial difference and respective levels of patient access in the therapies of Iwaya and Kakukan. That fact is brought into relief in these entries on Tadako's condition, for Kakukan may not have been able to actually have a look at the patient, even if he was informed of these details by others (as Tadachika and Kanezane no doubt were). Kanezane appears to know less about Iwaya than Tadachika, although he does not display the same manner of suspicion. Like Tadachika, however, he appears to suspect that Iwaya has been called in because of the particular disease. The actual term used here *dengyakubyō* 転虐病, taking us furthest from "corpse-vector disease." Mentioning this passage only briefly in an endnote, Ueno Katsuyuki suspects the term must be a mistake for *tenshibyō* 転屍病.[51] Ueno's reading is appropriate insofar as it appears *denshibyō* was commonly rendered with a different first character, thus making the real "mistake" here the second character, *gyaku* 瘧. But this mistake is illustrative because the pronunciation,

[50] *Gyokuyō*, Angen Year 1 (1175), 8/22, 3: 248.

[51] Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 2013: 260–261.

*gyaku*, is not at all like *shi* (or *shin*) (as we saw above) and because *gyakubyō* was definitely a household disease name for courtiers if there was one.

What is *gyaku*? Based on contemporaneous accounts from sources such as diaries, which describe alternating fevers and chills, and symptoms that manifest only every other day, medical historian Hattori Toshirō suggested that *warawa-yami* referred to what we would now call malaria.[52] Hattori mentions that some records suggest it was believed that catching butterflies would cause one to contract the disease, but more commonly the blame was placed on demons known as *gyakuki*/*gyakki* (Ch. *nüegui* 瘧鬼), an association that already existed in China. During the Tang dynasty (618–907), Daoists imagined twelve variations of this demon were imagined in China whereby each was correlated with one of the twelve-hour periods of the day.[53] In medieval Japan, a more common explanation associated the disease with a single demon, namely, the son of the legendary emperor Gaoxin Shi. This emperor's son was said to have died untimely at a young age on the seventh day of the seventh month and returned to this world as a one-legged, vengeful spirit.[54]

In his "mistake," Kanezane reveals some of the conceptual fluidity, overlap, and linkage that we can speculate was developing between *gyakubyō* and *denshibyō* at the time. For one thing, both diseases became the target of empowerment practices that at least in part were connected to the court healing performed by non- or semi-institutional monks—which is to say, monks of lesser known pedigree, such as Iwaya. Some of those empowerment practices later came to be collected in anthologies; they no doubt changed in that process, but traces of earlier elements certainly remain. One noteworthy characteristic is that whereas most disorders targeted by these empowerment procedures are vaguely labeled or associated only with a body part or obvious symptom-related characteristic (e.g. the sick person 病人; the disease 疾病;

---

[52] Hattori, *Heian jidai igakushi no kenkyū*, 1955: 85–86.

[53] On this idea, see Fan, "Han Tang shiji nüebing yu nüegui," 2011: 201–243.

[54] For example, see the first entry of the *Jinten ainōshō*, 2.

pustules 漏瘡; epidemics 漏瘡; teeth ailments 歯病; ailments of the eyes, ears, nose, teeth, abdomen, and head, etc. 治眼耳歯腹頭等病), corpse-vector disease and *gyakubyō* often appear in these collections as named diseases, thus standing out among other disorders as more complicated terminology or categories. This is true in the *Eichikushō*, noted above, the *Tōmitsu shohōryū injin ruijū* 東密諸法流印信類聚, largely based on the *Eichikushō*, as well as the *Futsū origami* 普通折紙.[55] Furthermore, one thing the confluence of *gyakubyō* and *denshibyō* in these empowerment procedural sources tell us is that an awareness about both of them had come together at a particular time, probably the thirteenth century, the result surely of a process that had likely begun earlier.

Indeed, the first full line in the section concerning "signs of the disease" in the Jimon text *Essential Notes*, reads as follows: "In the morning, one feels (*kokochi* 心地) good, [but] from the afternoon on, they [feel] unpleasant. This resembles *okori-kokochi* 発心地."[56] What's striking is that the description of symptoms in *Essential Notes* begins with a phrase that is not drawn from either a Buddhist text or a classical medical one. Instead, it draws from a vernacular of disease, the same localized terminology for diseases that we find throughout diaries. The very first line links corpse-vector disease, which the diary entries are revealing to have been a largely unknown affliction at the time, to *gyakubyō*, a disease which many courtiers suffered from quite frequently. That the three characters above is read *okori-kokochi*, and thus represents a local idiom of pathology, is confirmed in the *Denshibyō kanjin shō*, a later text compiled by Anō monks but one which transmits the Jimon oral teachings and notes, where the final is followed by the furigana *ri* リ.[57] *Okori-kokochi* was also written as 虐心地. *Okori-kokochi* is a disease name that appears frequently in sources from the late Heian period on and

[55] *Futsū origami* is understood to be the primary sacred writing of the Kezōin 華蔵院 lineage, and said to be the work either of Kakujū 覚什 (1171–after 1270) or Dōyō 道耀 (1224–1304). The manuscript, held by Kōyasan University (特 21/エ金/3), dates to 1473 (Bunmei 5); see *Sahō shū*.

[56] *Essential Notes*, 8.

[57] *Denshibyō kanjin shō*, 72.

was a popular term for the ailment also called *warawa*(*-yami*) 瘧, that is *gyakubyō*.[58] We see that same reading in the *Ishinpō,* fascicle 13, section on corpse-vector disease (along with *eyami*). We might also note that a corpse-vector disease demon appears in the *gyaku* section of the *Man'anpō*, "The Gate of All [Kinds of] *Gyaku*" (*sho gyakubyō mon* 諸瘧門). [59]In sum, what at first appears as Kanezane's confusion of pathological categories thus might have been a by-product of contemporaneous efforts on the part of monks and other healers to bring these diseases into alignment. Indeed, this link shows how Jimon monks and courtiers alike sought to make sense of an unfamiliar disease concept (corpse-vector disease) by way of one that was much more familiar (*gyaku*).

The next diary entry to be examine involves an episode that transpires several years later, but it is remarkably similar to what we've seen in several important ways. Because of the political nature of this episode, we are fortunate to have relevant entries from both the *Sankaiki* as well as the *Gyokuyō*. The earlier of the two, from the former, is dated Jishō Year 3 (1179), 6/16. It concerns what will prove to be, the very next day, the grave illness of Taira Kiyomori's 平清盛 (1118–1181) daughter, Moriko 盛子 (1156–6/17/1179):

> This morning, Shirakawa-dono [i.e. Moriko] went to the Shirakawa [villa]. She is indisposed and near the end. Day by day she wastes of exhaustion and withers [like a flower]. Is it *hakushibyō* 博死病? For these past two, three years she has avoided the Shirakawa [villa] and has [instead] resided at Hachijōtei 八条亭. Due to her indisposition, she was moved to the residence of Rokujō Inokuma Chōjū Hōshi (her guardian). [But then], because of the urgency [of her condition] she was returned to her original dwelling [this morning, i.e. the Shirakawa villa]. She cannot move from her lower back down.[60]

Tadachika writes that Moriko is said to be "wasting of exhaustion," and he uses the same term as he did several years earlier with Tadako, *shōsui*. But he doubly emphasizes this symptom by

[58] See Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 2013: 217–263; *Gyokuyō*, Yōwa Year 1 (1181), 5/3.

[59] *Man'anpō*, 238 (X–7).

[60] *Sankaiki* 27: 294.

adding another term here, *kokō* 枯槁, which refers to the withering of plants as well as the wasting of persons. Observing Moriko's condition—her wasting, that she cannot move her legs, that she's near her end—Tadachika wonders: might this be *denshibyō*/*tenshibyō*? In this case, *haku* 博 is likely a misreading of the manuscript, for in the two *Sankaiki* entries we've looked at already, Tadachika has "rolling" (*ten*). Tadachika was thus likely recalling the cases of Nijō and Tadako with which we know already he was familiar.

The second witness is an entry from the *Gyokuyō* for the eighteenth, one day after Moriko's death. On that morning, someone came to Kanezane and reported that she had passed away the night before, which information Kanezane annotates as follows: "Shirakawa-jugō (Moriko, daughter of Nyūdō Shōkoku [Kiyomori], wife of deceased regent Chūin; one location of an inherited estate belonged to her; she was 24 years old)." The report goes on to describe what happened:

> The aforementioned *jugō* 准后 [Moriko] had been afflicted and not eating since last spring. The *qi* [of the illness] gradually increased. The Head of the Medical Bureau Sadanari applied moxibustion, but because [the *qi*] did not decrease even after this, a protection of the body (*kago shin* 加護身) [ritual] was carried out to transfer the evil *qi* (*jake* 邪気) [out of her body]. Although the [*qi* of the disease] diminished a little after that, that had not been the beginning and end of it, and so she passed away.

It appears that Moriko had completely lost her appetite for months, and much like Tadako before her, this hastened her emaciation. Kanezane does not mention corpse-vector disease, but rather mentions that rituals were conducted to transfer the evil *qi* out of her body—we can imagine the kind of possession prayers that were quite popular at the time. Putting this alongside the speculation of Tadachika's earlier entry, we can see both healers and observers trying to make sense of the disease by tethering it in some way to more well-known diseases, as we saw with *gyakubyō.*

What is fascinating about the attempts made here is that they resemble what we have already noted of Iwaya, but presumably performed here by different actors. That is, the Head

of the Medical Bureau, Wake no Sadanari 和気定成, applies moxibustion. But since that did not much alter the disease condition, an unknown person, perhaps a lesser known healer like Iwaya, performed a rite to protect her body—the language here is close to that we've already seen mentioned in the case of Iwaya. This example thus brings out again what is interesting with Iwaya's therapy. Remember, in 1165, Iwaya performed moxibustion, and as the entries from 1175 indicate, he was combining moxibustion with empowerment methods to protect the body. Here, it is not a combination of moxibustion and ritual practice, but they are performed in a sequence because the former isn't working. In all of these cases, it is suspected that the disease is corpse-vector disease.

Moriko's death brought much attention because it was politically and economically animated by recent events. A brief summary will show how many of the figures we have just examined were connected in various ways. Since an early age, Kiyomori had employed his daughter for tactical purposes, through marriage politics.[61] He had Moriko married at age nine to Konoe no Motozane 近衛基実 (1143–1166). A member of the Fujiwara regency, Motozane was *kanpaku* 関白 for Emperor Nijō (whose death we just examined) and *sesshō* 摂政 for Emperor Rokujō. He left Moriko a widow when he died at the early age of 24 in 1164, due to an illness that was called *ribyō* 痢病. (As we have seen, Nijō would die less than a year later from what some suspected was corpse-vector disease). Motozane was in possession of much land. Some of that land fell to Motofusa, Motozane's younger brother, who took over Motozane's position as *sesshō*. However, owing to the intervention of Fujiwara Kunitsuna 藤原邦綱 (1122–1181), the rest of his estate landholdings went to Moriko, then age eleven.[62] Because of her inheritance, rumors would later emerged of a second marriage—either with

[61] The summary here draws on Ōga and Sugimoto, *Genpei josei no hikari to kage*, 1979: 158.

[62] This is noted in the *Gukanshō*; see the translation in Brown and Ishida, 1979: 120.

Motofusa, or as the consort of Go-Shirakawa. Kanezane, for example, records rumors of Moriko's marriage to Motofusa in his *Gyokuyō* on Jōan 3 (1173) 6/6.[63]

Thus, her death had many implications and became the site of much attention at court. After Kanezane describes the last attempts to treat her and the manner in which she passed away, he turns to describing this in more detail.

> People in the world say because she was of a different family background but inherited landholdings of the Fujiwara lineage, the clan deity [Kasuga Myōjin 春日明神] despised her, and in the end enacted this punishment. This is what I think: if the *daimyōjin* did punish her in this way, why then during the fourteen years [during which she was the owner] did the deity not punish her? What's more, after this, how is to be expected that the inheritance will actually go to the Fujiwara family? This is the just the affairs of the noble familes. Taking this into consideration, it seems that there is no basis for the idea of the divine punishment.

We need not go into detail here about the political context. Suffice to say that her disease was imagined as a kind of punishment from the gods. One disease that we will soon see that was likewise understood as a punishment of the gods was *raibyō* 癩病. If as the entry from the *Sankaiki* notes some thought her ailment was corpse-vector disease, then we can glimpse a link here between that ailment and divine punishment.

This brings us finally to a major point that cuts across these entries. To wit: all these victims of what was speculated to be corpse-vector disease were on their death beds when the term was dropped. It is not clear whether Tadako, Motofusa's wife, survived, but we know both Nijō and Moriko died. In both entries, the term "near their end" (*kakurin* 獲麟) is used. In the entry pertaining to Nijō, the term is used for Emperor Daigo Tenno who, when on his deathbed, benefitted from the famous sage (and one hero of the *Shigisan engi emaki* 信貴山縁起絵巻) Myōren Shōnin 命蓮上人; that precedent was appropriate to cite then because Nijō was likewise seen to be near death. Later, Tadachika uses the term directly to describe Moriko's case. For both Nijō and Moriko, there is the sense that the treatment for the speculated corpse-

[63] *Gyokuyō*, 2: 243.

vector disease is truly the last measure. The entries thus point to—and one could argue, put into being—a relationship between corpse-vector disease and death.

In what follows, I argue this relationship between corpse-vector disease and death is critical for grasping one important dimension of the emergence of corpse-vector disease at this juncture in history. In particular, in the analysis that follows, I am interested in thinking about what corpse-vector disease would have signaled in the interface between the Jimon monks that compiled the moxibustion ritual and the elite patients that constituted the presumed audience for the rite. As the diaries above suggest, corpse-vector disease is a death disease, but in so saying, we must understand the particular anxieties surrounding death that were part of everyday life living in the capital of Heian-kyō in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

## *Corpses, Contagion, and Death Defilement*

We have already discussed the name "corpse-vector disease" and how that captured aspects of the disease in classical medicine, and then saw how there was fumbling over this name in the earliest diary sources. When we turn from the classical medical literature to the early medieval period, it is critical that we re-read the name in its new context. Translation always attends transportation, and meanings change. That is, what the name "corpse-vector disease" meant to authors of classical Chinese medical literature, even to Tanba Yasuyori, was not the same as what it would have signified to most courtiers in Japan in the late Heian period. The name "corpse-vector disease" already suggests one avenue for thinking about how it would have been understood in the early medieval period, and points us in the direction of an analysis of what this disease is doing as part of a ritual program created in this same period. To state this up front, anyone in the late Heian period who encountered this name—"the disease transmitted by corpses"—would have turned their thoughts to defilement associated with death. This was a major source of anxiety in the late Heian period, and the center of many

controversies involving efficacy and the navigation of everyday life. I will show that the Jimon focus on this disease had much to do with this link.

## ILLNESS & DEFILEMENT

Before exploring the possibility that corpse-vector disease was linked to death defilement, a more basic question needs to be examined first: In medieval Japan, was illness ever considered among the varieties of defilement? And related: Were ill persons considered defiled? Answering these questions will give us better footing to understand why the link between corpse-vector disease is a significant development.

Sir George Bailey Sansom offered what might be taken as the intuitive answer to the first question in his *Japan: A Short Cultural History* (originally published in 1931): "Wounds were a source of pollution, and the word for a wound, *kega*, still in use, means defilement. Sickness and all the external signs of disease, such as sores, eruptions, and discharges, or contact with sick persons were also defilements."[64] The wounds and the external signs of disease Sansom lists have in common the presence of blood, which scholars have long taken as a defiled substance, along with other blood-like bodily exudations. Yet judging from his list, it seems clear that Sansom has in mind certain diseases characterized by a distinctive externality, a visibility on the surface of the body. While he appears to be addressing all afflictions, what he probably had in mind specifically was *raibyō*, term that includes leprosy but more broadly refers to visible and sometimes disfiguring skin disorders. As we shall see later, this was one disease in particular that in the medieval period came to be inextricably linked to defilement. We can recognize, however, that not all diseases, are characterized by such external signs. The connection between illness and defilement is not as straightforward as Sansom made it seem.

[64] Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, 1931: 51–51.

Medical historian Maruyama Yumiko's view is that, at least until the late tenth century, neither disease itself, the act of visiting the sick, nor sick persons themselves were considered sources of defilement. She calls attention to the *Engishiki* 延喜式, a set of legal codes written in the early tenth century that provides a window into mid-Heian period notions of defilement from an official, state-focused perspective. The relevant passage, adopted from the earlier *jingiryō* 神祇令 section of the Yōrō-ryō 養老令 from the year 718, is found in the third fascicle (*jingi*, *rinjisai* 神祇・臨時祭), is the following curt prescription:

> As a rule, those who mourn the deceased, call upon the sick, visit a place where a mound (*yamatsukurisho* 山作所)[65] is created, or encounter a three-sevens-days Buddhist [memorial] ceremony, although their body is not defiled, on that day those persons are forbidden from entering the imperial palace.[66]

The passage includes "calling upon the sick" (*monbyō* 問病) as one of the activities a person is forbidden from doing before visiting the imperial palace or participating in rites for the *kami* (*shinji* 神事). What does this tell us about the relationship between defilement and sickness? Elsewhere in the *Engishiki*, the avoidance or purificatory period (*imi* 忌み) for the above actions is given as a single day, suggesting that even if visiting the sick constituted a polluting act, it was not one of much severity. In Fujiwara Sanesuke's 藤原実資 (957–1046) *Ono no miya nenchū gyōji* 小野宮年中行事, a later work, this avoidance period is extended to three days, which Shinmura Taku and others read as indicative of the gradual expansion of the notion of the defilement, a topic to which we will return later.

Second, it's also important that the *Engishiki* passage unequivocally states that although one may have performed these acts, the "body is not defiled." Maruyama interprets

---

[65] Alt. *yamatsukuri-dokoro*. For a discussion of these "mounds" in relation to cremation in the Insei period, see Katsuda 2003: 105–119.

[66] 凡弔喪。問病。及到山作所。遭三七日法事者。雖身不穢。而當日不可參入内裏。The translator had "37th day Buddhist memorial service," but because this is a memorial service, and such services were conducted at intervals of seven, *sanshichi* is more aptly translated "three-sevens," that is, referring to the memorial rite peformed twenty-one days since the death.

the phrase straightforwardly to mean that those who come into contact with the sick were not considered to be defiled. At the same time, noting that every other act mentioned involves death, she argues that the injunction against visiting the sick ultimately relates to the possibility of coming into contact with death, which was perhaps always seen as the risk of calling upon sick persons. In reading the passage this way, Maruyama's view accords with the consensus of most scholars as well as historical sources that death was the ultimate and least ambiguous source of defilement in ancient Japan. Yet in adopting this stance, Maruyama's two readings are put in opposition, for she claims that this passage states the body is not defiled while at the same claiming the item pertaining to sickness relates ultimately to death, defilement par excellence.

We need not adopt such a strict interpretation of the passage, nor hang the question upon it. Official, legal prescriptions can always be read for the possibility of reflecting the converse. That the compilers felt the need to specify that "the body is not defiled" perhaps suggests the persistence of the idea that it was, and we indeed know that acts involving death were understood as causes for defilement. More importantly, Maruyama's reading hinges on a strict distinction between illness and death, one that the passage itself has already shown to be befuddled. Why is calling upon the sick listed among these actions which involve death and mourning? What happens when the boundaries between life and death are rendered increasingly ambiguous at the hands of certain illnesses? This link between death and illness is thus already indicative of something we need to consider. At the same time, we should bear in mind the distinction Shinmura highlights in his reading of the passage. Although Shinmura does take the passage to mean that the sick was indeed defiled, (thus the fear of it being spread to sacred grounds), he points out this does not necessarily mean defilement transmission was taken as etiology in itself. In other words, defilement might *resemble* illness in the manner of its transmission, but coming into contact with defilement did not directly *cause* sickness.

Beyond this passage, Maruyama provides several examples from ancient Japan of visitations of the sick that suggest a lack of concern over defilement. By the late Heian period,

however, it is clear that attitudes begin to change. For instance, one entry in the *Chūyūki* 中右記 (1087–1138) describing a visit to a shrine notes that "those persons who took medicines did not enter the space [demarcated by the] *torii* gates."[67] It would appear that sickness came to be increasingly associated with defilement, thus was the sick forbidden from entering sacred spaces such as shrines for *kami.*

Shinmura asks an interesting question in his larger analysis of this issue.[68] If visiting the sick meant accruing defilement, then court physicians whose occupation involved meeting with sick patients, would have been multiplying their pollution daily. Such vocationally acquired defilement would make them remarkably similar to *hinin* 非人 of later periods, who scholars have likewise understood to have acquired their status as defiled from their occupational involvement with corpses, feces and urine, and meat. Yet there is no indication that court physicians were seen as polluted. Asking why court physicians were not seen similarly to be defiled, Shinmura postulates the existence of some kind of purifying mechanism by which their defilement was neutralized and the social ramifications de-escalated in such a way that enabled them to continue their work. Drawing on a different passage from the *Engishiki*, he points out that physicians were indeed exempt from attendance at certain annual ceremonies, suggesting that they were perhaps defiled but also that they were given special exemptions due to their necessary role at court. He also highlights the possible influence of Buddhist ethics for taking care of the sick, as evidenced by formative instructions for what later developed as the culture of deathbed rites (*rinjū gyōgi* 臨終行儀) in the work of Yoshishige Yasutane 慶滋保胤 (?–1002) and Genshin 源信 (942–1017) for *nenbutsu* 念仏 practitioners and the Twenty-Five Samadhi Society (*nijūgo zanmai-e* 二十五三昧会) . Those texts enjoined practitioners to minister closely to the sick, assist their attainment of right contemplation before death, and bury them in communal spaces after they die. To this he adds the words of

---

[67] 服薬人々不入鳥居内也。*Chūyūki*, Kashō 嘉承 1 (1107), 7/27, 3: 130.

[68] Shinmura, *Shi to yamai to kango no shakai shi*, 48–55.

Hōnen 法然 (1133–1212), who claimed that the Buddha cared not about issues of purity and impurity, and that Buddhist virtue ultimately nullifies defilement taboos. Although the question is an interesting one, Shinmura, who flattens hundreds of centuries in his analysis here, might be trying to work out a problem that did not exist, a controversy not controversial enough to become visible in the historical records. There may have been some link between defilement and illness, but it does not appear to have been an issue to the extent of delimiting the activities of court physicians.

What about Buddhist monks, who we know also dealt with sick patients with great frequency? Did they view illness as defilement? First, it's important to point out that priestly attitudes toward the general problem of defilement varied. Monks closer to the court center, especially official monks serving the court (*kansō* 官僧), typically cared the most, whereas reclusive or semi-reclusive beyond the monastic fold (*tonseisō* 遁世僧/*hijiri* 聖) tended to concern themselves less. (It was precisely their marginal status that encouraged their employment at court, for they could more easily work with defiling conditions, such as taking care of the dead).

Morimoto Sensuke reports an example from the *Mon'yōki* 門葉記 involving an incident in 1231 when the principal consort (*chūgū* 中宮) of Emperor Go-Horikawa, Shunshi 竴子, gave birth to a prince. Just when she was about to give birth, one of the monks among a group performing the Fugen Enmeihō 普賢延命法, Jōshin Sōzu 成真僧都, stating reasons relating to avoiding defilement, ran away from the performance before the concluding vow (*kechigan* 結願).[69] On the other hand, other monks boasted that Buddhist ritual technologies were especially appropriate for defiling sites such as childbirth. They contrasted such technologies to the *kami*, who they claimed could be of no assistance in such circumstances because of their distaste for defilement. Thus, as one text read aloud at the conclusion of a "Seven Buddhas Yakushi Rite" (*Shichibutsu yakushi hō* 七仏薬師法) states, "The gods loath

[69] Morimoto, "Tennō no shussan kūkan," 239–240. Concluding rites for childbirth with such vows appears to have been common; see Naoko, "Taira no Tokushi's Birth of Emperor Antoku," 125.

defiled-*qi* (*eki* 穢気) and thus do not descend; [hovering] in the air, they receive the taste of the dharma."[70] Still others claimed that Buddhist ritual technologies could directly eliminate the problem of defiling, clearing the way for the intended rites. For example, in his *Shijō hiketsu* 四帖秘決 (1213–1219), Jien 慈円 went so far as to say, should there be any suspicion about defiled-*qi* appearing around the altar space where prayers are to be performed, thus requiring injunctions, one could simply perform a subjugation rite and eliminate all such worries.[71]

Yet the defilement that manifests around a birth scene is particular; there does not appear to be much if any evidence that priests avoided the sick on account of defilement. In fact, evidence suggests that on certain occasions monks ministered closely to the sick, even during bouts that we might otherwise imagine to be especially defiling. There are, for example, plenty of examples of monks tending to the sick, whether that be other monastics or aristocrats, and dealing with their exudations. Some of that evidence comes in the way of visual sources, such as for example this illustration from the *Illustration of the Ten Worlds* (*Jikkai zu* 十界図; see FIG. 6 on the next page).

[70] 穢気を憚り降臨せざる神祇、虚空に在りて法味を納受す。Cited from the *Mon'yōki* in Morimoto, "Tennō no shussan kūkan," 243–244.

[71] たとひ人ノ御祈ヲ始むべき壇所ナドニ、俄に穢気出来シテ禁忌有るべき哉ナドと不審有る時、降伏ノ法ヲ修すべキニテアラバ其憚なし。 Cited in ibid., 245.

FIG 6. *Illustration of the Ten Worlds*, detail (*Jikkai zu*). After Izumi et. al., eds. *Rokudōe: kokuhō*.

The elaborate screens in the background indicate the patient wealthy owner. It is presumed that the owner is the sick one, depicted on the left-hand side vomiting into a four-handled basin (*tsunodarai* 角盥). He is being ministered to a man with a shaven-head; this is probably a monk. We see that although he looks away, he is nevertheless tending closely to the patient.[72] Two other monastics can be seen to the right of the illustration, where in a separate room they are chanting sutras. That they remain at a distance is not necessarily because they themselves did not wish to be defiled by the sick person. Rather, first, scriptures were efficacious at a distance. Second, the scriptures were considered pure, themselves sacred objects; it was

[72] 13th century, held by Kyoto Zenrinji 禅林寺. This is discussed in Kasuya, *Shōrōbyōshi no zuzōgaku*, 157. The six realms are depicted in the Jizō and Amida scrolls. The image is the Amida scroll, depicting the suffering of illness. Kasuya suspects the man with the large *eboshi* and white robe is a physician, and a female attendant perhaps passing medicine. Then we have a *genza* and a spirit medium (*yorimashi*), who rests on a *sugoroku* board.

undoubtedly thought best to keep them away.[73] In sum, it would appear, with some exceptions, that illness was not a major source of defilement.

## THE MEDIEVAL TRANSFORMATION OF DEFILEMENT

In premodern Japan, defilement transmission was typically described in a way that recalled contagious infections. Above, we also noted the impression that disease ought to have counted as defilement (informing, e.g. the description provided by Samson, the analysis of Shinmura). Despite these impressions, we just saw that the notion of defilement was not strongly linked to illness. But this strict categorical distinction begins to break down when we examine ailments that further blur the boundaries between disease and defilement. We might recall that much of the research on the topic of defilement in premodern Japan inevitably or with sharp focus addresses one disease in particular, that is, *rai.* As is well known, *rai* came to be associated with marginalized groups such as the *hinin* who were treated as defiled and thus excluded to the margins of society. Issues of social exclusion and the religious discourses, practices, and actors that both created their suffering and offered them liberation from it have been discussed in depth by other scholars, so we will not take those issues here.[74] Key for our discussion is that *rai*, as a disease thoroughly linked to defilement, appears to be an exception to the disease/defilement distinction. In fact, however, as we shall see, *rai* is not the only disease that can be understood in terms of defilement, for this also holds for the target of the Jimon moxibustion ritual, corpse-vector disease.

---

[73] On the regimes to maintain the purity of scriptures, see Lowe, *Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan*, esp. 29–56.

[74] For example, see Yokoi, *Chūsei minshū no seikatsu bunka*; Matsuo, *Kanjin to hakai no chūseishi: chūsei Bukkyō no jisshō*, *Kamakura shin Bukkyō no tanjō: kanjin, kegare, hakai no chūsei*, *Kyūsai no shisō: Eison Kyōdan to Kamakura shin Bukkyō*, *Chūsei no toshi to hinin*; Quinter, *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan*.

To grasp this, however, we must first understand the change that the notion of defilement underwent in the medieval period. There is a consensus among scholars that after the tenth century or so, the notion of defilement generally expanded.[75] It was applied to additional areas of life, believed to last longer, more pervasive in the world, and so on. More importantly, the early medieval period witnessed a transformation to the *ontological status* of defilement, a shift that impacted the relationship between the body and defilement and had wide-reaching effects on spatial imagination, ritual practice, and understandings of disease.

This transformation is explained most succinctly in the work of Yokoi Kiyoshi 横井清 and has been taken up to great effect by David Bialock.[76] Drawing on the work of these two scholars, the shift can be explained as follows. According to the older notion, defilement was the work of malicious forces that are external to the person they affect. Contact with defilement results in a staining of the body in greater or lesser degrees, but only temporarily so; ultimately, the virulence of defilement weakens—thus the system of purificatory periods—or, more actively, it can be expelled through ritual means.

However, in the newer sense of the notion that comes into being in the early medieval period, defilement came to be seen as a much more chronic state that already defines the human body and thus has less to do with external, invasive agents of defilement. Yokoi locates this shift to "inner defilement" (*naie* 内穢) within the larger wave of the Decline of the Dharma (*mappō* 末法) thought and more specifically the effects of the propagation of Pure Land (*jōdo kyō* 浄土教) discourses. In particular, he singles out the influence of Genshin and his *Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集. In that work, Genshin famously outlines a program for arousing feelings of disgust for this defiled world (*enri edo* 厭離穢土) that takes up each of the six paths of transmigration (*rokudō* 六道). There, the human path as characterized by impurity (*fujō* 不

[75] Shinmura (*Shi to yamai to kango no shakaishi*) and Maruyama both appear to accept this thesis. Although they do not go into much depth themselves, they seem to follow the work of Niunoya Tetsuichi 丹生谷哲一, in particular his 1986 book *Kebiishi: Chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* 検非違使—中世のけがれと権力 and Yamamoto Kōji's 山本幸司 1992 study, *Kegare to ōharae* 穢と大祓.

[76] Yokoi, *Chūsei minshū no seikatsu bunka*; Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*.

浄)—a word itself synonymous with defilement, suffering (*ku* 苦), and impermanence (*mujō* 無常). To demonstrate to readers that the body itself, a physical entity of this defiled world, is already defiled (*eshin* 穢身), Genshin leads readers on a tour of the body's anatomy (which is deliberately gross in both senses). The tour includes an elaborate accounting of the eighty thousand worms (*mushi* 蟲) that inhabit this "rotten and dilapidated house" 朽壊舎, aggressive consumers of human flesh the reader would have been familiar with from earlier descriptions in the *Ōjō yōshū* of hells like the "region of excrement mud" 屎泥処. This section of the impurities of the body closes with descriptions of dying (a process which when initiated incites the aforementioned worms to fear, causing them to devour each other in a fit for survival) and of the corpse and its stages of decay, those descriptions would become the basis for textual and visual variations of the "meditations on impurity" (*fujōkan* 不浄観).[77]

Genshin's program and purpose are soteriological in nature. He lays bare the facts of the defiled body so that readers might finally sever attachment to this fetid and ever-collapsing body, and this wretched world. This was, for Genshin, a necessary step in the process of awakening to the absolute necessity of directing the mind toward rebirth in Amida's Pure Land, the sole path to liberation.[78] But as Yokoi and others have argued, there were effects of this discourse beyond the soteriological. For example, one effect of this evocative and yet haunting discourse was to transform the very ontological imagination of somaticity and the nature of defilement: the body was now defiled through and through. Bialock puts it like this: "Doctrine, in brief, was now extending its domain into the body as impurity (*fujō*), was interiorized, and defilement took on the meaning of sinful karmic obstruction (*zaishō*)."[79]

---

[77] These descriptions were thus important for the practice of "contemplating impurities" (*fujōkan* 不浄観), on which see Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*, 100–112; Pandey, "Women, Sexuality, and Enlightenment: *Kankyo no Tomo*," 119–146; and Yamamoto, *Yami no Nihon bijutsu*, 126–142.

[78] Rhodes provides a thorough summary of each of the paths described in the text; see *Genshin's Ōjōyōshū and the Construction of Pure Land Discourse in Heian Japan*, 183–225.

[79] Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories,* 226.

Because of the terminology of karmic determination associated with hindrance and sin (*zaishō* 罪障, *zaigō* 罪業), Jayne Sun Kim has called this "transgression defilement."

It would be hasty to believe that the *Ōjō yōshū* single-handedly sparked this transformation.[80] Some doubt has been cast on the influence of the *Ōjō yōshū* immediately after its completion in 985, but it is clear that by the twelfth century it was influential.[81] At the same time, it is evident that this new paradigm did not completely displace the older notion of defilement. While certain changes might have been more readily apparent, others involved a more subtle braiding of traditional and newer senses of defilement.[82]

This becomes clearer when we think about this transformation of defilement and how it changed the relationship between defilement and illness. In ancient Japan, as we've discussed, illness was not strongly linked to defilement. But it is exactly this which begins to change with the lodging of defilement deeper into the body—but not necessarily once and for all, nor for all diseases. Rather, the effects appear to have a special effect on certain cases only. It is critical to remember that, from the perspective of doctrine, this sense of defilement that Genshin was thought to be introducing to Heian Japan was not actually anything new, even if his articulation of it was particularly evocative.

Indeed, "physiomoralism," the karmic determination of the physical state of the body, which in the shadow of Decline of the Dharma thinking leaned toward an intensely pessimistic

---

[80] Indeed, we reach something of a major contradiction. The *Ōjō yōshū* and Pure Land thought are seen to have been the source of this new sense of defilement. At the same time, those texts (as Shinmura has shown) emphasize more flexible attitudes toward defilement, insofar as those facilitate better care of the sick and the dying. Yet as Jacqueline Stone points out with the example of "halls of impermanence" (*mujōin*), doctrines don't give the full picture, the *mujōin* being one spatial strategy for managing death defilement; see *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*.

[81] Horton, "The Influence of the *Ōjōyōshū* in Late Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Japan."

[82] As we will note later, the *Ōjō yōshū* can be directly linked to the Jimon moxibustion ritual. Not only was one of the compilers, Keisei, very much influenced by it, going on to transcribe biographies of people who attained rebirth in the pure land (*ōjōden* 往生伝), but it was also cited directly in *Essential Notes.* Rather, I see the Jimon ritual as being an important contributor in this shift, but it does so in particular ways.

view, was traditional in Buddhist doctrine.[83] In terms of disease, the karmic variety, or *gōbyō* 業病 (Ch. *yebing*) were already counted among the widely influential six-fold nosological categorization conceived by Zhiyi. Zhiyi's discourse on the body, including the *Mohe zhiguan* in which that classification appears, as well as his *Fajie cidi chumen* 法界次第初門, which was influenced by Chinese medical doctrines, were key sources for Genshin's discourse on the impurities of the body.[84] But of course we can go back even further in the Buddhist textual tradition, to Zhiyi's inspirations, as well. Karmic disease appeared throughout Buddhist scriptures. Perhaps the most famous passage on such diseases was from the *Lotus Sutra,* Chapter 28, "The Encouragements of the Bodhisattva Universally Worthy" (*Fugen Bosatsu kanhotsu-hon* 普賢菩薩勧発品):

> If, again, one sees a person receiving and holding this scripture, then utters its faults and its evils, be they fact or not fact, that person in the present age shall get white leprosy. If anyone makes light of it or laughs at it, from age to age his teeth shall be far apart and decayed, he shall have ugly lips and a flat nose, his arms and legs shall be crooked, his eyes shall be pointed and the pupils out of symmetry, his body shall stink, he shall have sores running pus and blood, his belly shall be watery and his breath short: in brief, he shall have all manner of evil and grave ailments.[85]

What is important is thus not that Buddhist physiomoralism applied to disease was new in early medieval Japan, but that in this period pathology, defilement, and this new sense of defilement, began to converge in new ways and with unprecedented consequences.[86] In

[83] Mrozik, *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics*, 2007; Heirman and Torck, *A Pure Mind in a Clean Body: Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China*, 2012.

[84] See Yamano, "Tendai Chigi no igaku shisō josetsu;" also noted in Rhodes *Genshin's* Ōjōyōshū *and the Construction of Pure Land Discourse in Heian Japan*, 209.

[85] Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*, 309. Also noted in Maruyama ("Kodai no tennō to byōsha," 205), who disputes its logical connection to defilement, and Shinmura, *Shi to yamai to kango no shakaishi*.

[86] This new sense of defilement can be corroborated with other sources. Ryūichi Abe has written that "in the medieval period, *kegare* was recognized as being far more dangerous than its ancient counterpart. Not only that all sorts of miserable plight of a present life was linked to his or her *kegare* in past lifes, the *kegare*, if remained untreated, would bind one to misfortune in his or her future transmigrations. It is not accidental that Myōe

other words, Buddhist physiomoralism gave defilement new wings by lending it pathology: what's new is that disease comes finally to be linked with defilement.

As Bialock suggests, this convergence had consequences for how therapeutic efficacy was conceived in court circles. He brings up a fascinating example of the "Debate over a Physician" (*Ishi mondō* 医師問答) chapter of the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語.[87] The episode concerns the illness of Shigemori 平重盛 and his argument against his father, Kiyomori's 清盛, who counsels him to avail himself of the medical skills of a physician who has recently arrived from Song China. Among the main reasons Shigemori gives for not doing so, we find the notion that the disease is karmic. "Even if he were to consult the Four Medical Books and prove master of a hundred cures," Shigemori argues, "how could he heal this defiled body of mind (*udai no shin*)? Even if he had knowledge of the Five Medical Classics and experience curing many illnesses, how could he cure a karmic illness (*gōbyō*) from a former life?"[88] What is critical here is that he is referring to his disease in terms of a defiled body. Similar language about karmic diseases (although lacking mention of the defiled body) appear in the *Hōgen monogatari* 保元物語 in an account of the death of Retired Emperor Toba 鳥羽法皇: "Thereafter, the Retired Emperor weakened day by day; there being no salvation by way of dharmic efficacy, a failure of the good medicines of the medical arts, [he] thought it a disease of karma and knew it was his end."[89] Shinmura thus reads "karmic disease" as an expression of an affliction that no longer responds to treatment. He brings in another example from the early

---

employed mantras that were particularly renowned for their effectiveness in erasing one's evil karma"; see Abe, "Mantra, 'Hinin,' and the Feminine: On the Salvational Strategies of Myōe and Eizon," 106.

[87] Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 210–216. The section appears in fascicle three of the text.

[88] たとひ四部の書をかがみて、百療に長ずといふ共、いかでか有待の穢身を救療せん。たとひ五経の説を詳にして、衆病をいやすと云共、豈先世の業病を治せんや。Translation from Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 213.

[89] その後法皇日に随ひて弱らせ給へば、法験利生をかくし、医道良薬をうしなふに付けても、業病この時を限れりとぞ思し召す。*NKBT* 41: 222–223. A different edition of the text is translated in Tyler (2012: 16), where the corresponding passage has been rendered: "The greatest and most secret rites have no effect, and the physicians' art achieves nothing! Oh, what is to become of him?"

Kamakura period aristocrat Sanjō Chūnagon Fujiwara Nagakane 三条中納言藤原長兼. On the death of the Head of the Medical Bureau Tanba no Yorimichi 典薬頭丹波頼道, who was called the Bianqie 扁鵲 of this world, Nagakane wrote in his diary: "As for karmic disease, even the medicine of the dharma has no effect, to say nothing of [classical] medicine"[90] Karmic disease was increasingly becoming a way to articulate this experience of an illness about which no more could be done.

But while there was much resolve about one's fate in the notion of karmic disease—it basically meant one was fated to death, that this illness now will be the last one, even while it called into question both Buddhist and classical Chinese medical arts—that did not stop many others from imagining possible treatments to treat this special affliction. But how could one treat such a disease, which was increasingly felt to be deeply tied to the physical body through the notion of defilement? As we might expect, while the medieval transformation to the notion of defilement brought much surrender to one's condition, it also brought with it new ways to imagine the management, circumvention, and even removal of that defilement. The rupture entailed in the medieval transformation to the notion of defilement was met with new ways to imagine dealing with defilement, and because defilement now focused more squarely on the body, those ways necessarily entailed the body. This is how Bialock describes the general situation:

> The body's transformation into a site of defilement wrought perceptible changes in the sphere of ritual activity. Once defilement had merged into an effect of karmic determination (*jōgō*), it pervaded the body, and this in turn altered the way that defilement was articulated in space. Throughout much of the Heian period, illnesses, destructive plagues, and the assorted phenomena associated with spirits (*mononoke*) had been viewed essentially as malign influences brought in from the outside, which could be managed through the proper observance of taboos, exorcisms, or rites of expulsion performed at the borders of the imperial domain as prescribed in the law codes. With defilement now interwoven with the body through karmic determination, in a kind of ontological entangling, the effectiveness of the rituals for expelling

[90] 於業病者法薬猶無験、況乎医病歟。Also cited in Shinmura, *Shi to yamai to kango no shakaishi*, 61.

malign spirits was undermined, as those who had formerly acted as agents of purification became defiled themselves.[91]

To understand how the shift in defilement might shape how the treatment of disease was conceived, let's look briefly at the example of *rai.* If any ailment was the epitome of the crossing of notions of defilement with pathology, it is surely *rai.* There has been debate about whether or not *rai* counted as defilement earlier on in the ancient period. By the medieval period, however, this was not a question for most people. The other question has been whether this defilement derived from their occupations. Arguing that the defiled status of *raisha* 癩者 did not derive from occupations that involved handling polluting substances, Yamamoto Kōji 山本幸司 gives an example from the late Kamakura period *Korō kujitsu den* 古老口実伝 describing how *raisha* were barred from residing in and passing through the boundaries of Ise Shrine 伊勢神宮.[92] This is part of an argument directed at Maruyama, who as we saw suggested that illness and defilement were not linked in the early period. Yamamoto gives another example, a vow-text (*kishōmon* 起請文) of the type examined by Kuroda Hideo, dating from 1194—very close to the time of compilation of the Jimon ritual texts—in which it says: "[If I break this vow,] may I receive through every one of the pours on my body the punishment of all the gods and receive white leprosy [...]" Yamamoto reads this as evidence that *raisha* were not seen as defiled because of their occupation so much as by the fact that they were damned by the gods. But it is clear that Buddhist physiomoralism plays a key part here—again, it is not just some external malicious force, but rather something that one embodies. It's also important here that the language hovers so closely to the body, as intimately as the pours of the skin—this aspect is discussed evocatively by Kuroda. In any case, the defiled status of the *raisha* explains why religious groups came to address their salvific activities toward them, as for

[91] Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 227.

[92] Yamamoto "Kegare-kan to chūsei shakai," 311–312.

example figures like Ippen Shōnin 一遍上人. So it's clear that this idea of the defiled status of *raisha* increasingly becomes more and more common over the medieval period.

How, then, does one *treat* the damned and defiled? The scene below from the illustrated *Ishiyamadera engi emaki* 石山寺縁起絵巻 depicts an old priest who has entered the curtain-enclosed space of the patient to enact a very proximate form of healing (see FIG. 7 below). Why in this case should a priest get so close to the patient's physical body to perform treatment?

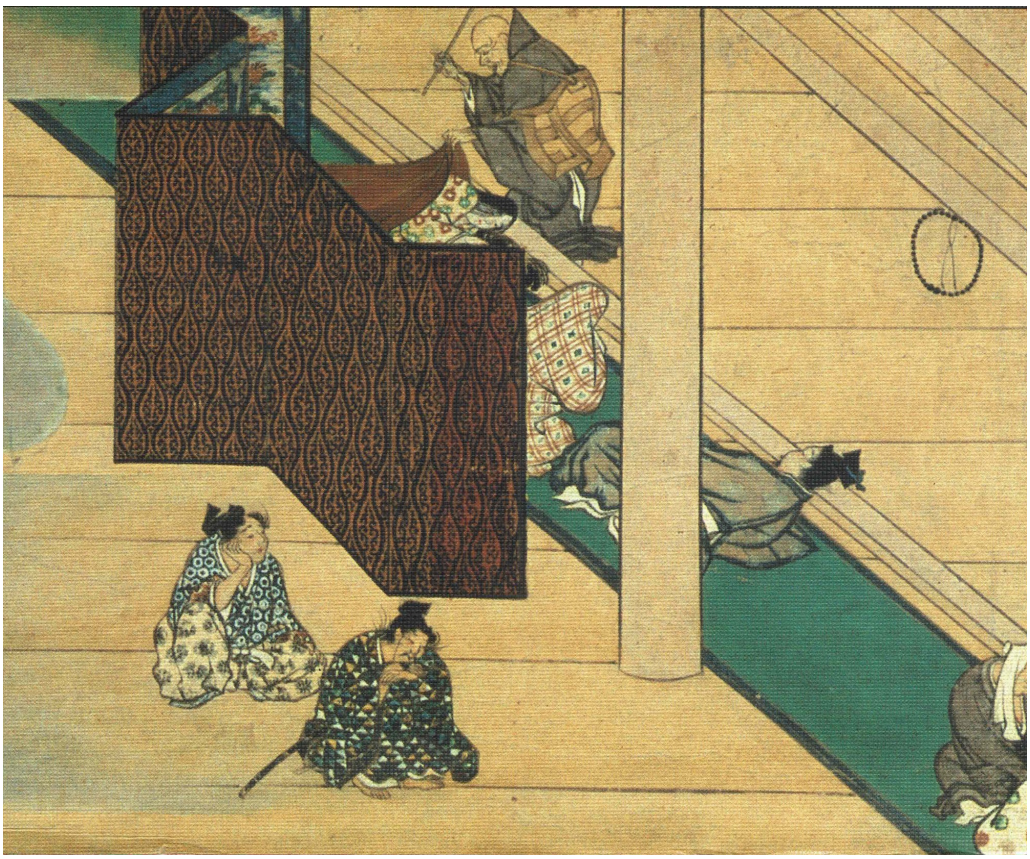


FIG 7. *Ishiyamadera engi emaki*. After Aizawa et al., eds. *Ishiyamadera engi emaki shūsei*.

For one, this encounter is unrestricted by the usual spatial constraints of priestly ritual healing because it is unfolding in a dream. Viewers are allowed to imagine the sort of clinical encounter and crossing of the screen monks didn't typically perform. More importantly, the disease at hand here differs from afflictions caused by *mononoke*. This sufferer has *rai.* As Kuroda Hideo

has argued, the illustrator has skillfully chosen to symbolize the visible sores characteristic of the leprosy by way of the persimmon-colored robe draped over the patient, for this is the color of robes typically worn by *raisha*. We witness the priest removing the robe as treatment, and afterward, she's cured.[93] In other words, the disease absolutely removed from the physical body for it to count as a cure. The treatment method is thus very much like the Jimon moxibustion ritual: it must directly engage that body, it must enact direct contact with the patient. This example thus brings us back to the Jimon moxibustion ritual, and in particular, to corpse-vector disease.

## RAI, MADNESS, AND CORPSE-VECTOR DISEASE

If *rai* was the representative case of a karmic illness that converged with the notion of defilement, then this encourages all the more a closer look at the overlap between *rai* and corpse-vector disease, the pathological entity at the center of the Jimon moxibustion ritual. Specifically, we should do so through the lens of defilement.[94] This is because corpse-vector disease was seen to be a closely related disease. Several kinds of sources in the medieval period tell us as much. For example, in his *Idanshō,* Koremune Tomotoshi explicitly links these two:

> *On the Incurability of Corpse-Vector and Rai Diseases*
>
> Among serious diseases, all are difficult to cure, but corpse-vector and *rai* affliction are especially diseases of death (*shibyō* 死病). It's no use [when it comes to dealing with these

[93] Kuroda, *Kyōkai no chusei, shōchō no chūsei*, 254–255.

[94] "Tubercle is the twin-sister of leprosy. The likeness between the two diseases is remarkable, and the points of resemblance are so numerous that we are encouraged to draw a parallel between them. It is possible, indeed, not only to compare them together, but also to draw conclusions from the past history of one of them, leprosy, which may shed light upon the probable course in the near future of the other, tuberculosis. In other words, from a consideration of the circumstances attending the decline of leprosy we may venture to make a forecast as to the probably date of the final disappearance of tuberculosis from our midst" (*A Campaign Against Consumption, A Collection of Papers Relating to Tuberculosis*, Arthur Ransome, 1915) Curiously enough, leprosy and tuberculosis are closely related in a number of respects. Both diseases are caused by mycobacterial pathogens, *Mycobacterium leprae* and *Mycobacterium tuberculosis*, respectively.

diseases]. It's just that they cannot be treated. [These afflictions] increase on the body, while diminishing [their influence on the body] is hard to achieve.

As for *rai* disease, Sun the Perfected[95] treated some six-hundred persons himself, sixty of which were cured. Despite the fact that there should be total effectiveness when a Perfected One (*shinjin* 真人) performs the treatment, this [in fact] is extraordinarily rare. Lu Zhaolin 盧照隣 [ca. 634–ca. 683] of the Tang was one of the Four Exemplary Poets. He suffered from this malicious affliction.[96] When in his despair he asked Sun the Perfected [for help], Simiao replied, "The body has diseases from which one can be healed; heaven has disasters from which one can be rescued."[97] His treatment was not successful. Zhaolin, in the end, threw himself in the Ying River and died. Also, a disciple of Confucius, Ran Boniu 冉伯牛, suffered [from this affliction]. Because his body did not look as a person's ought to, Confucius went to visit him, taking his hand through a window and lamenting [with him]. Thus were there many cases of eminent ones of great antiquity suffering in this way. There were good physicians, but [their treatments] were not realized. All the more so in the latter age (*matsudai* 末代)! *Qianjin yi* [*fang*] says: "Among barbarians, this [affliction] is called *kāmalā* disease.[98] Of the hands [i.e. means available to] physicians, there are none that treats [this]."

---

[95] That is, Sun Simiao (b. 581?). This is the birth date that Sun Simiao, at the age of ninety-two, gives for himself. Sivin analyzes the evidence regarding Sun's birth date (1968: 120–124). As to the date of his death, this was subject to greater embellishment (ibid 130–131).

[96] In the text, "malicious affliction" is glossed by "*Qianjin fang* 千金方," likely indicating the source of the story.

[97] "Healed" translates *i* 已 (Ch. *yi*) a less typical reading likely deriving from the dominant senses of the character, "to stop" or "come to an end." A similar use will be seen in the Qian Zifei story below. Variants of the story indicate the appropriateness of "heal" or "to eliminate," e.g. *Taiping guangji* 太平広記 (fasc. 21): 体有可消之疾; *Taiping yulan* 太平御覧: 形体有可愈之疾.

[98] *Kāmalā* translates *kama* 詞魔, which in this text lacks the final character *ra* 羅 seen in the original; for example, T. 1239: 190b17–19: 中不敬三寶輕毀法藏。或得人身諸根不具。種種惡病嚴著其身惡瘡疥癬。或爲迦摩羅病之所纏。 Interestingly, the translator in the *Kokuyaku* edition (*Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* [2], 85) gives this note for the term: "Diseases that are difficult to treat, such as *raikan* 癩癇 and *denshi* 伝尸." These connections will be discussed further shortly.

Sun Simiao discusses *lai* in his *Qianjin yifang* (fasc. 21), in a section entitled "The Ten-Thousand Diseases and Malicious Diseases Treated by Jīvaka" (*Manbing, Qipo zhi ebing* 万病・耆婆治悪病). Catherine Despeux ("Buddhist Healing Practices at Dunhuang in the Medieval Period," forthcoming in Salguero and Macomber, eds., *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*) notes: "In fact, the *Collection of Meanings and Terms in Translation* (*Fanyi ming yi ji* 翻譯名義集, T. 2131) confirms that *kāmalā* (迦摩羅, 或迦末羅) designates illnesses due to Bile (huangbing 黃病), malignant dirtiness (egou 惡垢) or the *lai* pathology."

There was a physician named Qian Zifei 錢子飛.[99] He was effective (*gen arikeri* 驗アリケリ) in treating Great Wind (*dafeng* 大風) diseases. In a dream, he saw this: [A person came to tell him,][100] "[This] is a disease that can be stopped [only] by heaven. If you go against heaven and use this medicine [to treat the disease], you will acquire the disease [yourself]." Afterwards, [Qian Zifei] thought it useless [to attempt treatment] and did not administer [the medicine].[101]

Corpse-vector disease is an affliction in which demons reside (*oni no jū suru yamai* 鬼ノ住スル病) [in the body].[102] Ordinary diseases are difficult enough to treat, but because [this disease] is controlled by demons and spirits, unless these spirits pass, it will prove impossible to expel. The same is generally true of the *gao huang* 膏肓 illness contracted by Emperor Jing Gong of the Jin dynasty. Even Yi Huan 医緩 was unable to treat it. We see [in the *Taiping yulan* that] during the years of the Wude era [of Emperor Gaozu 高祖 (618–626)] of the Tang, when [corpse-vector disease] was spreading around, Xu Yizong 許裔宗 treated it carefully.[103] The fish[104] known as the *manliyu* 鰻黎魚[105] makes for extremely good medicine for this disease. It resembles the eel (*unagi* ウナギ) with a large belly that is somewhat red.

The *Taiping guangji* says[106]: "In the village of Chang there was a fisherman. His wife acquired a wasting disease (*sōshitsu* 痩疾). He thought it wouldn't do if [the disease] were to spread

---

[99] Again, a gloss indicates the source: *Superior Formulas of Su [Shi] and Shen [Kuo]* (*Su Shen liangfang* 蘇沈良方).

[100] This information is culled from Su Shi's 蘇軾 *Dongpo zhirin* 東坡志林, one of two texts that contains the story, with much more accessible language.

[101] "Did not administer" 不施 follows the two other versions, whereas the original has "did not cease" 不絶.

[102] The addition "in the body" here will be explained below.

[103] Tomotoshi here quotes the *Taiping yulan*, but with a major alteration: he has purposely left out the fact that the story concerns "bones-steaming disease" (*guzhengbing* 骨蒸病), leading the reader to believe the original passage concerns corpse-vector disease, the topic he is currently discussing. The original reads as follows: 武德初，關中多骨蒸病，得之必死，遞相連染，諸醫無能療者，裔宗每療無不愈; cited in *Idanshō*, 326.

[104] The character is *gyo* 魚, typically understood to indicate creatures we now think of as fish, but the category in Chinese *materia medica* texts is broader; as the reader learns in the next line, this is an eel.

[105] The authors of '*Hara no mushi' no kenkyū* (pp. 311–313) note the variant characters 鰻鱺魚 (黎 and 鱺 are both read *li* in Chinese) and provide an image of the creature from the *Zhenglei bencao* 証類本草 (1082) compiled by Tang Shenwei 唐慎微.

[106] The editors point out that this narrative, originally appearing as "The Fisherman's Bride" ("Yuren qi" 魚人妻) in juan 22 of the *Taiping guangji* 太平広記 (978), was clearly useful for explaining the disease because it was quoted thereafter in many different sources, including, *Man zhi laoji* 鰻治労疾 in fasc. 4 ("Laozhai" 労瘵) of

> widely and cause people to die, so he placed his wife in a casket, nailed it shut, and floated it on the ocean to send it away. When the casket drifted to a place called Gold Mountain (Jinshan), a fisherman there thought it strange. When he opened the casket he saw a sick girl who was very thin. Taking pity on her, he pulled her out, and carried her into his fisherman's hut where he gave her this eel, which she ate. After a while, the girl completely recovered from the disease. She then became the fisherman's wife. In *materia medica* (*bencao* 本草), this eel is said to kill worms (*mushi wo korosu mono* 虫ヲ殺スモノ).[107] If one grills this eel and fumigates mosquitoes with it, they will all die. They fear and flee from it. Also, it seems that if one puts it inside a book, worms will not enter. As for this disease, because it is apparently caused by poisonous worms (*dokumushi* 毒虫) that consume the insides of the abdomen, this treatment which kills worms ought to be used.[108]

Tomotoshi draws out some important connections between these two diseases. First, in both cases there is a strong emphasis on the body, in particular, the sense that these diseases cannot be extricated from the body of sufferers. This is indeed something of Tomotoshi's implicit thesis for this section. In the opening paragraph he essentially argues that corpse-vector disease and *rai* are incurable because they "increase on the body." This is a somewhat idiosyncratic expression, but it nevertheless foregrounds the somatic nature of these diseases. This is precisely what he goes on to explain in subsequent paragraphs.

That *rai* is understood in terms of the body is made obvious by the mention of Confucius's disciple. Confucius meets and laments with this disciple, but through a window, implying that this is to keep the bodies at a safe distance. It becomes clear over the passage that *rai* is trapped in the body because it is a disease of one's fate which is out of one's control; it is governed foremost by heaven. Thus, although the "King of Physicians" Sun Simiao notes that "the body has diseases from which one can be healed," his treatment nevertheless proves

---

*Yishuo* 医説; "Manliyu" 鰻鱺魚 in fasc. 21 ("Chong-yu bu zhong pin" 虫魚部中品) in *Zhenglei bencao* 証類本草 (1082); Koremune Tokitoshi's 1293 惟宗時俊 primer on medicine, *Ike senji monchū* 医家千字文註 (later published in Tenpō 天保 years [1830–1844]); and "Manliyu" 鰻鱺魚 in fasc. 44 ("Lin zhu si" 鱗之四) of Li Shizhen's Ming period (1578) *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目.

[107] Probably the *Zhenglei bencao.*

[108] *Idanshō*, 190–192.

unsuccessful. Even though Tomotoshi draws on Chinese medical texts and sources like the *Taiping guangji*, the strongly deterministic feeling Tomotoshi here lends to *rai* makes it resemble the medieval Japanese notion of defilement. Moreover, the story of Qian Zifei shows that for a physician to even attempt to treat such a fated disease is to put oneself at risk, for it is to defy the will of heaven; even treating disease can result in acquiring the disease for oneself—it is a hopeless situation no matter which way you spin it. This all recalls the way "karmic disease" was discussed in the medieval Japanese military tales, such as *Heike monogatari*. That Tomotoshi has in mind something similar is clear in the fact that, although he is discussing heaven, he encloses this all in a reference to the "end times," *matsudai*, that is, *mappō*, the decline of the dharma. The ontological difficulty of the disease has only amplified in these apocalyptic times.

The subsequent paragraphs on corpse-vector disease also succinctly convey a similar argument that the affliction is uniquely lodged within the body and will not budge. In contrast to *rai*, which is cast as a heavenly disease, corpse-vector disease is described as a disease of spirits. The nature of those spirits is explained by way of comparison to the famous story of Yi Huan's unsuccessful treatment of Emperor Jing Gong of the Jin dynasty, which is contained in the *Zuo zhuan* 左伝 (Chenggong 成公, Year 10). This appears to have been a favorite of Tomotoshi's, since it appears in two other sections of the *Idanshō*.[109] According to this story, Yi Huan, a well-known physician of the Spring and Autumn periods, is brought in by Emperor Jing Gong of the Jin dynasty, who is suffering from a curse disease caused by spirits of the dead that have become *daili* 大厲 (spirits). Before Yi Huan arrives, the Emperor sees a dream in which two youths that have become his disease already know of the arrival of the good physician, and one hides above the *huang* and the other below the *gao*. Yi Huan's diagnosis confirms that the disease is above the *huang* and below the *gao*, and reports that nothing can be done to treat it.[110]

[109] "On the Fact that No Treatment is Superior to Cautery" 療不如灸事 and "On Malicious-*Qi*" 邪気事.

[110] Amano and Kosoto, *Shinkyū no rekishi*, 47–48.

(This reminds one of the story of Bian Que's diagnosis of Duke Huan, whereas the disease progressively goes deeper and deeper into the body, treatment becomes more and more impossible, until the inevitable occurs.[111] Parenthetically, Tomotoshi discusses this story elsewhere in the section entitled, "On the Fact that No Treatment is Superior to Cautery." There, he speculates that Sun's argument is that, had Yi Huan known about the corresponding moxibustion loci, also called *gaohuang,* he would in fact have been able to treat the disease. Putting these two sections of the *Idanshō* together, therefore, reveals that while Tomotoshi casts corpse-vector disease as an incurable death disease, he also saw that one viable treatment method—in addition to the *manliyu* eel—was moxibustion.)

The distinctive somaticity of corpse-vector disease is further indicated in the opening passage: "Corpse-vector disease is an affliction in which demons reside (*oni no jū suru yamai* 鬼ノ住スル病) [in the body]." That Tomotoshi means to say "reside in the body" is clear from the provenance of this passage, the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*. As mentioned earlier, fascicle 24, deals with *zhu*-infusion diseases (*chūbyō* 注病). Of the thirty-four types of *zhu*-infusion discussed there, the discussion of many starts with this refrain: "The word 'infusion' (*zhu* 注) [means] 'to reside' (*zhu* 住)." The opening passage continues: "Because the malicious-*qi* resides (*zhu* 住) in the person's body, the [the disease] is called 'infusion' (*zhu* 注)."[112] In making this connection between corpse-vector disease and *zhu*-infusion in this way, Tomotoshi was drawing on the genealogy of classical medical literature discussed earlier, as well as its particular reception in Japan. On the twelfth-century scroll for fascicle thirteen of the Nakarai-ke bon 半井家本 of the *Ishinpō*, that is, the "Section on the Five Exhaustions and Seven Damages" (*gorō shichishō bu* 五勞七傷部) in a footnote at the start of the sections dealing with corpse-vector disease (*chi denshibyō hō* 治傳屍病方), we find the following note: "The [*Zhu*]*bing yuan*[*hou*] *lun* says: *Zhu*-infusion in thirty-four discourses; In general, the word 'infusion' means 'to

[111] See Kuriyama, *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*, 162–164.

[112] 凡注之言住也。謂邪氣居住人身内、故名為注。

reside.' Because the malicious-*qi* resides (*zhu* 住) in the person's body, the [the disease] is called 'infusion' (*zhu* 注)." Thus, corpse-vector disease is much like or identical to a *zhu*-infusion, but the residing entity is a spirit entity much like the spirits in the story of Yi Huan.

The question, then, is what to do about diseases like this. Corpse-vector disease and *rai* are death diseases, but this means more than that they are simply fatal; it also articulates something about the direction or shape the imagination of their treatment might take. Although Sun Simiao tells Lu Zhaolin that "the body has diseases from which one can be healed," his treatment fails. Resigned to his fate, the latter's ultimate decision is thus to throw his own body in the Ying River in what became a very famous episode. Moreover, there is an uncanny resemblance between this incident, involving *rai*, and the story of the fisherman's wife at the end of Tomotoshi's passage, involving corpse-vector disease. The "answer" in the latter story as well, although forced upon the sufferer by her husband, was the traditional means of expelling defiled and defiling entities (because there was a risk of her contaminating others): expulsion by sending the sufferer's living body into the ocean in a vessel designed to carry the dead. For a body from whom disease cannot be extracted and removed, the only choice left—or so the logic would seem—is to flush the body away in its entirety. Although the story's denouement proves this to be false—since the woman is treated later through medicinal eel—the logic is nevertheless parallel.

It is important to notice how Tomotoshi curates this information about the body and death in order to further his argument about how these two diseases are death diseases. The sources upon which Tomotoshi relied to retell the story of Lu Zhaolin's disease do not specify that it was *rai.* Tomotoshi was probably drawn to the title of the tale, which in the *Yishou* 医説 (Jp. *Isetsu*), a major inspiration for the *Idanshō,* is "The Body has Illnesses that can be Stopped" 体有可已之疾. Tomotoshi uses this example for *rai* because it's a disease of the body that is not easily stopped—even the Perfected One Sun himself only successfully treated sixty cases. Tomotoshi uses a similar textual strategy for corpse-vector disease. For example, we can see this in how he links his subject to *gao huang*. The latter is a mysterious disease about which

we cannot say much, but like corpse-vector disease it is a spirit-related disease that gets buried so deep within the body that it is to be remembered for thousands of years. Indeed, this story is the origin of the well-known idiom which in Japanese is typically rendered "the illness has entered the *gao* and *huang*" (*yamai kōkō ni iru* 病膏肓に入る). This refers to serious illnesses or more generally to conditions that are absolutely beyond help, even that of the best physicians or experts.

More directly, the example of Xu Yizong is given to suggest that this physician dealt cautiously with corpse-vector disease during the Tang period. In fact, when we look to the original sources, we see that the disease is "bones-steaming." As we have already noted, this is a disease closely related to corpse-vector disease, through the shared category of Depletion-Exhaustion. The links between corpse-vector disease and bones-steaming were known to Jimon monks, for the latter appears in both the liturgy and the oral transmissions. Finally, Tomotoshi gives the story of the fisherman's wife as if it is also unambiguously about corpse-vector disease. Yet in the story, although the ailment is identified as a kind of "exhaustion" (*lao* 労), the only other name given to the disease is "wasting disease" (*sōbyō* 痩病). Interestingly, this name also appears essentially as a synonym for corpse-vector disease in *Essential Notes*, a later appended section of which was entitled "treatment method for wasting disease" (*sōbyō chihō* 痩病治方). Tomotoshi was thus drawing in a number of disorders into the fold of corpse-vector disease in much the same way that had already been done by the Jimon monks and in classical Chinese medical literature. As we've noted, then, this was not simply a curatorial strategy. It was a way in which diseases were understood—as interconnected, with protean boundaries. Yet why is it that all these disorders are collected around the notion of corpse-vector disease? This special status is something that we need to account for. I would argue this is all very relevant for thinking about the links to defilement. The body must be thrown away because it is defiled, this is why it is either drowning or expulsion, getting rid of the body completely. But all of this should at the very least make us realize that we need to reappraise corpse-vector disease from the lens of defilement, this kind of ontological defilement that is somehow on par with *rai*.

It was not just Tomotoshi that made this connection between *rai* and corpse-vector disease. Importantly, the Jimon liturgical texts do this as well. First, we need to recall that *rai* was understood as the kind of ultimate karmic disease. The manuscript of the liturgy closes with a strong statement that corpse-vector disease is a "disease of accumulated karma" (*kore shukugō no yamai nari* 是宿業ノ病ナリ). Another more astonishing link is made between the two early on in the liturgy. This appears when the liturgy is describing the epidemic-like circulation of the disease: "It spreads from husband to wife to children, and then to brothers and sisters. Thus, some call it 'corpse-vector demon-disease.' None under heaven, including eminent physicians, can treat it. When the Dharma of the Buddha is diluted and wanes, kings, officials, queens, concubines, and monks and nuns of the realm will all suffer harm wrought by this demon-god."[113] The idea that not even eminent physicians have success with it recalls Sun Simiao's failure to treat what Tomotoshi understood as *rai.* But the connection becomes more explicit next. Of the circulation of the epidemic, the liturgy says: "For those of high virtue, it will become *rai*, for those of middle virtue it will become corpse-vector [disease], and for those of low virtue it will become madness."[114] To grasp this passage, to take it seriously, we have to remember the protean boundaries between diseases we noted above and which resurfaced with Tomotoshi. What the passage is saying is that this *one* epidemic that is overtaking the land afflicted by the decline of the dharma, this *one* epidemic transforms into different diseases depending on the moral status of the person afflicted. In other words, at the level of epidemic circulation, *rai*, corpse-vector disease, and madness are ontologically identical; but at the level of individual sufferers, that ontologically singular disease differentially manifests.

From what did this perception derive? There are many possibilities. But as karmic diseases, corpse-vector disease and *rai* are equally characterized by their remarkable ability to destroy family ties because of the contagion they entailed. We read how corpse-vector disease

[113] 所謂傳夫妻子孫及兄弟姉妹等。是故時人號曰傳屍鬼病。天下名醫不能療治。佛法澆薄時、國王大臣后妃婇女國中僧尼、爲此鬼神所侵害。

[114] 上品爲癩兒、中品爲傳死、下品爲狂亂。

"cuts the intimate ties of father and son and causes husband and wife to turn suspicious on the obligations [of marriage that bind them]." Leprosy likewise breaks those family ties, and this is often directly linked to concerns of defilement. For example, in the *Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集, story 20:35, this is said about "white *rai*" (*hakurai* 白癩), which in the text is glossed *shirahadake*, or "white skin": "During that time, he contracted the disease of white *rai*"—karmic punishment for the monk's jealousy—"and even his wet nurse, who had vowed to be his parent, would not come near him [out of fear of] defilement (*kegare*). Thus, without a place to go, he went to huts in Kiyomizu and Sakamoto to live. But there as well, among the destitute he was despised, and in three months he died."[115]

Before advancing further to discuss more directly the link between corpse-vector disease and defilement, we should not overlook the inclusion of "madness" (*kyōran* 狂乱) as the third ontological manifestation (or morally-inflected mutation) of the epidemic described in the Jimon liturgy, said to affect those of "low virtue." The reason it is important is two-fold. First, madness (commonly rendered *monogurui* 物狂 and *bukkyō* 物狂 in medieval sources) and similar disorders figure variously in the Jimon ritual sources. Second, it is another case of an ailment that was connected to defilement in medieval Japan, thus much like *rai* and, as we will see, corpse-vector disease.

Regarding the connection between madness and corpse-vector disease, for example, in describing the "signs of the disease," *Essential Notes* lists a string of terminology surrounding madness: "Sometimes the sufferer loses consciousness (*setsuju* 絶入). (This is like epilepsy [*kutsuchi* クツチ]).[116] This seems to resemble despair (*shitsui* 失意) and madness (*kyōran* 狂乱)." The term for "madness" above, *kyōran*, appears here. Where did this information come

[115] *SNKBT 36:* 290–294. Cf. translation in Dykstra 1998: 217; "defilement" is left out.

[116] While *Denshibyō kuden* (T. 2507) has *itsuchi*, this is a transcription mistake for *kutsuchi* ("madness"), which we find in *Essential Notes* (Ōta, "Bunkachō zō 'Denshibyō kanjinshō narabini sōbyō chihō' kaidai to honkoku, 8; Minobe et al., "Denshi 'oni' to 'mushi' – Kyōushookuzō – 'Denshibyō kanjin shō' ryakkai," 72; see also note 4 on p. 83). *Kutsuchi* is the Japanese reading for characters that can also be read *tenkan* (Ch. *dianxian*). This is the term for epilepsy in modern Japanese and Chinese.

from? The liturgy cites the *Tuoluoni ji jing*: "*Zongzhi ji jing* says the manifesting signs of this demonic ailment are like wind-*dian* (*feng dian* 風癲), and like a mad-person, they sometimes cry, sometimes laugh."[117] These emotional and spasmodic symptoms described in the *Tuoluoni ji jing* very much resemble the ups and downs discussed elsewhere in the *Essential Notes*: "Some sufferers cannot eat at all and constantly desire to sleep. Some might awaken the aspiration for enlightenment at an inappropriate time and weep sporadically. Lustful desires may develop, along with feelings of hatred and anger. At times the sick one is excited but at other times they rest." Behind the passage from the *Tuoluoni ji jing* is very likely the influence of the *Zhubing yuanhou lun,* and there, as Chen Hsiu-fen has noted, they were linked to Wind. Chen notes, for example, that "'*dian* due to Wind' (*fengdian* 風癲) was regarded as the result of an invasion of pathogenic Wind into the channels of Yin; '*kuang* due to Wind' (*fengkuang* 風狂) was the result of an invasion of pathogenic Wind into the channels of Yang."[118] But a passage that is in some ways closer to the first section regarding madness as a symptom in *Essential Notes* comes later in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, in the section on *zhu*-infusion. There, varieties of *zhu* associated with Wind are listed, and some are the same terms from the earlier section of this text but simply reversed: "Some unexpectedly lose their consciousness, with white foam in their mouth; this is called 'cutting Wind.' Some let their hair hang wildly [over their face] and run around, hitting and breaking people and objects; this is called '*dian* Wind' (*dianfeng*). Some call, shout out, scold, and curse, have conversations with themselves and laugh; this is called 'mad Wind' (*kuangfeng*)."[119] Cutting Wind, or *juedao* 絶倒, is quite close to

[117] 總持集経言其鬼病狀相似風癲亦如狂人或哭或笑。The original passage from the *Tuoluoni ji jing* reads: 若有人忽得天魔羅雞室陀鬼病。其狀似風癲。或似狂人。或哭或笑。此是病狀。(T. 901: 884a28–29)

[118] Chen Hsiu-fen, "Wind malady as madness in medieval China," (Lo and Cullen, eds., *Medieval Chinese Medicine*, 347.)

[119] 或不覺絶倒、口有白沫、此名絶風。或被髮狂、走打破人物、此名顛風。或叫呼罵詈、獨語談笑、此名狂風。

*setsuju* above, both as a term and in terms of the condition described.[120] *Setsuju* is a term we find in diaries, such as in this passage from *Gyokuyō*: "Gojō no San'i, (Fujiwara no) Toshinari has suffered from coughing disease of late, and on the twenty-sixth day of last month he twice lost consciousness."[121] Importantly, this is also what happens to Emperor Nijō, Go-Shirakawa's first son, when he suffers from "rolling-corpse disease."[122]

The term *dian* here is also important. It could be written as 顛 or 癲, and Strickmann translated this as "falling fit." It connects to another term in the passage, *kutsuchi*. While this can be the character read *ibiki* 鼾, meaning "to snore," it was also used for *tenkan* 癲癇・癲狂 (Ch. *dianxian*).[123] Interesting, it is listed in the liturgical text (*saimon* 祭文) for the "Ox Festival" (*ushi matsuri* 牛祭 ), a rite held at Kōryūji 広隆寺 temple in Uzumasa 太秦 in today's Ukyō-ku ward of Kyoto that centers around Matarajin 摩多羅神 and has been performed since the late medieval period to ward off pestilence demons.[124] The liturgical text includes the names of the diseases for which the affair is potent, and *kutsuchi* appears alongside *okori-kokochi* (the vernacular term for *gyakubyō*, which is also adopted in the Jimon ritual text) and corpse-vector disease.[125] That these diseases come together in a package in this liturgy suggests the possible influence of Buddhist medical texts related to corpse-vector disease.

---

[120] *Juedao* is a compound in *Kanjigen* 漢字源: "to lose consciousness and fall over due to intense happiness or sadness."

[121] *Gyokuyō* Angen 2 (11762), 10/2: 五条三位俊成、日来煩咳病、去月廿八日両度絶入。

[122] *Sankaiki*, Eiman Year 1 (1165), 6/28, 26: 284.

[123] In Chinese medical literature, it is of course common to read these sets of characters as indicating pairs of separate ailments.

[124] Hattori, *Muromachi Azuchi Momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyu*, 297–301. It appears as *kusochi*, which Hattori reads literally as "feces blood" 糞血, that is, bloody stool, thus intestinal ulcers and dysentery. Held every year on the twelfth day of the 10th month, the festival was in the medieval period performed to ward off pestilence demons.

[125] The liturgy also includes *suwafuki* = *shiwabuki,* "coughing," and *gaibyō* 咳病, which should be odd considering that Hattori takes variants of these both in earlier works as tuberculosis = corpse-vector disease.

The second reason we should not overlook the inclusion of madness in the passage from the Jimon rite is because there is evidence that madness was seen as a form of defilement and in any case related to it. Thus, the persons themselves were seen as defiled and thus they could be a source of defilement. Yamamoto Kōji notes an example from the *Tamon'in nikki* 多聞院日記 suggesting that both rai and madness (*hakkyō* 発狂) were understood as a kind of divine punishment. To this he adds an example from the year 1174 (Jōan 承安 4), which was around the time of the compilation of the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources. The *Akihiroō ki* 顕広王記 reports that a "mad-person (*monogurui* 物狂) climbed into the main shrine building (*shaden* 社殿) of the Inner Shrine at Ise, causing a big to-do about rebuilding the floor of the building."[126] As with *rai*, shrines again serve as a kind of litmus test for discerning defiled status or lack thereof.[127]

The linking of madness with defilement perhaps relates to the perceived inability of the afflicted individual to understand and respect the system of taboos by which defilement is enacted as a social practice. Abe Yasurō notes an example from Minamoto Tsuneyori's 源経頼 (985/976–1039) *Sakeiki* 左経記 of a "crazed woman" (*kyōjo* 狂女) from 1010 (Kan'nin 寛仁 4), a story which was also reproduced in fascicle four of the *Kojidan* 古事談:

> In the ninth month of Kan'nin 4, a mad woman climbed Mt. Hiei and was in the hallway of Sōjiin[128] The monks beat and tied her up, and then forced her to descend the mountain. An old monk lamented and sighed. Since our mountain was built, I've never heard of such a thing. In

[126] Cf. Dykstra's translation: "Now, Zoga, instead of taking the food to his livingquarters, took it the roadside where base laborers gathered, sat with them, used broken twigs as his chopsticks, and shared his food with the laborers. At this, the people said, 'This is extraordinary. He must be mad.' They avoided him as if someone defiled. Since he often acted and behaved in such a strange way, his scholarly colleagues stopped associating with him, and reported this to the superintendent, who said, 'What shall we do with a man who has become insane like him?' Hearing this, Zoga thought, 'This is exactly what I wished for,' and left the mountain to head for Tamunomine where he lived quietly, reciting the Hokekyo and chanting the name of Amida."

[127] Madness also appears as a kind of defilement in later *kirigami* 切紙 texts associated with the Sōtō Zen tradition; see Ishikawa, "Sabetsu kirigami to sabetsu jishō nitsuite."

[128] A cloister built by Ennin in which his archive of imported esoteric writings were stored before they were moved to Zentōin in the tenth century.

> the past, a woman who lost her way climbed up to the area of the highest peak. In an instant there was extreme wind and rain, the weather in an uproar. This was [the deity] Sannō's punishing this woman who climbed up. But today, there is no wind nor rain. Is this because the miraculous power of Sannō has gone to ruin? What a sad affair. [129]

Thus, nowhere is this sense of defilement as common sense more highlighted than with people deemed mad who naturally cannot abide by it. Hosokawa Ryōichi 細川涼一 notes as much of ancient and medieval Japan, drawing on the definition of madness offered by Kimura Bin 木村敏. He gives the example of this story from the *Nihon kiryaku* 日本紀略 entry from 958 (Tentoku 天徳 2) in which "one mad woman" in front of the Taikeimon Gate 待賢門, one of the twelve gates of the imperial palace, was eating the head of a corpse, and thereafter it was reported that the sick who lay near these gates were being eaten alive. This was seen by the people as being the work of a "woman demon."[130] What's interesting to us, here, although not noted by Hosokawa, is that the common sense broken here related to the strongest taboos regarding defilement, that is, those centering on death. A scene very much like the one found in the *Nihon kiryaku* is depicted in the *Illustrated Scroll of Unusual Afflictions* (*Kishitsu zu kan* 奇疾図巻; FIG. 8 on the next page).[131]

[129] Cited in Abe, *Yuya no kōgō*, 89.

[130] 九日戊午、有一狂女、於待賢門前取死人頭食之。此後、往往臥諸門之病者乍生被食。世以為女鬼。Noted in Hosakawa, *Itsudatsu no Nihon chūsei*, 19.

[131] The work has also been called the *Ihon yamai no sōshi* 異本病草紙. The editors reproduced the earliest transmission of the scroll, held by the Kyoto National Museum, which is a compilation of copies and reduced drawings by Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602–1674).

FIG 8. "Mad Woman who Eats a Corpse," *Illustrated Scroll of Unusual Afflictions* (*Kishitsu zu kan*). After Kasuya and Yamamoto, eds. *Yamai no sōshi*, 2017.

FIG 9. "The Crazed Man and the Corpse," *Illustrated Scroll of Unusual Afflications.* After Kasuya and Yamamoto, eds. *Yamai no sōshi*, 2017.

The editors speculate this illustration dates from the late medieval period. The illustration is titled, "Mad Woman who Eats a Corpse" (*shitai wo kurau kyōjo* 屍体を食らう狂女).[132] We might also note the similar image of a man gone mad, dancing over a corpse while onlookers run away. This illustration is titled, "The Crazed Man and the Corpse" (*kyōjin to shitai* 狂人と屍体) (see FIG. 9 on the previous page).[133]

### CORPSE-VECTOR DISEASE & DEATH DEFILEMENT

In general, we've seen that illnesses was not linked to defilement. However, *rai*, and madness as well, were exceptions to this principle in that they were clearly linked to it. The ways that defilement were linked to these two diseases that we've seen were, in turn, also tied to corpse-vector disease in medieval Japan, encourage us to look at corpse-vector disease from the lens of defilement as well. Corpse-vector disease was itself a karmic disease, and one very much entangled with the body; in this way, too, we see indications of the medieval notion of defilement, which was defined by karmic determination of the body, Buddhist physiomoralism. However, there is a way in which it connects to defilement that is related to but distinctive from this, making it quite differently connected to defilement from the case of *rai*. The distinctive link between corpse-vector disease and defilement is perhaps most immediately obvious in its very name: *denshibyō*, "the disease transmitted by corpses." Corpse-vector disease was linked to defilement through its intimate connection with death itself.

It is without question that in late Heian Japan death was and always had been the ultimate source of defilement. We will not delve into that issue here, as it has been discussed in other studies. But we can look at it with an eye to court-centered culture of the capital, Heian-kyō, in the late Heian period. There, among the aristocracy and overlapping communities of

[132] *Yamai no sōshi*, 62.

[133] *Yamai no sōshi*, 71.

ritual and medical technicians, a particular "common sense" had emerged around death defilement.[134] Death defilement collectively constituted multiple problems of living in the urban environment of Heian-kyō and thus affecting all residents of the capital, even if they understood the matter at hand differently. It is in thinking about this that we can see, I argue, that the target of the Jimon rite, corpse-vector disease, represents an unprecedented convergence of body, pathology, and defilement. As I shall demonstrate, corpse-vector disease was one figure for anxieties about death defilement in the capital.

The nature of that convergence would be evident to any courtier who heard the name *denshibyō*, the "disease transmitted by corpses." They would have been alarmed when reading one of its common descriptions—alarmed because it was unheard of yet somehow, at the same time, all too familiar: "Upon the passing of the patient, [the disease] spreads to ten thousand people, like when a vessel shatters and water splashes out in all directions." Reading diaries and historical sources from this period, one gets the sense that courtiers felt this vessel had indeed shattered, right smack in the middle of Heian-kyō. In an era of unrelenting famine, warfare, and epidemics, corpses were legion. The scene is helpfully described by Kamo no Chōmei in his *Hōjōki*, concerning the year 1182:

> Thus the first year of the famine at last drew to a close. It was thought that the new year would see an improvement, but it brought instead the additional affliction of epidemics, and there was no sign of any amelioration. The people were starving, and with the passage of days approached the extremity, like fish gasping in insufficient water. Finally, people of quality, wearing hats and with their legs covered, were reduced to going from house to house desperately begging. Overwhelmed by misery, they would walk in a stupor, only presently to collapse. The number of those who died of starvation outside the gates or along the roads may not be reckoned. There being no one even to dispose of the bodies, a stench filled the whole

[134] I borrow the notion of "common sense" as a means of engaging pathologies in urban spaces by way of the senses from Melanie A. Kiechle, which she develops in her book *Smell Detectives: An Olfactory History of Nineteenth-Century Urban America.*

> world, and there were many sights of decomposing bodies too horrible to behold. Along the banks of the Kamo River there was not even room for horses and cattle to pass.[135]

"Like fish gasping in insufficient water"—this same metaphor we find at the start of *Essential Notes*: "Gradually the [sufferer] declines and wastes away," the second half of the very first line reads, "just as fish in evaporating water are unaware they will soon die." Kamo no Chōmei later provides a concrete number for the dead:

> The Abbot Ryūgyō of the Ninnaji, grieving for the countless people who were dying, gathered together a number of priests who went about writing the letter A on the forehead of every corpse they saw, thus establishing communion with Buddha. In an attempt to determine how many people had died, they made a count during the fourth and fifth months, and found within the boundaries of the capital over 42,300 corpses lying in the streets. What would the total have been had it included all who died before or after that period, both within the city and in the suburbs? And what if all the provinces of Japan had been included?[136]

Kamikawa recently called Heian-kyō the "ultimate corpse metropolis" (*kyūkyoku no shigai-toshi* 究極の死骸都市), an appropriate phrase given the facts on the ground in the Heian period.[137] Full, half-rotten, and partial specimens clogged wells, piled up in vacant lots, filling up abandoned lots in much the same way as weeds like mugwort. Partial specimens (which as a form of defilement were known as *gotai fugu-e* 五体不具穢) were scattered here and there by rummaging dogs and birds.[138] Manifold attempts were made to tackle this perennial sanitation problem, in the main by depositing corpses at the necropolises situated around the capital. Thus certain places were associated with the dead, such as Toribeno 鳥辺

---

[135] Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, 202.

[136] Keene, *Anthology of Japanese Literature*, 203.

[137] Kamikawa, *Heian-kyō to chūsei Bukkyō: ōchō kenryoku to toshi minshū*, 22–23.

[138] This recalls anxieties in Europe at a similar moment in history over the scattering of parts of the corpse, a problem because it would not be fully reconstituted at the second coming of Christ; see Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption,* 1991.

野. Yet these largely unsystematic and unsuccessful efforts did little to remedy a more insidious problem of great concern for aristocratic society. As Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田経房 (1142–1200) noted in his diary *Kikki* 吉記 during the aforementioned famine, "Nanto and Kyoto are pervaded with great defilement (*daishokue* 大触穢)."[139]

In their diaries, courtiers observed the myriad effects of the pollution that emanated from corpses. How, for example, it short-circuited the longstanding potency of sacred sites such as Shinsen'en 神泉苑.[140] Or how it drove the common folk to insanity, as when one man began madly proclaiming that drinking the water of a stagnant and muddy well at the intersection of Sanjō and Abura-no-Kōji could save one from an epidemic then ravaging the city.[141] Courtiers accordingly maintained utmost diligence when traveling on the streets, lest they risk crossing paths with the contagious dead. In an entry from the *Taiki* 台記 from the year 1145, a funeral palanquin (*sōsha* 葬車) was said to have passed in front of the procession of Konoe Tennō 近衛天皇. Commenting on the inauspiciousness of the event, Fujiwara Tadazane 藤原忠実 recounted to his son, Yorinaga 頼長, an incident some forty years earlier when the imperial procession of Retired Emperor Horikawa 堀河院 likewise encountered a corpse on the road; the emperor died not long after.[142] Given the dangers it posed, death defilement provided court society a steady supply of anxiety. These were apprehensions fostered day after day by the very scrupulous efforts to avoid the dead, in the many ad hoc debates about precedents and the mundane but precarious question of which road to take, and most of all through the observation of actual corpses and the discernment of the sinister effects their pollution reliably produced.

---

[139] *Kikki*, Yōwa 養和 1 (1181), 5/4, 30: 164.

[140] *Gyokuyō*, Kenkyū 建久 2 (1191), 5/13–14, 13: 41–49.

[141] *Honchō seiki*, Shōraku 正暦 5 (990) 5/16, 9: 188.

[142] *Taiki*, Kyūan 久安 1 (1145), 11/11, 23: 164.

It was through this protracted feedback process that, almost as a matter of course, death defilement began extending its influence beyond technical matters of courtly protocol and came to shape the pathological imaginary. Indeed, it was at the height of this concern, in the late twelfth century, when courtiers first began writing anxiously in their diaries about the "corpse-vector disease that has arisen in recent years," and when Jimon monks first began drawing upon their liturgical and therapeutic resources to assemble an unprecedented healing program for its ritual extermination.

As noted earlier, corpse-vector disease was a disease term transmitted to Japan via Chinese medical texts. And had history played out differently, it is within those texts the term might have remained, buried among the hundreds of disorders named and discussed therein. The emergence of corpse-vector disease on the ground in late Heian Japan suggests that, at least in one guise, it had become the pathological figure for anxieties over corpses as carriers of death pollution. It was, in other words, an affliction fit for a defiled capital.

The idea that the twelfth-century appearance of corpse-vector disease in Japan was linked to pervasive anxieties over death defilement is reinforced by the historical context in which the disease concept was born in the first place. As Li Jianmin has shown, in ancient China, disease concepts characterized by contagion (*chuanran* 傳染) were directly tied to fears over death pollution and managed through medical as well as ritual means to match the severity of the defilement.[143] Two categories of such afflictions, first expounded in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論 (610), would become the building blocks of corpse-vector disease. First were the "*zhu*-infusion diseases" (*zhubing* 注病), in which malicious *qi* was said to invade and (by way of a pun) "reside" (*zhu* 住) in the body.[144] Second were the "corpse-diseases" (*shibing* 尸病), a category which included the three corpse-worms of later *kōshin* fame as well as disorders such as "corpse-*qi*." The latter was described as follows: "There are times when

[143] Li Jianmin, "Contagion and Its Consequences: The Problem of Death Pollution in Ancient China."

[144] *Zhubing yuanhou lun* [1], 123.

people directly touch the corpses of the deceased or look over them. The *qi* of those corpses enters the belly of the person and, in mutual attraction with the [already existing] corpse-worms, produces disease."[145] Already in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, the two categories of *zhu*-infusion and corpse diseases had crisscrossed, forming the affliction known as "corpse-*zhu*": "After one dies, [the disease entity] is exchanged with people nearby, eventually bringing about the destruction of the family line. It is because this corpse-worm disease pours into and transfers to people nearby that it is called corpse-infusion."[146]

### TREATMENT FOR THE LIVING-DEAD

All of this gives us the sense that aristocrats who saw the name corpse-vector disease would have had their minds turn death defilement. But how do we know that the Jimon compilers would have saw the problem in these terms? When we look at the texts for the moxibustion ritual, we see discourses curated by the compilers that conflate the patient with the dying and with the corpse. But it is not just that the disease is fatal: a significant portion of *Essential Notes* portrays a patient teetering on the mercurial edge between life and death. What the oral transmissions there refer to as the "signs of the disease" (*byōsō* 病相) would better be called, in other Buddhist genres, "signs of death" (*shisō* 死相). "Gradually the [sufferer] declines and wastes away," the second half of the very first line reads, "just as fish in evaporating water are unaware they will soon die." This line, likely taken from the *Waitai miyao fang*, should be familiar, as Kamo no Chōmei said something similar of the famine of 1182: "The people were starving, and with the passage of days approached the extremity, like fish gasping in insufficient water." As the symptoms get worse, the state of the patient's mind shifts to a particular place: "Some experience agony in body and mind, progressively dehydrate,

[145] Ibid., 122 (23–6).

[146] Ibid., 122 (23–5).

and become emaciated. While trying to abide in correct mindfulness, some sufferers indulge [in thoughts of] demonic paths; others trying to abide in correct mindfulness will begrudge [losing] their human body."[147] Thus corpse-vector disease is diagnosable at the moment it becomes clear that the patient is already dying.

Many of these descriptions, including this very line about the proverbial fish, corresponded to Chinese medical descriptions of the "tokens of death" (*si zhi zheng* 死之證) presented by the disease. These were discussed in Su You's 蘇遊 *Xuangan chuanshi fang* 玄感傳屍方, a Tang-period monograph devoted to corpse-vector disease.[148] But compared with medical literature on the topic, Jimon monks appear to have been more assertive in linking the patient with death. Indeed, for a ritual intended to *cure* the sufferer of this affliction, Jimon monks spilled much ink on what reads like hasty anticipation of ritual failure: "When the great matter of death approaches, the sufferer will favor lying down on their lower left side, and when they die, no effort is expended. In the beginning, this disease throbs under the left breast. When this [throbbing] transfers to the right breast, death is certain."

The Jimon ritual language is reminiscent of "deathbed rites" (*rinjū gyōgi* 臨終行儀), which describe the dying. This is despite the fact that the Jimon rite is meant a as healing ritual, to treat the patient of corpse-vector disease. But this is not a death that "takes the glow and hue of life." The textual sources for the Jimon ritual, a practice ostensibly aimed at treating the

---

[147] In *Essential Notes*, the verb in this final clause is *da* 惰, meaning "to neglect" (*okotaru* 怠る) or "make light of" (*karonzuru* 軽んずる); following the context and other documents citing this, including the Anō lineage *Denshibyō kanjin shō* and the Kinzanji *Denshibyō shu no koto*, however, I adopt "to begrudge" (*seki* 惜, *oshimu* as a verb). As explained below, the idea is that begrudging one's human body constitutes a form of attachment and thus a hindrance to single-minded contemplation that makes possible rebirth in the pure land.

[148] Curiously, the original text omits the character for "fish," as do all subsequent instances in Chinese texts. The character was added, however, by Tanba Yasuyori 丹波康頼 in his *Ishinpō*. Does this suggest that fascicle 13 of the *Ishinpō* in which this quote appeared was known to monks? The prevailing trope among scholars that the *Ishinpō* was a treasure fiercely guarded by the Tanba until the sixteenth century fails to fully account for the medieval circulation of the *Ishinpō*. It's well known, for example, that Ninnaji 仁和寺 preserves Heian period manuscripts for fascicles 1, 5, 7, 9, and 10. More recently, a Kamakura-period manuscript of fascicle 13 was discovered at Kongōji 金剛寺 in Kōchi 河内, Ōsaka. This indicates that the fascicle in which corpse-vector disease was discussed was perhaps of special interest to monks.

living, imply similar anxieties. Indeed, much of the language in the oral transmission wouldn't be out of place in—and perhaps was taken from—deathbed ritual manuals themselves. For example, similar language appears in this passage from the *Jūgan hosshinki* 十願発心記 translated by Jacqueline regarding the "three attachments" (*san'ai* 三愛) that arise along with the suffering attending time of death (*shihensai no ku* 死辺際の苦):

> At the time of death, three kinds of attachment are certain to arise. First is attachment to objects (*kyōgai ai*). When the signs of imminent death appear, one arouses with respect to one's beloved wife and children, relations and dependents, dwelling, and so on a profound and redoubled possessive love. Second is attachment to self (*jitai ai*). As body and mind become increasingly exhausted and life is truly about to end, one relinquishes one's beloved wife, retainers, and others and clings to one's own person, begrudging one's bodily life. And third is attachment to the place of rebirth (*tōshō ai*). That is, when life truly reaches its end, one sees one's interim body coming to meet one, and conceives attachment to one's future existence. Because the mind is bent by these three attachments, mental anguish arises . . . so that one cannot concentrate on the Buddha.[149]

In the third type of attachment, the one toward one's place of rebirth, we can recognize the corpse-vector disease sufferer's uncontrollable turn in mind toward the realm of the demonic (*kidō* 鬼道), a reference to the path of the hungry ghosts (*gakidō* 餓鬼道), a very unfavorable rebirth, despite attempts at "abiding in correct contemplation" (*jūshōnen* 住正念), a fundamental deathbed practice. And the second attachment described in the *Jūgan hosshinki* is an extended description of the corpse-vector disease sufferer's own arousal of self-attachment. Thus it's descriptions of the patient sound like they are describing someone who is dying, as with the correct contemplation discourse above, which clearly presumes a soteriological direction toward Amida's Pure Land. We can find similar discourse in Incidentally, the author of this text, Senkan 千観 (918–983), was a monk of Onjōji. Such ideas, however, we know were in circulation.

---

[149] Translated in Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment,* 230; see original in Satō, *Eizan jōdokyō no kenkyū, shiryō hen*, 198–199.

In terms of the patient described as dying, we should also recall the symptoms of madness we discussed in the previous section. "Sometimes the sufferer loses consciousness. (This is like epilepsy). This seems to resemble despair and madness." This is followed immediately by "Around the time of death the legs will gradually swell…" This description of madness as a segue to death is strikingly similar to what was called the "death of madness and losing one's contemplation" (*kyōran shitsunen shi* 狂乱失念死), the term "losing contemplation" (*shitsunen*) here being almost synonymous with "despair" (*shitsui*) in *Essential Notes*. The "death of madness and losing one's contemplation" was one of the "fifteen types of bad deaths" (*jūgoshu akushi* 十五種悪死), a list we find enumerated in continental Buddhist texts such as the *Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wu'ai dabeixin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼観世音菩薩広大円満無碍大悲心陀羅尼経, which provides an associated *dhāraṇī* to avoid them.[150] This shows up in esoteric texts in Japan, such as Jōnen's 静然 *Gyōrin shō* 行林抄 (T2409_.76.0199c24) and Raiyu's 賴瑜 *Hishō mondō* 祕鈔問答 (T2536_. 79. 0416a12). But interestingly this is mentioned in *Nijūgo zanmai kechien kakochō* 二十五三昧結縁過去帳, a text associated with deathbed practices.[151]

Jacqueline Stone has made the fascinating observation that "deathbed rites" (*rinjū gyōgi* 臨終行儀) were much like other ritual practices in early medieval Japan with one important difference: they were the only rites at the conclusion of which you were guaranteed a corpse.[152] This is why, as Stone explains "halls of impermanence" (*mujōin* 無常院) in which the dying were relocated served not only to allow the dying to break attachment to ordinary life and thus be better aimed to the pure land, but also to minimize the risks attending death defilement. So with the Jimon ritual and deathbed rites we are talking about the dying. But that is also talk about the dead, as her quote above explains. There are more or less explicit

[150] For the list, see T. 1060: 107a29–b11; see also Mochizuki, *Bukkyō daijiten*, 3374c.

[151] Contained in *Eshin Sōzu zenshū* 恵心僧都全集, one vol.

[152] Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 144.

hints the ritualist ought to expect a corpse in the aftermath of ritual failure: "After the sufferer has passed, one observes that [the corpse] resembles the flesh of a rat." And so in a way, we are repeating what Genshin was doing in his text, the patient and the corpse.

The problem of course is that things come back full circle. After the sufferer dies, there is an extreme risk of transmission to others: "Upon the passing of the patient, [the disease] spreads to ten thousand people, like when a vessel shatters and water splashes out in all directions." The ritual sources do not theorize or describe exactly what that transmission looked like. We will discuss some of this later. But for now, it's worth briefly reviewing the way that this was imagined in Chinese medical literature. That's because those ideas in China about the transmission of corpse-vector-related diseases were also, according to Li Jianmin, connected to anxieties and ritual practices surrounding death pollution. For example, in "Indications of Corpse-*Zhu* Infusion" in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun,* we read that the sufferer "always experiences stupor and confusion, at each season *qi* is transformed, thereupon causing great evil; as months pile on and years accumulate gradually there is obstruction, and this leads to death. After one dies [the disease entity] is exchanged with people nearby and eventually leads to the destruction of the gate [i.e. the household]. It is because this corpse-worm disease pours into and transfers to people nearby that it is called corpse-pouring [i.e. infusion *zhu*]." There is thus a risk in mourning the dead, as explained in the following section:

> Indications of the Mourning Corpse-worm (*sangshi hou* 喪尸候)
> People have lives that gradually retreat and weaken, leading to periods of mourning the death of [those people]. [When mourning] the bosom is suddenly filled with fear and evil, and the nature of the corpse-worms within the body is already one of detesting, so that evil is thereupon attracted even more, and together with external evils, creates *chen*-disease. When the disease manifests, the heart and abdomen have sharp pains, swell and become full; the breath is urgent. This disease is called mourning corpse-worm just because this disease manifests when one encounters periods of mourning.

Even if one is not mourning, there are risks with coming into contact with the dead:

> Indications of Corpse-*qi* (*shiqi hou* 尸氣候)
> There are times when people directly touch the corpses of the dead or look over corpses. The *qi* of those corpses will enter the belly of the person and, in mutual attraction with the [already existing] corpse-worms, make disease. The manifestation also includes stabbing pain in the heart and abdomen, with swelling and fullness, and urgent breath. This disease is called corpse *qi* because it begins when one smells the *qi* of corpses.

This section is interesting because it describes how the senses are involved with transmission. That is, one inhales the *qi* of the corpses. This should remind us of the great stench described in the Hōjōki: "There being no one even to dispose of the bodies, a stench filled the whole world, and there were many sights of decomposing bodies too horrible to behold." We should also keep in mind that defilement was perhaps imagined in similar ways, since there exists the term "defilement *qi*" (*eki* 穢気).

In Chinese sources, the transmitting agent of this defilement could also be visible. This passage appears in the *Taiping guangji*:

> In the last year of the Daye reign of Emperor Yang of Sui (569–618; r. 604–618), in the household of a person in Luoyang there was corpse-vector disease and several brothers had died in succession. Later there was another who was going to die, and before he lost consciousness, the family was all in mourning. His younger brother suddenly saw something exit the mouth of the dying brother and fly up and into his mouth, whereupon he got the affliction. After a just a year or so he would finally die. On his deathbed, he told his disciple, "My affliction is caused by the harm of a thing that I've seen [or, can be seen]. After I lose consciousness, open up my chest and throat, and see what that thing is so you can know the cause [of this disease]. When he finished saying this he died. Following [his teacher's] order, he opened [his body up] and looked, and in his chest he obtained a thing whose form resembled a fish and yet had two heads, with thin scales all over its body. The disciple put a bowl on top of it, and it would not stop moving around [inside]. [The disciple] tried putting different tastes [I.e. foods] inside, and although he did not see it eat, suddenly [those foods] would transform into water. Poisons and medicines also thereby were melted [into water]. It was mid-summer and the indigo plant was ripe, and the temple was going to use water to make indigo pigment [from it]. One person came and took a little indigo and put it in the bowl, whereupon the

> thing hurriedly moved around. In an instant, the [thing] turned to water. Therefore, it is said that indigo can be used to treat [the disease].

How then does one deal with such a problem? Clearly it has to be dealt with at many stages. The Jimon ritual attempts to treat the patient while alive to prevent the spread, but because of the overlapping images of life and death, the patient is already almost cast as a becoming-corpse. Other sources however explicitly discussed the difficult problem of what to do with the corpse of sufferers from this affliction. But other sources discuss what to do with the corpse after the sufferer passes away. For example, Kajiwara Shōzen's *Ton'ishō* also provides several remedies for the treatment of corpse-vector disease and related disorders like bone-steaming. But like the Jimon ritual, it is also perhaps not optimistic about the fate of the sufferer of this karmic disease. Thus, toward the end of the section we read the following: "After the sufferer of corpse-vector exhaustion and bones-steaming disease passes away, if you flush [their corpse] down a great river it will not stain and attach to other people and the disease will be exterminated for a long time."[153] This was already hinted at in the *Idanshō*, where Tomotoshi notes a story where a man puts his wife into a coffin and sends her into the ocean alive—in other words, she was treated as already dead and a viable vessel for transmission.

A more extensive botanica-ritual therapy probably developed out of the culture of the Tendai Buddhist management of corpse-vector disease. We see this in the following *kirigami* 切紙 transmitted in a Sōtō Zen lineage.[154] The text is titled *Denshibyō danzetsu no higon* 伝屍病断絶之秘言, or "Secret Words for Extinguishing Corpse-Vector Disease":

> [Take] two branches of *shikimi* 樒 and sharpen the tips. Hold [one branch] with your left hand and the other with your right hand and, like a willow branch, chew on the tips. [Then,] either on the head stone on top of the deceased's burial mound or on the earth, write with

[153] 伝屍労骨蒸病人死テ後ハ大河ニ流セハ餘人ニ不染着其病永絶。p. 184 (V-100).

[154] *Kirigami* are used profitably to explore the imaginary of medieval Japan in Bernard Faure's monograph on Keizan, *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, 1996.

sincerity the five characters *kan* 乾, *gen* 元, *kyō* 亨, *ri* 利, and *tei* 貞, [after which] throw away the *shikimi* you used for writing. With the remaining branch, in like-manner hold sixty-three *shikimi* leaves; these sixty-three leaves are an crucial part of the *shikimi* [tree] [but] even [taking] those leaves [from it] it does not suffer;[155] for each leaf intone the five characters *kan*, *gen*, *kyō*, *ri*, and *tei*, and toss them down. Once you've tossed them all use one branch of the *shikimi* to make offerings of water to the deceased, and stand that *shikimi* up on the burial mound. Having stood it up, recited the scriptures of the school [of Buddhism associated with the deceased].[156] These secret words are not transmitted, thereafter the ceremony is [to be performed] the same [as usual]. Stand the *shikimi* branch up on the deceased person's grave. This is how it's done when requested by others. Within seven days after the death, prayers must be performed by reciting the *Ryōgon shinju* 楞厳神咒 and the *Sonshō darani* 尊勝陀羅尼. For the transfer of merit (*ekō* 回向), you should use the usual prayers for transfer of merit. However, normal monks [...] should write this text saying "[these prayers will] eliminate the ten-thousand disasters, will beckon the thousand blessings," and so perform the transfer of merit.

The above are secret words of the [Ten]dai school that have been transmitted until today.

[From] Old Man Sekihō

A letter attached for Hozen

An auspicious day in the six month when dragons gather, of the fifth tsuchinoetatsu of [the year] Kyōtei[157]

As noted in the colophon of this letter written by Seikhō to Hozen, this text dates from 1688 (Teikyō 貞享 5). It is held in the Sōtō temple Kōanji 高安寺, in Fuchū 府中, Tokyo, a temple affiliated with Rinzai until the early Edo period. Although the text is written later, and no other versions survive, it is strikingly similar to what we are talking about. Moreover, it states clearly that this is passed down in the Tendai schools—and most of the sources

[155] The meaning of this last phrase is not entirely clear, but it would seem to relate to the symbolic meaning of the use of the *shikimi* tree, that even losing these leaves, it does not suffer; so too the deceased person will be free from suffering.

[156] "scriptures associated with the family": character is missing here but probably *ekyō* 依経, the scriptures associated with each individual school.

[157] Cited in Ishikawa, "Chūsei Sōtō shū kirigami no bunrui shiron," 128–55.

pertaining to corpse-vector disease were indeed associated with Tendai. This is something that Ishikawa does not pick up on.

As Ishikawa explains, this is different from other *kirigami* that give procedures for writing the *sotoba* 卒塔婆 plaques in order to pacify wandering spirits and rites for dealing with hungry ghosts, because this *kirigami* concerns a special and secret rite to be performed for those died from a specific disease, i.e. corpse-vector disease. As the title of the text suggests, it is thus to seal the harm possibly caused by the disease in the grave. It basically constitutes prayers performed using the *shikimi* branch and leaves. A link between *rai* and corpse-vector disease also emerges from this text, because it also is concerned with contagion and many *kirigami* were directed at *rai* sufferers.[158] Ishikawa reads out the larger social meaning here:

> *Denshibyō,* also called 'exhaustion coughing' (*rōgai* 労咳), was believed to transmit by way of the corpse's exhaustion worms (*rōchū* 労蟲), that is, what is today called bacteria or microbe, thus [this *kirigami*] can be understood as a rite performed to prevent the escape of those exhaustion worms, yet the *Ryōgon shinju* recited in this secret rite was a dharani about which exist oral transmissions concerning the 'extinguishing of karma' (*zaishō shōmetsu* 罪障消滅), and if we think about the tone of the term 'extermination' (*danzetsu* 断絶) and the social meaning of this disease, as demonstrated by the separate existence of methods of liberating the dead (*indōhō* 引導法) focused on *hinin*, *raikyōsha* 癩狂者, and *raisha* and 'extermination talismans' (*danzetsu-fu* 断絶符), then this *kirigami* too seems to represent a rite performed on the premise of concepts of avoidance based in the thought of touch defilement, to exterminate [these persons] even from the world of transmigration and to seal them in the darkness of eternity.

Given the fact that the Jimon ritual is focused on an herb, and we discussed the use of "skeletal grass" earlier, the focus on parts of the plant called *shikimi* is notable. This is the Japanese star anise tree, or *Illicium anisatum*. Although it is usually written with the character that combines "tree" (*mokuhen* 木片) and "secret" (*mitsu* 秘密), at some point in more recent history a national character (*kokuji* 国字)—a *kanji* particular to Japan—was developed which

[158] Ishikawa, "Sabetsu kirigami to sabetsu jishō nitsuite," 137–42.

combined "tree" with "buddha" (*shikimi* 梻). This is because of the strong associations with the leaves and branches of this plant and Buddhist graves, but the character was developed surely to symmetrical match *sakaki* 榊, which is composed of "tree" and *kami*, a plant that is associated with ceremonies to do with the *kami*. In fact, both evergreen plants were probably used at such rites, and there was some conflation between these two, as they shared certain names, such as *sakashiba*. (Kinoshita Manyo 263–264).[159] The means by which scholars might tell them apart in historical texts is by looking for references to aroma or fragrance, for the *sakaki* has none but the *shikimi* has a strong fragrance. This is why its bark and leaves were and are used to make powdered and stick incense (as well as rosaries, *juzu* 数珠), and why it was placed before icons and on graves (thus can also be written butsuzensō 仏前草). A folk theory on the reason for its placement at graves is that it's strong fragrance and indeed toxicity keeps rummaging animals from bothering the remains, and also because it was said to eliminate the smell of decaying bodies (Kinoshita 264; Fister 2003). Yet it's interesting because in the kirigami, it's something of the opposite reason: to keep the dead or an entity of the dead from coming out, to stop corpse-vector disease transmission.

## *Conclusion*

To sum up the preceding discussion, I have sought to locate one dimension of the meaning of corpse-vector disease in the interface between the monastics who designed the moxibustion ritual and courtiers. To understand how corpse-vector disease was located in shared epistemological space is to grasp certain aspects of its emergence, which was a phenomenon that undoubtedly developed not only in monasteries or court, but the spaces

[159] In *Primitive Traditional History* (vol. 1, 1907: 110), James Francis Katherinus Hewitt (1835–1908) notes the following: "Twigs of the tree of life are placed on the corpses of all dead Japanese, and twigs of the two parent-trees, the Sakaki tree (*Cleyera japonica*) of the Shinto worshippers, and the Shikimi tree (*Illicium religiosum*), of the Buddhists, are offered to the dead at the New Year's festival in all Japanese houses." Bedini (*The Scent of Time,* 34) notes their placement on household altars or *butsudan* 仏壇.

that linked them as well. The anxiety of death defilement was shared, and it became a kind of common sense for navigating urban life in Heian-kyō at this particular historical moment, where corpses were legion. What's especially striking is how these developments in Japan mirror to some extent the contexts, in early China, when the key characteristics of corpse-vector disease came into being for the first time. There, too, corpse-related diseases were matters of death defilement, intimately tied to purificatory practices, as Li Jianmin shows so strikingly. At the same time, the story of the emergence of corpse-vector disease is in many ways only a beginning. As we shall see in the next chapter, soon after it appeared, Jimon monks crafted a healing ritual that would dramatically transform it, setting in motion the predominant ways the disease would seen over the medieval period.

# Chapter 3
# Demons, Māras, and Corpse-Worms

IN THE LAST CHAPTER, death defilement helped us to better understand what corpse-vector disease signified in the shared epistemological space between priests, as active healers at court, and the aristocracy, their patients. But while the emergence of corpse-vector disease might have had much to do with the dramatic increase in anxieties over death pollution in the late Heian period, the textual sources of the Jimon ritual portray the affliction in ways not at all reducible to the imaginary of defilement, and certainly not to the traditional ways the latter was understood and engaged with through court protocol.

In this chapter, we turn to the Jimon ritual sources in order to examine the ways they construct corpse-vector disease as a kind of pathological multiplicity. As we shall see, nearly every category of disease is served here. The Jimon ritual sources thus serve as a catalogue or index of etiological and pathological ideas current at the time. Yet it was not that corpse-vector disease was merely an empty signifier whose meaning could be shifted arbitrarily. Nor is it that the ritual compilers were simply trying to be comprehensive and address any and all manner of disease. Rather, we have to confront here a different way of making sense of disease. For one, even if the name "corpse-vector disease" suggested one affliction, for the compilers of the ritual texts, disease causation was not singular; they saw multiple agents as the instigators of the disease. In so doing, they align closely with mainstream ways of imagining disease found in the medieval Chinese medical literature that would greatly shape the production of medical literature in medieval Japan.

At the same time, in their ritual texts, Jimon monks depart from the predominantly configurational character with which corpse-vector disease was described in Tang-period

medical texts, and give special attention instead to two general types of disease-causing agents: demons and corpse-worms. Although more careful scholars such as Zhiyi might want to distinguish more sharply between these two, it is clear that Jimon monks had found much in concert between them. This is important because, as we shall see, those connections enabled Jimon monks to make their disease ontologies relevant to those current among aristocratic patients, proving shared epistemological space again to be a critical factor.

## *Varieties of the Demonic*

### RITUAL TITLES & DISEASE CATEGORIES

We can learn much about the ways the Jimon ritual sources understand corpse-vector disease by paying attention to the text titles alone. It is helpful to recall our observation that the ritual represented the first in Japan to make a single, named disease the focus of a healing ritual. If we were to identify possible forerunners, the most likely candidates would certainly be those ritual procedures aimed at curing specific diseases that, later on in the Kamakura period, came to be collected in compilations of empowerment (*kaji* 加持) texts. Notably, the titles given to these rites often include the names of the diseases for which a treatment is prescribed or information is given. For example, the *Sahō shū* 作法集 includes a "rite for *gyakubyō*" (*gyakubyō hō* 瘧病法);[1] the *Futsū origami* 普通折紙, a "rite for treating *gyakubyō* and exuding pustles" (*chi gyakubyō oyobi sho rōsō* 治瘧病及諸漏瘡法); and the *Eichiku shō* 英蓄抄, a rite for "eliminating *gyakubyō*" (*jo gyakubyō* 除瘧病).[2] That *gyakubyō* would be so named in these titles reveals it was a key target of such *kaji* practices. Notably, the *Futsū origami* also includes a

[1] *Sahō shū*, 176–177.

[2] The *Eichikushō*, held by Kōyasan University (特 21/工金/3), is understood to be the primary sacred work of the Kezōin 華蔵院 lineage, compiled by either Kakujū 覚什 (1171–after 1270) or Dōyō 道耀 (1224–1304). The Kōysan University ms. apparently dates to 1473 (Bunmei 文明 5), but I've not been able to access it.

"Rite for Treating Epidemics and Corpse-vector Disease" (*chi ekirei oyobi denshibyō hō* 治疫癘及伝尸病法) as well as a section, presumably to provide background information, entitled, "On Corpse-vector Disease" (*denshibyō no koto* 伝屍病事). The *Eichikushō* likewise includes procedures for "Eliminating Rolling Corpses" (*jo tenshi* 除転尸), "rolling corpses" being synonymous for corpse-vector disease as we saw in the last chapter.

These rituals and the sources that housed may have begun appearing around the time that sources for the Jimon moxibustion ritual did, yet their inclusion in empowerment anthologies post-dates the Jimon material. Examples of rites focused on a particular, named disease which date only slightly later than the Jimon ritual of the late twelfth century include the *Empowerment Rite for Warmth Disease* (*Unbyō kaji hō* 温病加持法), and the companion *Oral Transmissions on the Empowerment Rite for Warmth Disease* (*Kaji unbyō hō kuden* 加持温病法口伝). Both of these works are attributed to Myōe 明恵 (1173–1232) and produced around 1207. Both focus rather idiosyncratically on "warmth disease" (*unbyō* 温病),[3] an ailment deriving from a Chinese apocryphal scripture of uncertain origins, *Que wenhuang shenzhou jing* (J. *Kyaku ungō shinju kyō* 却温黄神呪経). Two other texts with similar names are attributed to Myōe: *Kyaku un shinju kyō sharakyō no koto* 却温神咒経娑羅怯事[4] and the *Kyaku un shinshu kyō kuden* 却温神咒経口伝.[5] Myōe was thus associated with two sets of ritual sources which including prescriptions for a rite along with companion oral transmissions.

In the above-mentioned sources, we can recognize strong parallels with the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes*, most importantly the focus on a named disease. However, there are also some notable differences. In the case of "warm disease" texts, Myōe

[3] On these texts, see Koyama, "Sekkanki no ekibyō chiryō: kinki to saretekita kaji to shuhō wo megutte," fn. 53, pp. 102–103, and "Kakunyo ga ikita jidai no ekibyō chiryō."

[4] Nomura, *Myōe Shōnin no kenkyū*, 165. *Sharakyō* was interpreted to mean "expel," on which question see *Himitsu giki zuimonki* 秘密儀軌随聞記, 19. Myōe received this text from Kōzen on 1194 (Kenkyū 建久 4).1.14; see Tanaka, *Myōe*, 25. There, 怯 is given as 佉.

[5] Nomura, *Myōe Shōnin no kenkyū*, 284.

was apparently working with a preexisting scriptural source, uncertain though that source may be today. In contrast, Jimon monks had no such precedents in assembling their ritual against corpse-vector disease. In the case of the empowerment rites such as those found in the *Sahō shū*, *Futsū origami*, and *Eichiku shō*, the therapeutic rites for specific diseases were usually not very elaborate or extensive, thus they could be gathered in larger collections consisting of many other shorter empowerment procedures, often in "miscellaneous sections" (*zōbu* 雑部). The Jimon ritual may have similarly developed first from a shorter set of empowerment procedures and eventually given the shape of the larger practice that would become the *Ritual for Expelling Demons*. This much is suggested by the numerous titles of different notes and oral transmissions that we can still find included within the *Essential Notes*, a text that is a patchwork of different teachings which were probably passed down over multiple generations. The latter text, for example, includes sections with the titles "oral transmissions on corpse-vector disease" (*denshibyō kuden* 伝屍病口伝), "essential notes on corpse-vector disease" (*denshibyō kanjin shō* 伝屍病肝心抄), and "treatment method for wasting disorder" (*sōbyō chihō* 痩病治方).

But in this regard, the liturgy, *Ritual for Expelling Demons*, is special, for it has been given a title of its own, rather than a simple description: *Shōshiki daikongō yasha byaku kima hō* 青色大金剛薬叉辟鬼魔法, "The Ritual of Daishōmen Kongō for Expelling Demons and *Māras*." Put against the examples just noted above, immediately noteworthy is that the name "corpse-vector disease" is not mentioned in the title. Rather, the title suggests a face-off: the rite is conducted so that the *honzon*, Shōmen Daikongō, might expel "demons and *māras*" (*kima* 鬼魔). For monks in this period, such a title would already suggest the rite is not comprised merely of empowerment procedures but rather qualifies as a ritual in the well-established esoteric liturgical genre of "sujugation" (*chōbuku* 調伏/ *gōbuku* 降伏; Sk. *abhicāraka*). As a convention of the genre, subjugation rites typically invoke wrathful deities to target enemies of one mold or another, a group into which demons figure prominently. Defining the practice as a subjugation rite thus promises greater participation on the part of the

divinity who, invoked by the ritualist, shall intervene on behalf of the donor or patient. We will see more of the implications of this framing as subjugation rite shortly.

Interestingly, however, the character used in the title above is not "subjugation," but "to expel" (*heki* 辟).[6] This is in fact the meaning of *sharakyō* in *Kyaku un shinju kyō sharakyō no koto* 却温神咒経娑羅怯事, a set of texts that deal primarily with the demons that cause "warmth disease" (*unbyō*). A similar term appears in the title of the second fascicle of Yōsai's *Kissayōjōki*, "The Gate of Expelling Demons and Spirits" (*Kenjo kimi mon* 遣除鬼魅門). Unlike the first fascicle, which focuses on restoring configurational balance to the five viscera by way of nourishing life through drinking tea, the second fascicle is concerned with the use of mulberry toward the violent expulsion of demonic and spectral agents that Yōsai claims have manifested in the Final Age of the Law. In the title of the *Ritual for Expelling* Demons, the term *heki* is probably an abbreviation for *hekijo*, as is suggested by a phrase appearing in the liturgy: "If you wish to eliminate the harm wrought by demons and *māras*."[7]

## RECASTING ZHIYI'S PATHOLOGIES

At the same time, the actual definition of the disease agents appearing in this title perhaps owes less to esoteric scriptural precedents *per se* and more to writings associated with the Chinese Tiantai tradition that were of great value to Jimon monks. In particular, I suspect that the term "demons and *māras*" (*kima*) in the liturgy's title in fact derives from discussions on illness nosology found in the *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. Evidence for this can be found in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy. There, toward the end of the scroll, we find a direct quote from Zhiyi's major treatise:

---

[6] TJ Hinrichs discusses the meaning of this character in medical literature; see "The Catchy Epidemic: Theorization and its Limits in Han to Song Period Medicine."

[7] 若欲辟除鬼魅病難者。

> The [*Great*] *Calming and Contemplation* says, "If an adept is suffering from an illness due either of the two diseases [caused by] demons or *māra* disturbances, these should be treated through contemplative practices or powerful spirit spells [i.e. *dhāraṇī*], and then the sufferer will improve. If it is a karmic disease, then the adept should use the power of contemplation internally while practicing repentance externally—his condition will then improve. These methods of treatment are not the same. The adept must understand this well. One must not wield a sword by grasping the blade only to bring harm to themselves."[8]

It is precisely the "two diseases of demons and *māras*" (*kima nibyō* 鬼魔二病), identified by Zhiyi in the passage above, that are addressed together in the liturgy's title. That this quote was especially important for grasping the purport of the rite is hinted at by its prominent inclusion in later variants of the liturgical text. In the *Ōsu Shinpukuji shozō koshi chū-shō iji sha shōsha no ichi* 大須真福寺所蔵故紙中涉医事者抄写之一, a text probably composed by Sanmon-Anō monks that extracts the core parts of the liturgy and *Essential Notes* (currently held at Fujikawa Bunko 富士川文庫, Kyoto University), as well as the identical *Denshi chihō hihō* 伝屍治法秘法 (also known as the *Shi chihō hiyō* 屍治法秘要, held in the National Palace Museum 台北故宮 in Taipei), the above quote from the *Great Calming and Contemplation* has been moved to the very start of the text. Relocated to the very first section, Zhiyi's quote thus provides a kind of guiding framework for the liturgy as a whole. This was likely the case for the Jimon compilers as well.

Zhiyi's quotation also mentions "karmic disease," which is not included in the title of the liturgy. We have already noted in the last chapter that the Jimon monks saw corpse-vector disease as a kind of karmic disease. This quote from *Great Calming and Contemplation* represents one half of Zhiyi's six-fold classification of diseases, the first three being what might be called functional or configurational, involving imbalances of, respectively, the four elements (*sida* 四大), drinking and eating, and sitting meditation. Zhiyi's six-fold nosology has long been seen by scholars to have been popular in Japan, where physicians such as Kajiwara Shōzen

[8] In the original, T. 1911: 108a02–05.

made a point of mentioning it. As the title of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy already indicates, its influence on how Jimon monks conceptualized corpse-vector disease was significant. As will be demonstrated on several occasions in this dissertation, Zhiyi's writing represented a major inspiration for the Jimon monks who assembled the textual sources for the moxibustion. At the same time, whereas Zhiyi set up more or less distinct categories with some but not extensive overlap, the construction of corpse-vector disease is in the Jimon ritual sources is much less analytically cogent; the compilers of the rite sought not to theoretically organize categories relevant to corpse-vector disease but instead to multiple the viewpoints from which it might be seen. However, in order to better contextualize our investigation of corpse-vector disease to come, it is worth first considering what exactly these diseases constituted for Zhiyi and commentaries on his work. Jimon monks were undoubtedly influenced by these earlier notions.

Let us start with demonic diseases, one of the categories that figures in the title of the Jimon liturgy and which we will shall observe figures most prominently throughout. The description appears in the "contemplating disease" (*guan binghuan jing* 觀病患境) section, where Zhiyi has already set out the first three categories of disease:

> As for the fourth [category], demon diseases, the four elements and five viscera (*wuzang* 五臟) are not demons; demons are neither the four elements nor the five viscera. If there's a person who says there are no demon diseases, [they ought to recall that] when evil spirit mediums earnestly perform demon treatments, there are times when [sufferers] are healed. If there's a person who says there are no diseases of the four elements, [they ought to know that] when medical practitioners earnestly treat with liquid medicines, there are times when [sufferers] are healed. There was a king of a country with demon diseases lodged in the empty spaces [of his body], so he would often employ needles to kill [them]. The king of the demons arrived and resided above his heart, such that needling could not be performed, thus he knew he had a

> demon disease. [. . .] If these diseases are not treated and persist for a long time, they will kill the person.[9]
>
> 四鬼病者。四大五藏非鬼。鬼非四大五藏。若入四大五藏。是名鬼病。若言無鬼病者。邪巫一向作鬼治有時得差。若言無四大病者。醫方一向作湯藥治有時得差。有一國王鬼病在空處。屡被針殺。鬼王自來住在心上。針者拱手。故知亦有鬼病矣。[…] 若不治之久久則殺人。

One gets the impression that Zhiyi felt he must commence discussion on demonic diseases by making a clear and comparative case for their ontological status. In other words, demonic diseases ought to be treated as seriously as the configurational disease types represented by the four elements and the five viscera. Just as treatments prove effective for those diseases, so too can we observe successes resulting from the therapies of spirit mediums that are aimed at demonic entities. Zhiyi evokes an anecdotal sense of the efficacy of one disease category to validate the ontology of another.

Then, Zhiyi shifts the register of his prose to recount a brief narrative to substantiate and explain demonic disease. We have already seen the importance of narrative in passages from the *Idanshō*, and how its author Tomotoshi drew upon stories found within the classical medical tradition; and in this chapter, we will later observe how the Jimon ritual sources incorporate narrative from a different kind of source, Buddhist mythohistory. The story Zhiyi gives the reader is rather reminiscent of one given by Tomotoshi in the section on corpse-vector disease in his *Idanshō*. There, paraphrasing the famous *Zhubing yuanhou lun* passage on *zhu*-infusion disorders, Tomotoshi wanted to drive home the point that corpse-vector disease is an affliction in which demons reside in the body. To make his point, he referenced the similarity between corpse-vector disease and the *gao huang* illness long ago contracted by Emperor Jing Gong and against which physician Yi Huan proved useless. In Zhiyi's story, the diagnosis of demonic disease becomes evident precisely when needling proves fruitless, a clear

[9] We will return to the omitted section shortly. See T. 1911: 107c03–13; see also Ikeda, *Shōkai Maka shikan*, vol. 1: 580; Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 2: 1334–1335.

sign that the "demon king" has lodged so deeply in the body such that needles no longer reach. Thus, the two parts of Zhiyi's passage work in opposite ways: Whereas Zhiyi began the passage by claiming the existence of demonic diseases can be verified by the success of spirit-related treatment methods, his later story tells us that demonic diseases can be known as such precisely by the failure of conventional medicine.

In his commentary on this section of the *Great Calming and Contemplation* in his *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* 止觀輔行傳弘決, Zhanran raises a story with much the same import about the habit of demons to conceal themselves within the body, but with a different result. The story parallels the one we noted told by Tomotoshi:

> [This description of demons by Zhiyi] is like [when] Zhang Hua was to treat Li Ziyu's illness, but the illness resided in the *gao* [and] the *huang* and thus he did not dare treat it. Hua then fled and Yu got on a horse to pursue him. Hua then hid below the road, [whereupon] he heard a demon in the grass, and so asked him, "Younger brother, why don't you hide?" [The demon] replied, "I reside in the *gao* and *huang* where needles and moxibustion cannot reach. What need would I have to hide? [If anything] I only fear [the doctor] using the Eight-Poisons Pill (*badu wan* 八毒丸)." [Hua then] quickly arrived [at where] Ziyu was. Hua used the Eight-Poisons to purge [the disease]. The demon squawked and yelled and then fled. [This story] derives from Guo's commentary on the *Materia Medica* (*Bencao* 本草).[10]
>
> 亦如張華治李子預病。病鬼在膏肓不肯治之。華乃走避。預自乘馬逐之。華乃下道隱。聞草中有鬼。而相問言。弟何不隱去。答。我住其膏肓針灸不至。何須隱去。但懼其用八毒丸耳。須臾子預至。華便以八毒瀉之。其鬼叫喚而走。出本草郭注。

The physician Hua was wise enough from the outset to realize that Li Ziyu's illness is demonic. As we learned from Tomotoshi's commentary earlier, demonic diseases are for this reason essentially incurable; the diagnosis is often fatal. The circulation of stories like the one above make one imagine how shrewd physicians would have done their best to avoid patients they diagnosed as demon-infested, for the responsibility for a dead patient would inevitably

[10] T. 1912: 399a19–a24.

reflect upon their unsuccessful treatment rather than the true but hard-to-prove cause. The story here, apparently deriving from a commentary on a *materia medica* text, stages the fleeing of the physician from such a risky patient as an opportunity for that physician to fortuitously discover a truly effective means of driving out the disease-agent. This occurs in a conversation between the physician and a demon, both of whom are hiding out. Perhaps to outsmart him, the physician calls him "younger brother," and then learns that the "Eight-Poisons Pill" is what demons fear most, as its effectiveness in reaching the depths of the body far exceeds that of needles and moxibustion. These stories in Tiantai writings about demonic disease bring home the importance of narrative for explaining and treated demonic diseases, as well as their agential nature.

The next category that Zhiyi takes up, and which is likewise included in the title of the liturgy, is *māra* diseases, or *ma* afflictions. Zhiyi explains:

> As for [category number five], *ma* afflictions, these are not [very] different from demon [diseases]. But while demons afflict the body and kill the body, *ma* break the contemplative mind, they break the life of wisdom of the dharma-body, arousing evil thoughts that rob the person of their merits and virtues—thus do they differ from demons. Also, depending on the adept practicing sitting meditation, their beneficial nourishment [thereby] will be [disrupted by] evil contemplations, [as] *ma* will materialize sundry robes, drink and food, the seven treasures, and miscellaneous things, which the person will accept and then rejoice, [whereupon *ma*] enter the mind and transform into disease. This disease is difficult to treat. Below I explain a treatment that is appropriate.[11]
>
> 五魔病者與鬼亦不異。鬼但病身殺身。魔則破觀心。破法身慧命。起邪念想奪人功德。與鬼爲異。亦由行者於坐禪中。邪念利養。魔現種種衣服飲食七珍雜物。即領受歡喜。入心成病。此病難治。下治中當説。

Zhiyi begins by gesturing at the similarity between demons and *ma.* Although he quickly shifts to a discussion of their differences, the similarity here lies in the fact that *ma* likewise invade the

[11] T. 1911: 107c13–c18; Ikeda, *Shōkai Maka shikan*, vol. 1:, 580–581; Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 2: 1335.

person. However, the target differs. Whereas demons afflict and kill the physical body (*shen* 身)—as we saw above, demons are much like *zhu*-infusions and the *gao huang* disease in their going deep into the corporeal body—*māras* go after the mind (*xin* 心). Meditators are especially vulnerable, for in the midst of their contemplative moments they will be drawn to the illusory gifts these beings bring. Although it is not made explicit, the etiology of *māra* afflictions is undergirded by a mythohistorical narrative of central importance for the Buddhist tradition. As Paul Swanson explains in his annotation on this passage, *māra* diseases reference King Māra. A god of death and desire, King Māra is understood as the personification of evil in the Buddhist tradition, and best known for his attempts to sway the bodhisattva Śākyamuni from his trajectory toward awakening under the bodhi tree.[12] However, rather than conflate *māra* diseases with King Māra, it's probably best to treat *māras* as generalized forms of hindrance- or obstacle-causing agents—in Japanese *shōgeshin* 障碍神—that take as their ultimate prototype King Māra. Just as the bodhisattva Śākyamuni was assaulted by an onslaught of illusory, desire-producing obstacles in order to topple him from his meditation, so too will the adept—seeking likewise to become a buddha—face his own individual *māras.* A parallel with the generalizing logic by which multiple *māras* descend from the one King Māra discerned in the relationship between Vināyaka (or Vināyakas as a named group) and *vināyakas* (as another class of obstacle-arousing entities).

These are examples of historical entities that re-manifest into the present but which split into either generalized forms or take on new individuated identities. The application of this logic need not be confined only to Buddhist texts and figures. We can observe a similar move when Zhiyi brought the reader from demonic diseases as a generalized pathology that might afflict anyone to the particular demon king that afflicted the "king in one country." As we shall see, similar logics operate within the Jimon ritual sources.

---

[12] On the mythology of King Māra, see e.g. Bloss, "The Taming of Māra: Witnessing to the Buddha's Virtues" and Karetzky, "Māra, Buddhist Deity of Death and Desire."

Although the Jimon compilers drew from Zhiyi, it is important to note that they do not draw as sharp a distinction between *māras* and demons. Again, in assembling images of corpse-vector disease, it seems their purpose was not to reproduce clean categorical distinctions, but rather to name as many demonic agents that might be justifiably held responsible. What is important for the Jimon texts in doing so, as we shall note later, is the physiomoral valence shared between the two: *māras* and demons equally arouse in their victims manifold desires. Indeed, not long after mentioning *māras* and demons, the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* comments that the disease is karmic. Karma is the linchpin of Buddhist physiomoralism. We should in remember, in Zhiyi's framework, karmic categories constituted a separate category of disease altogether. To complete the picture, then, let us read what Zhiyi has to say about karmic diseases as well:

> The sixth [and final category] are karmic diseases. Sometimes this is caused by karma carried over from past lives, and other times a person breaks the precepts in this life, thus activating the karma of previous lives and the power of karma becomes disease. One ought to know the offences connected to the five sense organs. If one has karma of the offence of murder, then one acquires liver or eye diseases; if it's karma from the offence of drinking alcohol, there are heart and mouth diseases; if karma from the offence of lustful activities, then it's diseases of the kidneys and ears; if it's karma from the offence of deluded speech, then it's diseases of the spleen and tongue; if it's karma from the offence of stealing, then it's lung and nose diseases; if it's karma from breaking these five precepts, then illness will arise in the five viscera and the five sense organs. If one repents for their karma, [these illnesses can be] healed. There are also cases when holding the precepts in one's present life stirs the karma that leads to illness. Therefore it is said: There are cases when those with grave offences can have their headaches eliminated, and cases when those who should receive [the heavy retributions of] hell only receive minor retributions as a person. This is why karma you wish to atone for becomes disease. There are many types of karmic diseases, including swellings, abundance, yellow, and depletion.[13]
>
> 六業病者。或專是先世業。或今世破戒動先世業。業力成病。還約五根知有所犯。若殺罪之業是肝眼病。飲酒罪業是心口病。婬罪業是腎耳病。妄語罪業是脾舌病。

[13] T. 1911: 107c18–26; Ikeda, *Shōkai Maka shikan*, vol. 1: 581; Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 2: 1336.

若盜罪業是肺鼻病。毀五戒業則有五藏五根病起。業謝乃差。若今生持戒亦動業成病。故云。若有重罪頭痛得除。應地獄重受人中輕償。此是業欲謝故病也。夫業病多種。腫滿黃虛。

For the compilers of the Jimon liturgy, karmic diseases, demonic diseases, and *māra* diseases were not necessarily three categories whose boundaries were to be kept as clear as they were in the writings of Zhiyi upon which they drew. If anything, the demonic was the defining category for them. We will however see various threads that tie them together, and shall observe two characteristics noted above: the shifts between the general and the individual, and the thread of physiomoralism.

## LOCAL DEMONOLOGY

The *Ritual for Expelling Demons* does not display the same theoretical sophistication of the cool, calm, and collected Zhiyi. Rather than differentially identifying the characteristics of demonic disease against other pathological categories, the liturgy mentions disease-causing demons at times vaguely and other times concretely. Here, I shall take up these mentions in the order in which they appear in the liturgy and where possible analyze them with reference to the sources from which they derive, *Essential Notes*, and later sources associated with the Jimon moxibustion ritual.

The first reference to any kind of demonic disease appears early in the liturgy, in a reference to "corpse-vector demon-disease" (*denshi kibyō* 伝屍鬼病) that is then labelled a "demon god" (*kishin* 鬼神):

> Also, this demonic disease progressively rolls around from place to place, flowing and moving. It spreads from husband to wife to children, and then to brothers and sisters. Thus, some call it 'corpse-vector demon-disease.' None under heaven, including eminent physicians, can treat it. When the Dharma of the Buddha is diluted and wanes, kings, officials, queens, concubines, and monks and nuns of the realm will all suffer harm wrought by this demon-god. Those of high virtue will be afflicted with *lai*, those of middle virtue will suffer from corpse-vector, and

> those of low virtue will be overcome by madness. Because of this, fathers and mothers abstain from their parental affections toward their children, while wives and children become alienated from their duties of filial obligation.

The passage conveys corpse-vector disease as a demonic disease in motion. In line with the basics of Chinese medical literature on the topic, that movement begins at the most local level, the family unit, a fact repeated at the beginning and the end of the passage. But, untreatable by even the best, the disease cannot be quarantined within domestic spaces—and here the language departs from Chinese medical texts. And that's because corpse-vector disease is given speed by the Decline of the Dharma. It would appear that as the Dharma wanes, the circulation of the disease accelerates, the scope of its contagion expands. Beyond individual families and their neighbors, the whole realm is at risk.

In Chinese Buddhist scriptures, such as the *Foshuo famiejin jing* 佛說法滅盡經 (T. 396), the Latter Days of the Law was associated with the proliferation of demons, diseases, and other strange entities.[14] The notion came to take on great significance in early medieval Japan, when the final age was thought to have commenced in the year 1052. Buddhist priests assembling healing programs had to address this problem of the age, for it had major consequences for pathology and the efficacy of therapies. For example, the notion of *mappō* provides the frame for the second fascicle of Yōsai's *Kissayōjōki*, which is accordingly titled, "The Gate of Expelling Demons and Spirits" (*Kenjo kimi mon* 遣除鬼魅門). Purportedly citing the *Daigensui taishō giki hishō* 大元帥大将儀軌秘鈔, we read there:

> In the Latter Days of the Law when the lifespan of a person amounts to one-hundred years, the four monastic communities will in great numbers violate proper deportment. When people do not accord with the teachings of the Buddha, the realm will be thrown into wild chaos, the hundred generations [i.e. all people] will pass away. In these times there will be demons and spirits (*kimi mōryō* 鬼魅魍魎) that will send the realm into chaos and antagonize the people, creating manifold diseases for which no medical treatment exists, of which medical

[14] On this apocryphal scripture, and the intersections of Buddho-Daoist eschatology more generally, see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 58–62.

> knowledge proves ignorant, against which medical formulas provide no salvation. There'll be no way to save those who suffer protractedly of exhaustion in the extreme.[15]

The *Ritual for Expelling Demons* also warns that corpse-vector disease will affect the sangha, but not before afflicting the imperial family and its network. Thus, in the face of this virulent disease, the notion of the "mutual interdependence of imperial law and Buddhist law" (*ōbō buppō sōi ron* 王法仏法相依論) comes to take on a different meaning, as both the secular and sacred wings of society are interdependently implicated by what is rightly called an "epidemic" (*ekibyō* 疫病), even if that term does not itself appear in the passage. Indeed, what is emphasized is the movement of the disease and the scale of its diffusion. At the same time, we can already detect a gesture to individuate this realm-wide affliction in the passage's brief mention of the disease as a the "demon god."

As the liturgy progresses, other culprits for this collective phenomenon come to be named. It turns out that we are not dealing with a single disease that is reproducing in people and spreading that way, nor the work of a single demon god. Rather, as the text drifts, several named demons come to be involved. The first of these is revealed immediately after the passage above: "This corpse-vector disease-demon is also called the Tenmarakeishitta demon (Tenmarakeishitta-ki; Ch. Tianmoluojishituo-gui 天魔羅雞室陀鬼)." In fact, the passage calls into being two identities. First is the "corpse-vector disease-demon," which is identical to the demon god previously described. "Tenmarakeishitta" is then added to this demon, as another name, but we will see that how this demon will come to embody its own identity.

The Jimon compilers drafted Tenmarakeishitta from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* (*Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集経). This is evident by the fact that this work is cited immediately after the demon is mentioned. In general, *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* is important for thinking about the Jimon ritual because it is one of just three or so continental esoteric liturgical texts to

[15] Furuta, *Kissa yōjōki*, 89, and also translation on 61; cf. Benn, *Tea in China: a Religious and Cultural History*, 165.

mention corpse-vector disease, and indeed the only to mention Shōmen Kongō. However, whereas corpse-vector disease and Shōmen Kongō appear in a section of the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* affixed to fascicle nine on Ucchuṣma, Tenmarakeishitta appears in fascicle eleven, which pertains to the demoness Cāmuṇḍā (J. Shamonda 遮文荼). We might ask: Of the many demons that appear throughout the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, including those in sections more closely proximate to mentions of corpse-vector disease or Shōmen Kongō, why did the Jimon compilers choose this demon?

One answer might simply be pathological resemblance. In other words, that the symptoms listed in connection with the Tenmarakeishitta demon corresponded well with how the Jimon compilers understood those provoked by corpse-vector disease. The source passage in *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* reads: "If there is a person who suddenly acquires the disease of the Tianmoluojishituo demon, the symptoms will resemble Wind-*dian*. Some [sufferers] will be like mad persons, sometimes crying and other times laughing. If forty-nine days pass without treatment, that person will definitely die."[16] We have already noted the fatal character of corpse-vector disease, as well as its close connection to madness, when discussing its connection to death defilement in the last chapter. Both of those associations are succinctly expressed in this passage. Indeed, this passage might be the only in the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* to state of a demonic ailment that the sufferer will certainly die. (What is also interesting is that the liturgy's quotation skips a few lines from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* quote but then immediately continues on to quote some lines from the same section. Thus it not only integrates the demon but also ritual techniques that the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* prescribes specifically for this demon, and these techniques become a kind of prelude to the liturgy's prescription of moxibustion. Techniques come to be irrevocably tied to information about demons. I return to the significance of this passage in Chapter Four.)

[16] T. 901: 884a28–b01: 若有人忽得天魔羅雞室陀鬼病。其狀似風癲。或似狂人。或哭或笑。此是病狀。經四十九日不療。其人必死。

But like Shōmen Kongō, the origins of the Tenmarakeishitta/Tianmoluojishituo demon beyond the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* are obscure. Its name initially appears to be simply a Chinese transliteration from the Sanskrit, but perhaps it is more of a hybrid patched together during the translation process. *Gui*, "demon," is clearly to be read for its meaning, and this might also be true for *tian,* "heaven" or "heavenly." *Mara* is a straightforward transliteration of *māra*, a creature we have seen to be connected with both demons and diseases; *tianma* itself can mean King Māra. This recalls the transliteration of what in the process of localizing and translating sutras into Chinese was taken to be "epilepsy" (*diankuang*; Jp. *tenkyō* 顚狂); *apasmāra* in Sanskrit, the primary word to describe "convulsions," was rendered *apomoluo* 阿婆摩羅 (Jp. *abamara*). ("The *apasmāra* turns a person into a mad demon," as one passage construes the relationship.)[17] *Shituo* 室陀 likewise reads as a transliterated term, but I've found no instances in the Taishō canon or elsewhere. Finally, the character *kei* 雞 can be rendered into Chinese directly as "chicken." Are we then dealing with some kind of "heavenly *māra* chicken demon"?

Even if we cannot attribute such a strange reading to the now-unknown author of the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* or its translator Atikūṭa, by the year 1300 in Japan, the name had definitely come to be interpreted along those lines. First of all, in the *Denshibyō shu no koto*, a product of Anō lineage monks, five types of corpse-vector disease demons—all of whom we shall see already appear in the Jimon liturgy—were collectively labelled the "five types of heavenly *māra* demons" (*goshu tenmaki* 五種天魔鬼). *Māra* and demons are combined here, as we saw in the title of the liturgy. Several of these demons are described and presented in graphic form as human/animal hybrids. This is true for Tenmarashitta demon, who is described in the *Denshibyō shu no koto* in the following manner: "Its head is that of chicken but it has hands, fingers, and two feet. With its left and right hand it holds a mallet and on its waist wears an [animal] hide skirt. [It is responsible for throwing the sufferer] off the path and

[17] In *Da banniepan jing shu* 大般涅槃經疏; T. 1767: 121a13: 阿婆摩羅令人狂鬼。See also Smith, *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*, 482–483.

arousing evil mind of the afflictions."[18] Although the idea that this demon should be a chicken of some sort was likely inspired by the inclusion of the character *kei*, in fact, the *Denshibyō shu no koto* (as well as the *Keiranshūyōshū* after that) employ a different character with the same pronunciation: *kei* 醯.

There are two other appearances of this demon's name worth mentioning. In the Anō lineage *Denshibyō kanjin shō*, the demon's name is given as Makeishitta-ki 魔雞室陀鬼. As Minobe Shigekatsu et. al. has suggested, this is probably a mistake for Tenmarakeishitta-ki. However, curiously, a "Makeira-ki" 魔雞羅鬼 appears in Kajiwara Shōzen's *Man'anpō*, accompanied by this explanation: "This demon has a head of a chicken and in its hand holds an iron ladle to pour scalding hot liquid on the sick person." Minobe et. al. take this to be a different demon (a sixth type). While in the illustration of this demon in the *Denshibyō shu no koto,* we indeed see that a different weapon is being held (a mallet or *tsuchi* 槌), the chicken head nevertheless suggests an overlap of identity. Still, as Minobe et. al. also point out, what is especially strange is that the explanation and illustration of this demon in *Man'anpō* appear not in fascicle fifteen, "Lower Volume on Gate of Depletion-Exhaustion" (*kyorō mon ge* 虛労門下) where we find corpse-vector disease treated, but rather earlier, in fascicle ten of the text, "The Gate of All [Kinds of] *Gyaku*" (*sho gyakubyō mon* 諸瘧門).

Returning to the *Ritual for Expelling Demons*, the next two demons appear together in a passage that follows the instructions for applying moxibustion to the patient: "For the above [application of moxibustion], you should use the the aforementioned root mudra [of Shōmen Kongō] to empower the moxibustion points. These [points] to which you apply moxa are those places where the Cat Demon and the Tokeira Demon hinder and harm." As will be explored further in Chapter 5, some of the moxibustion points prescribed in the liturgy for application are associated with pathological agents. Here, the liturgy makes the claim that all of the places on the body identified as moxa points are those which are vulnerable to the

[18] 頭者鶏、手指二足、左右手槌ヲ持腰席皮着付。無道起嗔恚悪心等也。See also the *Keiranshūyōshū*, T. 2410: 618a08–9.

attacks of these two demons. It is not incidental that they should be called "the places where [they] hinder and harm" (*shōnan no tokoro* 障難之處), for this accurately depicts the alliance of these two figures with obstacle demons.

Let's look at these two demons individually. Like Tenmarakeishitta demon, Tokeira-ki 兜醯羅鬼 suggests a transliteration of a Sanskrit term. Paul Swanson speculates this might be Hidda.[19] In the Taishō canon, the name appears infrequently and only in Chinese Tiantai works attributed to Zhiyi, such as the *Great Calming and Contemplation* (T no. 1911, 46:107c10), and Japanese Tendai texts, specifically the Jimon liturgy (T. 1221) and the *Keiranshūyōshū* (T no. 2410, 76:618a11 and 765c15) in the section which discusses the five demons noted previously. Thus, we are again dealing with a demon that is specific to this rite and only one other text, i.e. Zhiyi's. In Zhiyi's *Great Calming and Contemplation*, Tokeira (Ch. Douxiluo) is in fact mentioned in the passage describing demonic diseases that we looked at before. I omitted the part on Tokeira when discussing this previously, so let's have a look at it:

> Demons do not randomly afflict persons with sickness. [Rather, they become a problem] when people engage in evil thoughts about all manner of things or desire to know what is auspicious or inauspicious. The demon Douxiluo manifests assorted transformations, causing colors such as blue-green or yellow to enter the five sense organs, whereupon the mind ground unravels in a perverse manner and [the adept] will know the auspicious and inauspicious, or will know the auspicious and inauspicious of one body, one family, one village, or one country. This is not sacred [i.e. orthodox] knowledge.[20]
>
> 鬼亦不漫病人。良由人邪念種種事。或望知吉凶。兜醯羅鬼作種種變。青黃等色從五根入。則意地邪解能知吉凶。或知一身一家一村一國吉凶事。此非聖知也。

The role of demons becomes slightly more ambivalent as compared with the passages we studied earlier. Zhiyi recognizes this kind of demonic influence or even possession affords

[19] Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 2: 1335.

[20] T. 1911: 107c09–13; Cf. Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 2: 1335; Ikeda, *Shōkai Maka shikan*, vol. 1: 580.

the special kind of knowledge that is possessed by diviners and mediums. However, he emphasizes that for an adept who is meditating to excel on the Buddhist path, this is neither useful nor healthy knowledge; this kind of knowledge constitutes an obstacle all its own, for it tempts with power and control. Among Zhiyi's other texts, the *Oral Transmission on the Dhyāna Gate by Master Tiantai Zhizhe* (*Tiantai Zhizhe Dashi chanmen koujue*; T no. 1919, 46: 584a11–a13) provides additional insights on this demon:

> When first sitting [in meditation], there are various things that provoke the adept and cause disturbances. Sometimes [a voice] slandering the Buddha-Dharma and spoken in barbarian and Chinese languages render the person unable to comprehend. This evil demon enters the body and is called Douxiluo. Recite the aforementioned spell and it will heal.[21]
>
> 初坐時有好種種事起人來觸惱。或謗佛法胡漢語令人不解。此是惡鬼入身名兜醯羅。誦前呪即差。兜醯羅神其身黃。乍大乍小。

In his commentary on this passage, Zhanran notes that Douxiluo is a demon of five colors, referencing an earlier section in which he discusses correspondences between the five phases and the five viscera.[22]

For Zhiyi and his disciples, then, meditation was thus a vulnerable period for adepts in which demonic agents like Douxiluo might intrude. This perspective on meditation was certainly passed on by later adepts to Japan. In his *Jashō mondō shū* 邪正問答集, Myōe is asked by a disciple whether meditators lose their mental balance because of poor practice in meditation. In his reply, Myōe admits this is one reason, but instead points to attachment to the world as much more relevant factor. Pride thus produced opens space for the intrusion of *māras*, or past karmic offences troubles the demon of the mind, or some adepts attempt to accelerate the soteriological process toward awakening, thus exhausting themselves and giving rise to exhaustion. As Hosokawa Ryōichi 細川涼一 points out, the lines between madness

[21] T. 1919: 584a11–13.

[22] T. 1912: 399b14–15: 兜醯羅鬼等者。即前文中五色之鬼。

produced by one's thoughts and the madness produced by possession tend to blur.[23] Although we can observe in these ideas several pathological concepts we also find with corpse-vector disease being threaded together, what the Jimon compilers have done is take Zhiyi's *māras* and demons out of the context of meditation practices and place them in the pathological constellation of corpse-vector disease. The *Ritual for Expelling Demons* changes the genre in which these creatures matter, newly subsuming them into the framework of an esoteric subjugation ritual—this is indeed the work performed by the title of the liturgy itself. In that framework, the ritual is not a meditation practice performed by a monastic individual seeking to realize soteriological aims; rather, it is a healing ritual focused outwardly on the body of the aristocratic patient whose been afflicted by corpse-vector disease.[24]

The other demon mentioned with Tokeira is the "Cat Demon," or *myōki* 猫鬼. Lest there be any suspicion about the nature of this demon, a later transcriber made a point of including a most essential note on the verso of the *Essential Notes* manuscript: "The cat demon (*myōki*) is a demon in the form of a cat (*neko* ネコ)." Cat demons as a class have a longer and more easily traceable genealogy than either Tenmarakeishitta or Tokeira, for these creatures appear in both continental medical and Buddhist texts, not to mention other literary and historical genres. Early on, Minakata Kumagusu 南方熊楠 marked the most famous story involving cat demons in Chinese history, that of Dugu Tuo 獨孤陀 and the cat demon controversy that erupted around the Sui imperial family.[25] This episode, along with many of the other scattered references to *maogui* in medieval Chinese history, has more recently been

[23] Hosokawa, *Itsudatsu no Nihon chūsei*, 23.

[24] Another important source, *On the Variations of Corpse-Vector Disease* (*Denshibyō shu no koto*), an unpublished manuscript in fragmented sheets held at the Ōsu Bunko archives of the Shingon temple Shinpukuji in Nagoya, Japan, notes that this demon "has the head of a priest and lower body of a snake, holds [a scroll of] the Thousand Armed Avalokitesvara Dharani in his left hand, and uses his right to beat the sufferer."

[25] *Minakata Kumagusu bunshū* 南方熊楠文集, 1: 232–233.

discussed by Rebecca Doran.[26] The story of Dugu Tuo is one of sorcery. This was a man accused of employing a cat demon in order to antagonize the royal household. The socercy was performed through the mediation of a female slave, and as Doran points out, there is an unmistakably gendered dimension to the history of this entity: "the cat demon is summoned by women and set upon women."[27]

Important for our discussion of the ways that the Jimon materials relate to Chinese medical literature, the cat demon also figures in all of the major medical sources that matter, namely those from the Sui and Tang periods: *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, *Qianjin yifang, Beiji qianjin yaofang*, and *Waitai miyao fang*. As was often the case, *Zhubing yuanhou lun* proves to be a critical sources for later medical texts, and it is interesting because this text was composed around the time of the Dugu Tuo scandal, which as noted involved the Sui royal family. In the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, the cat demon is categorized along with ailments related to *gu* poisoning (*gudu bing* 蠱毒病).[28]

> Indications of Cat-Demon (*maogui hou* 猫鬼候)
> Cat-demon refers to the essence of old wildcats and wild things that transform into the likes of demon-spirits (*guiyu* 鬼蜮) which attach to a person. People serve them, and as [whe people] serve the *gu*, use [their] poisons to harm people. The disease manifests as sharp pain in the heart and abdomen, [as the poisons] eat the person's viscera and bowels, [causing them to] vomit blood and urinate blood, whereupon they die.[29]

---

[26] Doran, "The Cat Demon, Gender, and Religious Practice: Towards Reconstructing a Medieval Chinese Cultural Pattern."

[27] Ibid., 692.

[28] The topic of *gu* poisoning is too extensive to take up here, and perhaps matters less directly for the Japanese context we are discussing. However, there are critical connections with corpse-vector disease and some of the other ailments considered here. For an excellent recent study, see Hinrichs, *Shamans, Witchcraft, and Quarantine: The Medical Transformation of Governance and Southern Customs in Mid-Imperial China* (forthcoming). Recently, on Japan, see Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*.

[29] A translation for this passage can also be found in Doran, "The Cat Demon, Gender, and Religious Practice," 697.

猫鬼候　猫鬼者、云是老狸野物之精、變為鬼蜮、而依附於人。人畜事之、猶如事蠱、以毒害人。其病狀心腹刺痛、食人府藏、吐血利血、而死。

Does this suggest that the Jimon compilers had in mind sorcerers behind corpse-vector disease? The Jimon ritual passage about the cat demon is brief, but no sorcery is immediately in sight, nor is any suggestion made in later materials descending from the Jimon ritual texts. Yet the Jimon compilers were perhaps not the first to set the cat demon loose, so to speak. Ge Hong's *Zhouhou beiji fang,* as well as the *Qianjin yifang* and *Beiji qianjin yaofang*, contain no hints of a human agent behind the pathological workings of the cat demon.[30] As Doran points out, the cat demon was often explicitly linked to *yedao*, which she translates as "masterless venom" (*yedao* 野道; literally "wild path") and what Christine Mollier described as "a sort of orphan bewitchment that loiters in nature and strikes by chance."[31] This shift from intentional sorcery (behind which is always an individual, no matter how shadowy or elusive) to chance phenomenon parallels what we have already noted in the drifting logic whereby individuals become generalized pathologies. Perhaps the Jimon compilers were aware of the medical sources noted above. After all, Sun Simiao does note the existence of a popular moxibustion method (俗亦有灸法) with divine efficacy (神驗) for treating *gu* and cat demon ailments, something that would have peaked the interest of monks designer a moxibustion ritual for an ailment they saw caused by similar agents.[32]

It is perhaps more likely, however, that Jimon monks pulled the cat demon from a Chinese esoteric Buddhist text. For example, a notable candidate as the source from which the cat demon could have been taken was the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, from which we already know the compilers adopted Shōmen Kongō, sections on corpse-vector disease, ritual

[30] Ibid., 696.

[31] Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*, 95.

[32] *Beiji qianjing yaofang* 24: 436b–27a.

techniques, as well as other pathological entities like the demon Tenmarakeishitta. Fascicle Eight, the "Middle Volume on the Vajra Division" (*Jingang bu zhong juan* 金剛部中卷) includes the following passage:

> In order to cure all ailments of *gu* sorcery (*yagu* 壓蠱), wild paths, and cat demons, use water to soak wheat flour [to create dough] and make human forms [i.e. effigies, from it]. Continuously reciting the spell, use the *vajra* staff to [smash] that [effigy of a] person so that it breaks up. The pieces are scattered and *gum guggul* incense is burned. All vexations caused by demonic witchery will be totally destroyed and they will [no longer] be able to cause harm.[33]
>
> 又治一切壓蠱野道猫鬼等病。以水溲麵。作人形已。連續誦呪。以金剛杖分割其人。片片散却。燒安悉香。一切壓鬼所惱亂事。皆悉破壞不能爲害。

Aside from the mention of the cat demon, two other features in this passage line up with ritual techniques adopted in the Jimon ritual: the creation and destruction of effigies and the burning of *gum guggul* incense (*ansokukō* 安悉香), which the ritualist is to use to fumigate into the sufferer's nostrils as a treatment, a prescription taken from the *Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合藥經 (T. 1059). We will discuss these techniques more extensively in the next chapter. As for the cat demon, another passage from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* seems the most likely inspiration: "If there is a person who suffers from cat demons or wild paths, recite the spell one thousand times and the cat demon will thereupon manifest all those people who are watching."[34] This passage addresses basically the same ailments as the previous one. The meaning of the last phrase about the manifestation of people who see or watch is not entirely clear, but perhaps this refers to the handlers of the cat demons and the sorcerers of the wild paths. What makes this passage a more likely candidate is that it appears in Fascicle Nine within the section on Shōmen Kongō. Thus the

[33] Cf. Mollier, *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face*: 85; T. 901: 860b03–06.

[34] T. 901: 867b17–18: 若患猫鬼野道病者。誦呪千遍猫鬼即現一切人見。

"chant" that is to be recited a thousand times is the "Great Spell of the Spell Rite of Great Blue-faced Vajrayakṣa (大青面金剛呪法大呪), a spell directed at the *honzon* of the Jimon rite.

The cat demon appears later in the liturgy in an ambivalent way, but which clearly draws on the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*:

> If you wish to eliminate the harms wrought by the cat demon and wild paths, face Shōshiki Daikongō Yasha Myōō and chant [the spell] 108 times. The cat demon will thereupon manifest in its physical body (*sono shikishin* 其色身) and empower the practitioner. If you wish to eliminate the harms wrought by the diseases of demonic spirits, face Shōshiki Kongō and recite the spell seven hundred times. Again, the person will be made to manifest the body of the demonic spirit and will protect the practitioner.[35]

This passage would suggest that the demons are being converted to one's side, and once converted, they empower the practitioner.

But aside from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, which appears to be the source for the Jimon compilers, there is another key mention of a cat demon in a Chinese esoteric text that cannot be overlooked:

> If you wish to treat the illness, at daybreak burn the mixed incense of a hundred [kinds]. Recite the name of the deity seven times and the names of the twenty-eight *yakṣa* twenty-one times. Circumambulate the home while scattering white mustard seeds to mark the boundary. If there is a person with a demonic disease, regardless of whether [those demons number] many or few, the deities will bind and beat them. The person should not speak. Only the ritualist says, "Quickly, quickly! Expel (*luoqu* 羅佉) the cat demons, fox spirits, and essence spirits (*jingmei* 精魅).[36] This should be recited twenty-one times, whereupon [the sufferer] will be cured.[37]

---

[35] Shinpukuji manuscript. The section phrase does not appear in the Haruo-bon p. 240.

[36] The editors of the Taishō edition note *luofa* 羅佉 is probably *luoqu* 羅佉. In line with our previous discussion of texts concerning "warm disease (*unbyō*)," this is most likely the term *suoluoqu* 娑羅佉, also written *suoluoqie* 娑羅怯, which was understood by esoteric Buddhist monks in Japan at least to mean "expel" and, in the scripture on warm disease, indeed functions as a kind of spell.

[37] T. 1239: 196b22–b27.

> 但欲治病。平旦燒百和香誦七遍神名。二十八部藥叉大將名二十一遍。繞舍散白芥子作界畔。若有鬼病人不問多少。神自縛自打。不須人語。行者但云急急。羅佉貓鬼狐魅精魅。當呪二十一遍即差。

While the rudamentary ritual instructions here have much in common with the types we find in *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, the text from which this passage is derived has a couple special connections with the demonic and pathological imaginary coalescing within the Jimon moxibustion ritual that we have not yet seen. For example, after the quote above, the text goes on to list twenty five occasions of particular disorders, disasters, and dilemmas, indicating which general should be called upon for which occasion. Many of this disorders resonate well, or directly coincide with, some of the entities that we have already explored, including enemies (*yuanjia* 怨家) and demon spirits disease (*wangliangbing* 魍魎病), the kind of agents that the Jimon rite is targeting; *māra*-demons (*magui* 魔鬼), a combination of those two disease categories that Zhiyi distinguished; and, more directly, wasting disease (*shoubing* 瘦病) and bones-steaming disease (*guzhengbing* 骨蒸病), two terms that Jimon ritual sources take to be synonymous with, or at least identical in species to, corpse-vector disease—an interpretation that accords with Chinese medical literature.

But also of much interest is the first condition mentioned: "One: If a person wants to treat essence-demon diseases, then they should employ the subordinates of [the general] Blue-faced Blue Vajra."[38] What is this "essence-demon disease" (*jingguibing* 精鬼病)? The term is reminiscent of the "essence spirits" of the previous passage, which Doran in her reading suggests might refer to the "demons who eat essence," or *shijingqi-gui* 食精気鬼 (Sk. *ojohāra*/*ojāhāra*). Curiously, the modern Japanese translator of this text for the *Kokuyaku mikkyō* 国訳密教 series, Tsukamoto Kengyō 塚本賢暁 (1880–1947), glossed this in a header note as "corpse-vector disease."[39] It is not immediately clear from the text itself why

[38] T. 1239: 196c01: 一者若治精鬼病。當使青面尼藍婆官屬

[39] *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* [2], 114.

Tsukamoto read this term so definitively. The reading, too, might be idiosyncratic; for example, he has a header note for "bones-steaming disease" glossing it as *rōsaibyō* 癆瘵病. I would take issue with this gloss, for *rōsaibyō* is a term often used to mean the same thing as *denshibyō* and would largely displace it in the early modern period in Japan.

Yet we can appreciate Tsukamoto's gloss as a judicious speculation, given the prevalence of other related terms. Moreover, Tsukamoto might have been reading backwards from a later text that he may have simply accepted as a Chinese esoteric work, that is, the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* itself. That's because his decision to take *jinguibing* as corpse-vector disease may have as much to do with the general of whose retinue is to be employed against it: "Blue-faced Blue Vajra" (Qingmian Nilanpo; Jp. Shōmen Niranba 青面尼藍婆; "blue vajra" is *nīla-vajra* in Sanskrit). Tsukamoto thus may have had in mind the ritual of the Blue-faced Vajrayakṣa, aimed at treating corpse-vector disease—the subject of this dissertation. In fact, however, the historical order is probably reverse. This text should be counted as a rare source in the Blue-faced Vajrayakṣa's early career, where he is counted among the generals under the *vidyārāja* Āṭavaka (Azhaboju 阿吒薄俱, etc.), the demon god that is the focus of this scripture and the ultimate authority adepts are to call upon if no other generals succeed to subdue the disease against which they are pitted.

Putting aside the question Shōmen Kongō's origins, for now, we need to look closer at the source text here, the *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌 (T. 1239), as well as the constellation of scriptures surrounding Āṭavaka. It is within these scriptures that Jimon monks found other ways to articulate the demonology of corpse-vector disease in the ritual sources.

## MYTHOHISTORIES & NARRATIVE MEDICINE

Above, we examined a number of demons that figure in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy. We now need to turn from the liturgy to the notes and oral transmissions text,

*Essential Notes*. While there is much overlap between how the liturgy and *Essential Notes* describe corpse-vector disease, the latter also contains a significant addition in which the demonic nature of the ailment is recapitulated in mythohistorical terms:

> (One text says)
> Also, this disease appears after one has contracted Wind-Fever.
> First, the body is weak and fears are many. The heart throbs and the areas under the armpits flutter. The underside of one's hands and feet are hot. The face sometimes flushes red. At first, it's as if [the patient] is responding to the treatment. They get better but afterwards take to spitting up saliva. Also, one is always seeing many dreams.
> Also, [a text says]: "This demon has a retinue of ninety-thousand [demons]. They reside on the mountain known as Cold Mountain. Every day they devour the vital energy (*seiki* 精気), blood, and flesh of people. [Its] name is Harita Yakṣa. This demon emerged from the mountain and crossed over the wastelands, at which time Āṭavika (a demon-god) came to subjugate [this demon], saying, 'You eat the blood and flesh of humans. I will eat your blood and flesh. At that time, Harita fainted and fell to the ground, causing blood to spill out. It pronounced, 'From today onwards I will not consume blood or flesh! I pray that you will not eat me!' In the past, during the time of the King of Emptiness Buddha (J. Kūō Butsu 空王仏; Sk. Dharmagahanābhyudgatarāja), this Great Deity Āṭavika was a householder. It was the age of the Final Dharma for that Buddha and a great many were dying left and right of starvation and thirst. Saddened by this, the householder cast aside his wife and son and carried food to distribute to sentient beings. Due to the merits accumulated through these activities, Āṭavika attained the authoritative virtue to control the demon kings."

In the quotation above, I left several passages before the mythohistorical narrative that will primarily concern us here—that of Harita and Āṭavaka—in order to foreground the dramatic shift in register that *Essential Notes* enacts at this juncture. *Essential Notes* was clearly compiled to assemble in a single text all then-available knowledge about the ritual; it is thus an archive on the topic, and one which the colophons reveal was a multi-generational project. The manner by which it was compiled lends it a stochastic texture, with fragments of citations or recorded voices addressing quite different dimensions of the phenomenon. But, despite appearances, this process was not wholly random, for Jimon monks over time added elements that they

believed were relevant to the topic at hand, thus giving this archive of knowledge new layers and perhaps even pushing it toward a sense of comprehensiveness. Tsukamoto's aforementioned identification of "essence eating demons" as corpse-vector disease in his reading of the Āṭavaka scripture—probably a retrospective reading back from Jimon texts—illustrates the same kind of logic of reading and imagination by association that produced these specific configurations of rite, deity, demon, and disease to begin with. One or another of the Jimon compilers, a monk who received and read the liturgy, apparently decided that the narrative of Harita and Āṭavaka belonged among the esoteric knowledge pertaining to this ritual. It is thus important for us to understand exactly what work this narrative is doing.

Before we get there, it is worth summarizing the basics, beginning with the question of where this narrative came from. The base text for this narrative is the same *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* mentioned above. This is in fact one of four scriptures concerning Āṭavaka that were grouped together in the Taishō canon. The full list is as follows:

1. T. 1237: *Azhapoju guishen dajiang shangfo tuoluoni shen zhou jing* 阿吒婆拘鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼神呪經. Translator unknown. Liang dynasty (502–557).
2. T. 1238: *Azhapoju guishen dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing* 阿吒婆拘鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經. Translator unknown. Liang dynasty; compiled between 500–550.[40]
3. T. 1239: *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌. Translation attributed to Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏; 637–735). Translated between 717–735.
4. T. 1240: *Azhaboju fuzhuzhou* 阿吒薄拘付囑呪.[41]

[40] This is the estimation given in Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 151.

[41] The fourth and final character of Āṭavaka's name resembles the character 拘 but with the ox radical instead of the hand radical. Because this is an uncommon character and not easily displayed, I've opted for 拘.

Among these, T. 1238 is especially well known, owing to Michel Strickmann's examination of it. T. 1238 is unique for its inclusion of talismanic seals, and this was the subject of Strickmann's study.[42] In dating the text, Strickmann apparently agreed with the opening note found after the title within the text, which dated its compilation to the Liang dynasty. However, later in his study he casts doubt on this, owing to the fact the work is "only known from Japan (whither it is supposed to have been imported in the ninth century), and the printing on which the current edition is based dates only from 1753."[43] But this was not the only Āṭavaka scripture to date from the Liang period, for a similar attribution is found within T. 1237 as well. Moreover, at least one of these texts was undoubtedly imported to Japan by the ninth century.[44] What's especially notable about this particular text is that it made its way to the Tōin library at Onjōji. In one of Enchin's catalogue of imported works, *Chishō Daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師請來目録, we find a listing for a text of the same title as T. 1238. We also see there that the translator name is unknown, but that it is a one fascicle work from the Liang dynasty—all of which is information we can confirm in T. 1238 itself.

Yet this was probably not the only Āṭavaka text available to monks at Onjōji. That's because T. 1239, which in three volumes is the most substantial of the above four texts, probably served as the base text for the Āṭavaka and Harita narrative that Jimon monks incorporated into *Essential Notes*. The main identifying feature is "Harita of Cold Mountain"; Harita does not appear in any of the other Āṭavaka sources, at least not those contained in the Taishō canon.

---

[42] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 143–151; this section appeared earlier in Strickmann 1993: 36–43 On those seals, see also Robson, "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism," 144–145.

[43] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine,* 151.

[44] Also, in Ennin's *Catalogue of Sacred Writings Newly Sought in the Tang* (*Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目録), we find a one-fascicle work entitled *Foshuo Azhapoju dayuanshuai lüjiang mobian shenlisui tuoluoni jing yijuan* 佛説阿吒婆(拘)大元帥率将无邊神力隋陁羅尼經一卷; see Kominami, "Jikaku Daishi Ennin 'Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku'," 78.

That said, the narrative in T. 1239 differs slightly from the version given in *Essential Notes*. In the former, Āṭavaka, together with three kings, recount a story from long ago. They describe how a *yakṣa* king named Harita once dwelled on Cold Mountain and controlled a retinue of ninety-thousand demons who daily consumed sentient beings. No army of *vajra*-warriors or heavenly gods could subjugate him or his hoard. Therefore, the World-Honored One, the Buddha, temporarily morphed into a "commander" (*yuanshhuai*; Jp. *gensui* 元帥)—that is, Āṭavaka—and once in the body of a divine general of great authority, shook the palace in which Harita resided. The demon king thereupon spewed blood from his mouth, swooned, and fell to the floor, knowing that he was not long for this life and that the body of the Buddha in the guise of a general is powerful without equal. But, the narrators interject, basing his actions on the practice of the bodhisattva and thus working from compassion, the Buddha knew that if he assumed the form of a horse-headed *vajra*-warrior, sentient beings would be afraid; that if he took the form of a great illuminated warrior, the palace of *asura* would not be at peace; but in choosing the form of the Demon God Commander General (*guishen yuanshuai dajiang* 鬼神元帥大将), sentient beings would rejoice. The narrators goes on to prophesize that when, after the Buddha's nirvana, the Dharma and bodhisattvas disappear, demons proliferate, kings lose authority, and sentient beings are attacked, having their essence (*jingqi* 精気) and blood and flesh consumed, this general will appear with these wrathful marks of a Demon King on the outside yet with a great compassion on the inside in order to skillfully protect them and remedy what ails them.

This account is different from *Essential Notes* in a couple ways. Most obviously, the emphasis in this account is placed more on the transformative dimension of the Buddha, who temporarily shapeshifts into the form of the Demon King Commander General, manifesting those wrathful marks in order to save sentient beings who are overwhelmed with a particular apocalyptic threat. At the same time, the story shares with the *Essential Notes* version a number of details. For example, it is important that the demons in both narratives manifest themselves in the form of creatures that consume the flesh, blood, and vital energy of sentient

beings. In the context of the whole of *Essential Notes*, the demon of the narrative thus implicitly references corpse-vector disease.

In their basic structure, these stories represent a familiar type of narrative in Buddhist mythology. One of the first scholars of more recent decades to return to such mythology and take it seriously as a whole, Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美 writes about a similar set of narratives that form the backstory for Āṭavaka. The stories Iyanaga takes up, which come from texts such as the *Genben shuoyiqie youbu pinaiye* 根本説一切有部毘奈耶 (T. 1442), feature the past lives of Āṭavaka, known in that early stage as the "demon of the wastelands" (*kōya-kijin* 曠野鬼神).[45] Āṭavaka, the story goes, was a military general whom the members of one village had murdered for certain reasons. Upon dying he became a vengeful spirit, and so in order to appease him, the villagers began offering one child per day as sacrifice; the child was chosen by lottery. A certain layman of the village, whose wife had just given birth, found a tablet hanging one morning from his front gate, indicating that his child would be the next to be sacrificed. Apparently surrendering to his fate (or to village pressure), the layman sent his child into the woods to be devoured—but he also prayed to the gods for protection. The Buddha learned of this and went straightaway to the wasteland, where he confronted the demon Āṭavaka and subdued him through the Dharma, converting him finally to the Buddhist path.

In *Haunting the Buddha*, Robert DeCaroli examines similar narratives in early India Buddhism, and the ways they are told through monuments. Of the many examples he gives, the stories of Hāritī and Kuntī are especially intriguing. These are two demon-like beings that, like Āṭavaka in the story above, renounce the cannibalistic consumption of children and convert at the Buddha's behest. According to the traditional narrative about her in Buddhist scriptures, Hāritī is a demoness that regularly feasted on human children, causing great distress

[45] Iyanaga, *Daikokuten hensō*, 159–164. The development of the "demon of the wasteland" must also be sought in scriptures associated with Kujaku Myōō 孔雀明王 (Sk. Mahāmayūrī) such as *Fomo da Kongqiao mingwang jing* 佛母大孔雀明王經 (with different translations and slightly different titles in T. 982, T. 984, T. 985); see Duquenne, "Atabakukōya yakusha to Daigensui mishihō." This is probably the reason why a spell of Kujaku Myōō's is mentioned in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and why Kōshū claimed that the rituals for Kujaku Myōō and for Shōmen Kongō were identical.

for the families living near the mountain on which she dwelled. To give her a taste of her own medicine and quell her violence, the Buddha concealed one of her own beloved demon-children in his begging bowl. Dismayed at being unable to find her child, Hāritī broke down, converted to the Dharma, and promised to never again eat the children of others. What is interesting is that the two goddesses, Hāritī and Kuntī, are also known to cause disease, a function the subjugated Harita plays in the Āṭavaka story as implied by its inclusion in *Essential Notes*.[46] Moreover, Hāritī is linked to—in mythological terms, structurally equivalent with—Āṭavaka, as they are both "demons of the wasteland." It isn't clear if in the historical transmission of this tale, when Āṭavaka switched roles and became the hero rather than the villian, whether (by mistake or design) Hāritī became Harita.

Incidentally, Hāritī (Kariteimo 訶梨帝母) is herself extremely important in the Jimon tradition.[47] A joined woodblock (*yosegi* 寄木) icon of Kariteimo made of Japanese cypress (*hinoki* 檜) and thought to date to the Kamakura-period was worshipped in the Gohōzenshin Dō 護法善神堂 at Onjōji; the icon survives today. Kariteimo came to be seen as the female "dharma protecting deity" (*gohō zenshin* 護法善神) who appeared to Enchin at age five at the temple Konzōji 金倉寺 in Kagawa 香川 where he was born. As reported in the *Jimon denki* 寺門伝記, Enchin would later carve the likeness of that deity and send it back to Konzōji.[48] It is unclear, however, whether Jimon monks would have recognized a possible relationship between Hāritī and Harita in the Āṭavaka story, especially since the former was an object of devotion—then again, the story doubly describes her conversion.

In any case, all of these stories adopt the basic structure of "demon subjugation" (*kijin kōfuku* 鬼神降伏). Whether a transformation body of the Buddha or a vengeful-spirit-turned-demon that is converted to the Buddhist caused, Āṭavaka is presented as a powerful demon

---

[46] DeCaroli, *Haunting the Buddha: Indian Popular Religions and the Formation of Buddhism*, 80–83.

[47] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 67.

[48] The story is found in fascicle 4, in the section, "Gohō-zenshin-byō 護法善神廟."

king general who subdues the evil demon Harita, who lives on the flesh, blood, and essence of innocent sentient beings. The version adopted in *Essential Notes* thus replicates his own backstory as a flesh-eating demon who was eventually converted by the Buddha. At the same time, we must recognize that the inclusion in *Essential Notes* was not arbitrary. The version there adds information that renders the traditional mythology much more relevant and meaningful in the context of a healing ritual.

By including this story in *Essential Notes*, the Jimon compiler institutes a set of implicit identifications. First, Āṭavaka is identified with Shōmen Kongō, the rite's *honzon* upon whose assistance is called to subjugate the demons of corpse-vector disease. From the standpoint of the esoteric production of mythology in the early medieval period, this is an interesting move to make. We saw how in *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui*, an early-stage Shōmen Kongō was cast as the first general under the generalissimo Āṭavaka. By including the story in *Essential Notes* and thereby establishing homologies, however, Shōmen Kongō logically comes to assume the identity of his general leader, Āṭavaka. This identification would have held special meaning among esoteric monks at the time that this rite was composed. As Kōshū would comment later in his *Keiranshūyōshū*, "As for Āṭavaka, this refers to Taigen Myōō 太元明王. Therefore, in the Tōji 東寺 lineage, the Shōmen Kongō rite and the Taigen Myōō rite are identical [lit., "one body," *ittai* 一体]. Also, the liturgy says: The nails on the hands and feet of the Four Great Yakṣas are long and sharp as the tip of a straight sword. They each lead eighty-four thousand subordinates, protecting all sentient beings in southern Jambudvīpa."[49] By assimilating Shōmen Kongō to Āṭavaka, the Jimon compilers were not merely rewriting Buddhist mythology for its own sake. Rather, they were putting this new rite, with its focus on Shōmen Kongō, an otherwise unknown deity at the time, on par with Taigen Myōō (or Daigen Myōō/Daigensui Myōō 大元帥明王), a deity of much renown in association with Tōji as a protector of the realm. Moreover, are told at the end of the story that the merit

[49] T. 2410: 617c07–08.

earned by Āṭavaka's subjugation of Harita gives him the power to control demons. This plays into the implicit claim on the part of the rite's compilers that Shōmen Kongō, when properly invoked through the rite, has the power to control the demonic forces that trigger corpse-vector disease.

But there is something else the inclusion of this story in *Essential Notes* does, for it establishes not only the identity of Āṭavaka but also of Harita. That is, as just suggested, Harita is identified with the demons that cause corpse-vector disease. This makes sense. Like corpse-vector disease, Harita and his demonic retinue consumes the vital energy, flesh, and blood of his victims. This reminds us of the *jingguibing* mentioned in the *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* against which one must call upon the "Blue-faced Blue Vajra." The story situates the very present and urgent problem of corpse-vector disease, which presumably afflicts sufferers now. In so doing, it constitutes a claim for the efficacy of the rite by essentially saying that history is only repeating itself in the present. Patients need not worry, it would seem to say, because the virtue of the healer, the *honzon*, is already established. The merit of this act of subjugation, we are told, creates the possibility of receiving virtue now—this "now" speaks to the present of the *Essential Notes*, which is to say, the context of an outline of medical treatment. It is clear that it is the present sufferer of corpse-vector disease, the patient target of the text, who is said to be able to receive the temporally distant but still potent effects of Āṭavaka's virtue-by-subjugation, and this through the medical treatment the text immediately begins to explicate following this section. In other words, and consistent with what we have covered so far, the disease is brought into correspondence with a demon—this time one with a mythological biography—and treatment is correlated with the act of subduing that demon. Meeting at the liminal space of the wastelands, subjugation leads to the conversion of the demon, treatment to the conversion of the body.

How can we say that such connections are made? The narrative in *Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* places the story of Āṭavaka's conquering of Harita in the time of the Buddha. *Essential Notes* makes an adjustment to this. It notes that Āṭavaka

obtained his virtues of subjugating demons in the time of the Final Age of the King of Emptiness Buddha. This Final Age matches with the Final Age figured by the proliferation of demons and the arising of corpse-vector disease. The apocalyptic times—then and now—are juxtaposed, such that the problems of the *mappō* of the present can be solved through the powers of a demon general who acquired his powers during a *mappō* of the past.

In *Denshibyō kanjin shō* 伝屍病肝心鈔, a text preserved in the Kyōu Shooku library and which was written and passed down by Anō monks based mainly on the Jimon materials, the narrative of Āṭavaka's subjugation of Harita (and the preceding passage on symptoms) is identified as a text that was not in the possession of Anō lineage monks. Before and after this citation in *Denshibyō kanjin shō*, we find the following textual bookends: "What follows is not in the Anō notes. Other texts were used for it." By "other texts," the transcriber probably means what is referred to elsewhere in that same document as "Ji notes" (*ji shō* 寺抄), that is, notes of the Jimon school. Indeed, we do not find this in the liturgy, *Ritual for Expelling Demons*. This is slightly odd because *Denshibyō kanjin shō* is after all a version of *Essential Notes*, so it is not clear why they would mark this narrative as specific to the Jimon texts. What is notable nonetheless is that *Denshibyō kanjin shō* contains little in the way of Shōmen Kongō and does not convey the liturgy as consisting of an entire rite. Thus, in this later version, mythology remains only insofar as the Āṭavaka story. We find a different case in the writing of Kōshū, who inherited the Anō materials but makes a specific link between the myth of Āṭavaka and Shōmen Kongō.

We will treat Kōshū and his *Keiranshūyōshū* in more detail in a later chapter, but there is an aspect of Kōshū's reception of the Jimon ritual texts that is worth mention in the present context. Indeed, given his propensity for mythology, it is perhaps not surprising that Kōshū would have been drawn to the mythological pecularities of the rite. Indeed, he innovatively reads the Āṭavaka narrative as the origin story of the rite itself, evident in the fact that it's the very first part in cites in his discussion on the Shōmen Kongō ritual, a section he titles "On the Origins" (*engi no koto* 縁起事). By opening with this story, which he quotes from an "oral

teaching" (*kuketsu* 口決)—surely a text descending from *Essential Notes*, he immediately signals (and for our purposes, confirms) a relationship between Shōmen, the *honzon* of the rite, and Āṭavaka, the hero of the story. As noted above, he also states that Āṭavaka is Taigen Myōō, claiming therefore that the Tōji rite of the latter is identical to the Shōmen Kongō rite. As we will see in a later chapter, in understanding the rite solely in terms of the *honzon* and its mythology, Kōshū was overlooking what made the Shōmen Kongō rite unique, at least so far as this dissertation is concerned: that is, the application of a ritualized form of moxibustion for the problem of corpse-vector disease. Indeed, in this early discussion of the Shōmen Kongō rite in the *Keiranshūyōshū*, Kōshū seems to have completely overlooked what is the central healing modality of the practice.

But as we saw above, the work of the Āṭavaka story is not limited to a reimagining and thus filling in of the résumé of the otherwise unknown Shōmen Kongō. It also speaks about the origins and nature of corpse-vector disease, and stages its subjugation under the weight of Shōmen Kongō's authority. What we might appreciate, however, is that the Āṭavaka narrative unfortunately lacks an adjacent origin story for Harita, the disease demon that is identical to corpse-vector disease. Kōshū took note of this. Thus, after providing the narrative of Āṭavaka's subjugation of Harita, Kōshū takes the initiative of providing a backstory for corpse-vector disease:

> I say: In the past, during the Latter Days of the Law in the time of Kāśyapa Buddha (Kashō Butsu 迦葉佛), there was a *bhikṣu*. His name was Good Forbearance (Ryōnin 良忍).[50] Because of his offense in breaking the precepts, he was tossed back into secular life, whereupon he went to reside on Cold Mountain. In India, all precept-breaking monks do not receive alms. Thus his body whithered and he dried out, becoming a skeleton. He aroused an evil mind and became a obstacle god (*shōgeshin* 障礙神) toward the Buddha-Dharma. The *denshibyō* of today is this [god].

[50] It is not clear if this corresponds to any figure in Buddhist scriptures. Notably, it probably has nothing to do with the charismatic founder of the *yūzu nenbutsu* 融通念仏 school in Japan of the same name.

As with Āṭavaka's story in *Essential Notes*, the setting for this narrative is the Final Age, but on this occasion the reader is taken back to the time of the sixth of the seven past buddhas (*shichibutsu* 七仏). Suprisingly, where we might expect some kind of terrible demon, we meet a monk whose name actually speaks large about his virtue: Good Forbearance. It turns out, however, that his name gets his story wrong. The reader learns that having broken the precepts, Good Forbearance is tossed from the monastery. But exiled from the Sangha, he is without means to survive, since no longer officially a monk he is forbidden from receiving offerings. Good Forbearance starves to death and is reduced to a skeleton. But like the nature of corpse-vector disease itself, which begins its menace from the moment of death, this fallen monk's death is not an end but rather a beginning. Arousing an evil mind—surely out of the feeling of having received unfair retribution for his acts—he transforms into what those in Japan in Kōshū's time would surely call a "vengeful spirit" (*onryō* 怨霊), although Kōshū does not use the term here himself. The story is reminiscent of the Tendai Jimon monk Raigō 頼豪, who starves himself in a rage after being denied the establishment of an ordination platform at Onjōji.[51]

Rather, Kōshū prefers a term that describe what this vengeful-death-created entity does, which is to haunt Buddhists on the path as an "obstacle deity." This is akin in many ways to what Zhiyi described as *māras*, including Tokeira, one of the corpse-vector disease demons. Good Forbearance, however, would seem of a more sinister sort. Since this is the origin story, we know this demon has been haunting Buddhists in the terrible guise of corpse-vector disease for a very long time. As noted above, another entity that similarly bothers monastics and others on the path are *vināyakas*. As with *māras* and King Māra, *vināyakas* derive their character as obstruction deities from Vināyaka (Binayaka; Ch. Pinayejia 毘那夜迦), that is, Gaṇeśa, or in Japanese, Kangiten 歓喜天. The network of these deities has been discussed extensively by

[51] This story is found in the *Heike monogatari* 平家物語 as well as the *Taiheiki* 太平記. On this story and its medieval transformations, see Yamamoto, *Ishin: chūsei Nihon no hikyōteki sekai*, 12–31.

Bernard Faure.[52] What is perhaps unique in Kōshū's *engi* above is the linking of the obstacle deity to a specific disease.

While this particular story does not appear in other medieval texts known to me, it clearly reflects broader attitudes that cut across various genres. In the medieval period, there was much criticism aimed at precept breaking monks (*hakai sō* 破戒僧). This class of monk would have been of particular concern for Kōshū. Occupationally, he was a chronicler (*kike* 記家), which as Tanaka Takako has pointed out, indicates he would have maintained close ties with precept masters (*kaike* 戒家), those who specialize in matters of "going forth" and upholding the Vinaya. It is therefore not surprising that Kōshū uniquely locates the origins of a disease whose character resembles obstacle deities in the death of precept breaking monk. Kōshū's addition to the medieval story of corpse-vector disease is a unique addition, but it also reemphasizes in mythohistorical terms the physiomoralism of corpse-vector disease that we have been highlighting in connection to its demonic agents. In fact, in his discussion of the Shōmen Kongō rite, Kōshū highlights a part of the liturgy that other readers concerned with its healing aspects (myself foremost) might easily overlook, in a section he labels, "On How This Rite Must be Conducted While Upholding the Precepts and Remaining Pure":

> The liturgy says: Those who receive the seal of this rite must wear new pure clothes, abide within a quiet room, uphold the precepts to be pure; they arouse the vow to seek *bodai* above and teach to sentient beings below. Thrice daily they recite the previous Body Spell, for thirty seven days. Circumambulate the altar while reciting the spell, performing empowerment, and cauterizing and washing[53] the sick person. The adept must always use the fundamental mantra

[52] Faure, *Protectors and Predators*, 2016: 75–116.

[53] As will be noted later, Kōshū perhaps did not read the liturgy here to mean "[apply] moxibustion and wash" (*shatō* 炙湯, *sha* here likely a mistake in either the Taishō transcription or perhaps even the manuscript for *kyū* 灸); instead, he may have simply read this "wash with hot liquid," since he connects the two characters with a vertical reading line (*tate-ten* たて点) indicating that they be read together. Thus he may have seen this as no more than washing the body with something like aromatic liquids (*kōsui* 香水), a typical purification and empowerment practice in esoteric rites.

> of Kujaku Myōō to protect the [sufferer's] body and to eliminate all obstacles and harm (*shōnan* 障難) caused by demon gods.

Furthermore, in a later section, Kōshū adds: "As for the present rite of Shōmen Kongō, [it involves] abstaining from alcohol, meat, and the five pungent vegetables. Uphold the precepts to be pure, above vowing to seek *bodai* and below saving sentient beings. Those who do this will avoid the harms caused by this malicious demonic disease." Just as issues of morality and its disturbance can be seen as deeply intertwined with the character of corpse-vector disease as redefined by Jimon monks, so too then can the ritual for its elimination come to emphasize performance built on proper, Vinaya-certified comportment.

## *Corpse-Worms and Physiomoralism*

### INCORPORATION

Demons are not the only entities whose textual inclusion in the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources multiply the agencies of corpse-vector disease. The ritual also incorporates information about the "three corpse-worms" (*sanshi* 三尸). These are creatures that derive from classical Chinese medical texts and continental religious that have often been understood as "Daoist." The question of their precise affiliation will not concern us here. What matters is their connection to the practice of *kōshin* 庚申 (Ch. *gengshen*), performed on the fifty-seventh day of the sexagenary cycle of days. As I shall argue, the inclusion of corpse-worms in the moxibustion ritual was as sensible as it was strategic. That is, the Jimon compilers had good reason to see family resemblances between corpse-worms and corpse-vector disease, not least because of the curious ways they mirrored the nature of the demons we've just examined. On the other hand, this section highlights how the integration of corpse-worms into the ritual sources was a tactical move. Doing so further increased the ways in which this ritual could

directly speak to the therapeutic needs of elite, aristocratic patients, a community that was already very familiar with corpse-worms and similar body dwellers.

Let us begin with the first mention of the corpse-worms in the ritual sources. They first appear toward the end of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy:[54]

> *The Scripture of Seeking Long-Life on the Fifty-Seventh Day* says: Hōkyo resides in the eyes, darkens them, wrinkles the face, makes bad breath, and causes the teeth to fall out. Hōshitsu resides within the abdomen, attacks the person's five viscera, reduces their *qi* and increases their avoidances, makes them enjoy evil and consume sentient beings. Hōkyō resides within the feet, causes the person to have blockade,[55] agitates their five emotions (*gojō*; Ch. *wuqing* 五情) chaotically, and makes them unable to control their self. If the three worms become gods, then they will harm decendents, therefore this affliction does not cease. [On the] fifty-seventh [day], you do not sleep, the three corpse-worms will cease for a long time. On the night of the fifty-seventh, these three corpse-worms will always report to the Celestial Emperor a record of the person's misdoings to cut short their life registry. They always want to make [their host] die quickly so that the *hun* souls enter the Three Springs.

The basics of the notion of *kōshin* are made clear in this quote from the *The Scripture of Seeking Long-Life on the Fifty-Seventh Day* (*Kōshin gu chōsei kyō* 庚申求長生経). To wit: In every person's body reside three corpse-worms, who go by the names Hōkyo (Pengju 彭泎), Hōshitsu (Pengzhi 彭質), Hōkyō (Pengjiao 彭矯).[56] These creatures are malicious. Not only do they tear up the body from the inside and make the person age and sick, they also incite the

[54] My translation primarily follows the Shinpukuji *Ritual for Expelling Demons* manuscript.

[55] 閘括 : In the text of an identical passage in the *Onjōji denki* translated below, we see 開 + 格, with an editors note that 開 in another edition is 關 (関 in modern Japanese); the character 閘 is a variant of this. The two possibilities here thus have opposing meanings—"to close" or "to shut" and "to open." However, as noted in the *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu* (Zhang and Unschuld, vol. 1: 198), *guange* 關格 is a technical term for a pathological condition "of an inability to pass stools and urine resulting from an irregularity of the qi dynamics in the organism. This may be accompanied by vomiting." The dictionary also gives a definition from the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*, which as we note later, is likely the original source for this passage: 關格者、大小便不通也, "Blockade, this is when defecation and urination fail to pass."

[56] There is much variation in how the names of these three corpse-worms is written, often with many slight changes in radicals. I've adopted here a common set, but in the manuscript, what I've rendered *hō* 彭 in this list is more likely *ko* 鼓. The *Ritual for Expelling Demons* provides the reading of *shitsu* for 質 in the name of the second corpse-worm, but in *Essential Notes* only the reading of *shi* is given.

person to do various evil deeds. All of this is meant to hasten the death of their host so that the earthly soul of the person can be sent to the underworld (the Three Springs) while the corpse-worms will be liberated and able to stay on earth, wandering freely around and bumming off libations met for the ancestor's of others. But these worms have another means of hastening that death. On the fifty-seventh night of the sexagenary or sixty day cycle, the trio have the ability to leave the physical body, during which time they report dutifully to the Celestial Emperor all of the misdeeds and vices their host has accumulated over the previous sixty-day term.[57] It is a vicious cycle: many of such sins are undoubtedly incited by the corpse-worms themselves. The implication is that the corpse-worms are also watching from the unfolding life of their host from the inside—through the eyes, the belly, the feet—and like good bureaucrats keeping detailed records. But the text also indicates that the fifty-seventh day can be used to the human host's advantage. If one does not sleep that night, the three corpse-worms cannot make their escape. This is thus the basis for the rite that is therein described, the *kōshin* vigil, a practice meant to stop the corpse-worms from leaving and thus facilitate their eventual termination.

As noted above, these ideas derive from classical medicine and sources some scholars have wanted to understand as Daoist. The presence of these ideas in the Jimon ritual texts has been the sole focus for many scholars throughout the twentieth centuries and in recent years, owing to the popularity that the *kōshin* practice had throughout the premodern period, espeically the late medieval and early modern periods. Because the *kōshin* vigil eventually took as its primary object of worship Shōmen Kongō, it has been long assumed that the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources must represent the origins of that practice. While there is undoubtedly a connection, however, it should be clear at this point in the dissertation that the purpose of the Jimon ritual was not in creating the *kōshin* rite but rather was focused on healing sufferers of corpse-vector disease. Thus, the incorporation of *sanshi* must be

[57] On the sexagenary cycle, see Smith, *The Chinese Sexagenary Cycle and the Ritual Origins of the Calendar*.

understood in the context of that practice, and not the other way around. It is clear that *sanshi* can be related to corpse-vector disease to good effect, and I demonstrate this in what follows.

But first, given that the Jimon moxibustion ritual texts have long been seen as a unique archive preserving early substantial formations of the *kōshin* cult, it is instructive to first ask, where did these ideas about *kōshin* come from? As we saw in the passage above, the liturgy cites a text entitled *The Scripture of Seeking Long-Life on the Fifty-Seventh Day*. This is likely an abbreviation for a slightly longer title, *The Scripture of Seeking Long Life by Guarding the Fifty-Seventh* [*Day*] [*Expounded by*] *Laozi* (*Rōshi shu kōshin gu chōsei kyō*; *Laozi shou gengshen qiu changshang jing* 老子守庚申求長生経).[58] The first mention in historical records of what was probably the same text appears in the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長, *Taiki* 台記, in a more abbreviated form in an entry for 1145 (Kyūan 久安 1).1.14: "Relying on the *Kōshin kyō*, after half the night had passed, myself and all of my my guests faced directly south and bowed twice, saying this spell, 'Hōkōshi 彭侯子, Kōteishi 黄帝子, Meijishi 冥兒子—you all enter the oblivion of the underworld and depart from my body (we recited this three times). After the rooster crowed [in the morning] we went to sleep."[59] The *Kōshin kyō* 庚申経 is probably an abbreviation of the longer title, and it is clear that at least Yorinaga and his guests were relying on its prescriptions for the correct performance of the *kōshin* vigil.

The *kōshin* vigil was a popular practice at court, as the above example attests. How then did its accompanying scripture, the *Kōshin kyō*, find its way into the Jimon moxibustion ritual texts? Clues for unraveling this process of transmission come in three records in the *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記. Although compiled after the year 1343, this text nevertheless preserves much about the Jimon school and its records that were otherwise lost. The first entry of interest therein is a passage indicating that the monk Jōjin 成尋 (1011–1081) sent the *Kōshin kyō* to Onjōji from Song China: "When the *ajari* Jōjin entered the Tang, he knew of the high

[58] Commonly, the character for *rō/lao* was rendered *ko/xiao* 孝, thus rendering this part of the title "[Expounded by] the Filial Son."

[59] Cited in Kubo, *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū: Nicchū shūkyō bunka kōshōshi*, 478.

patriarch's august true intentions. [Therefore] he sent the *Qianbo jing* 千鉢経, the *Godai sanki* 五台山記 [i.e. his travelogue of the trip to Song China,], the *Damo xiemai lun* 達磨血脈論, and the *Gengshen jing* [*Kōshin kyō*], accompanied by a letter, to Mii Tō'in."[60]

Jōjin went to Song China in the year 1072, where he would stay until his death in 1081. The details of the first couple years of that trip are recorded in the *San Tendai Godaisan ki* 参天台五台山記, a travelogue which mentions among the items above.[61] Thus, we know this work, along with the *Kōshin kyō*, must have been sent sometime between 1074 to 1081. Why did he send these materials to Onjōji? Simply put, Jōjin belonged to the Miidera community and wanted to support it from abroad. His first teacher, Monkei 文慶, who became the first administrator (*kengyō* 検校) of Daiunji 大雲寺, had served as abbot (*chōri* 長吏) of Onjōji. In addition to belonging to the Jimon lineage, Jōjin is known for his many exchanges with Jimon scholar monks, such as Keisen 慶暹 and Keiyō 慶耀, monks we can imagine would have been interested in his textual acquisitions overseas. Moreover, the party of seven other monks with which he went to Song China were all Onjōji monks, and as his travelogue indicates, this was a trip that begin when they headed out from the gates of Onjōji. Interestingly, the above passage is included in a section of the *Onjōji denki* entitled "On Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神," a deity of special importance to the Jimon lineage, as Yamamoto Hiroko, Bernard Faure, and Sujung Kim have shown. The connection with Jōjin in particular probably relates to the fact that its said Jōjin directed his prayers for a trip to Song China to Shinra Myōjin in 1060. Thus, it would appear that his contributions to his home temple came partly in the way of this *Kōshin kyō*. It is important that the passage explicitly states that it was sent to Tō'in, the library of Onjōji.

But this was perhaps not the only source of information regarding *kōshin* available to Jimon monks in the late Heian and early Kamakura periods through their library of Tō'in.

---

[60] DNBZ 127: 7. Interestingly, the passage is included in the section "On Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神."

[61] On Jōjin, his travels to Song China, and his travelogue, *San Tendai Godaisan ki*, see Borgen, "Jōjin's Travels from Center to Center (with Some Periphery in Between);" Mori, *Jōjin to San Tendai Godaisanki no kenkyū*; and Keyworth, "Jōjin on the spot: some remarkable evidence of eleventh-century Chinese Buddhism from the *San Tendai Godaisan ki*." Some of the details given here were adopted from those studies.

There is another relevant record in the *Onjōji denki* that is introduced without a title but with these intriguing attributions: "Written by *Śramaṇa* of China (*Shintan no kuni* 震檀国), Tripiṭaka Master (*sanzō-hōshi* 三蔵法師) Xuanzang 玄奘. Transmitted by *Śramaṇa* of Japan, Enchin, of the rank Master Transmitting the Light (*dentō hōshi* 伝燈法師)."[62] The passages that follow consists primarily of citations, beginning with the *Huichong cunbai meilüe* 蚘蟲寸白梅略, and describe ideas related to "nine worms" (entities with which the three corpse-worms were related in early Chinese medical texts such as the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*) as well as the "three corpse-worms," including information regarding the *kōshin* practice. While such a work attributed to Xuanzang is not otherwise known, it does seem likely that Enchin indeed transmitted this text. One of Enchin's catalogues, *Fukushū Onshū Daishū gutoku kyōritsu ronshoki gesho tō mokuroku* 福州温州台州求得經律論疏記外書等目録, includes mention of a "*Bairyaku hō* in fourteen fascicles and two books" (*Bairyaku hō jūshi kan ni chō* 梅略方十四卷二帖).[63] Within the catalogue, it is included among works that Enchin collected at Guoqingsi temple on Mt. Tiantai Guoqingsi 天台山國清寺寫取.

To this information, we can add a statement at the end of the quotations in the *Onjōji denki*: "Chishō Daishi imported [this text] from the Great Tang. It only exists in the scriptural treasury of Miidera and thus does not circulate in the world. It very much must be kept secret, must be kept secret." The "scriptural treasury" refers no doubt to Tō'in as well.[64] Another passage which has much valuable information about *kōshin* entitled "On *Sen* 璇 and *Ki* 璣" reads as follows: "The preceding is a deeply secret teaching of the Daishi. It must be respected. As a result [of the existence of this teaching], persons under the Mii gate do not get this illness."[65] "Great Teacher" here likely refers to Chishō Daishi Enchin. As we will see when we

[62] DNBZ 127: 30.

[63] T. 2170: 1094c04.

[64] DNBZ 127: 30–31.

[65] DNBZ 127: 33.

look at the passage below, the "secret teaching" noted here refers not only to the continental sources about the *kōshin*/corpse-worms constellation of beliefs and practices. The notes we have seen connect the knowledge to the Jimon school and claim it exclusive precisely because, like the Jimon moxibustion ritual, they had made it their own.

Finally, there is one more piece of information to note, this time from *Essential Notes*. Approximately midway through that manuscript, we find the following colophon written by Keihan:

> The Three Corpse-Worms
> Hōkoshi, Hōshishi, Hōkyōshi
> Above are the names of the worms (*mushi* 虫) that are born first in the human body. "Corpse" means "stubborn."[66]
> In the *Ōjō yōshū* [it says] when people are born in seven days worms are born. Perhaps that's what this is.
> These worms report the person's offenses to Śakra (Tentaishaku 天帝釈).[67] Perhaps the "gods born together" are [the same as] these [entities]. This ought to be investigated.
>
> On the eighteenth day of the tenth month of Jōan Year 3 (1173), I completed a copy of Jōjōbō's text.
> Written by the *śramaṇa* Keihan.

There are a number of interesting threads being woven in this short passage, revealing much about how Jimon monks made sense of all the different fragmented texts they were putting together. As Keihan suggests, this is indeed worth investigating, and we shall do so shortly. What's important for the moment is that, after this colophon, we find additional

---

[66] 尸者固也: The meaning of this passage is unclear, but it is likely a mnemonic of sorts, similar to *jin ha jin nari* 仁者人也 in the instructions for the application of moxibustion. Kubo (*Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū: Nicchū shūkyō bunka kōshōshi*, 492) suggests that whoever wrote this mistook the pronunciation of *shi* 尸 for *ko* 戸, since the latter appropriately rhymes with *ko* 固. In contrast, the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* has *shi ha kon nari* 尸者困也, which might be translated "corpse[-worms] mean affliction."

[67] The Chinese "Celestial Emperor" has, through the addition of a single character, been rendered into an Indian deity.

colophons from Keisei (1224) and then Rishin (undated). Then, the manuscript commences with a long citation from the *Kōshin kyō*. The existence of that quotation is explained immediately thereafter in another colophon written by Kei[sei]: "This scripture was not included in the ritual, therefore I made a copy of it when I was able to have a look at it."[68]

What does this tell us? Apparently, when Keisei was transcribing texts related to the Shōmen Kongō rite in the early 1220's, he went rummaging around in the Tō'in library. This make sense, given his desire also to build up his own archive as Hokkesanji 法華山寺 in Nishiyama, west Kyoto. In his rooting about, he seems to have found the full *Kōshin kyō*, and decided to add it right smack in the middle of the *Essential Notes* manuscript as it existed at that time. In other words, he saw there was a section on three corpse-worms mentioned by Keihan, and decided this longer text on the subject he found would provide future readers a better context or background for those ideas. It is thus clear from this that Jimon monks, namely Keihan and Keisei, saw the corpse-worms as being especially relevant to this ritual for eliminating corpse-vector disease. We can now take a closer look at the passages themselves, as well as some within the ritual sources themselves, to think about what corpse-worms are doing there.

## CORPSE-WORMS & CORPSE-VECTOR DISEASE

Let us first consider what relationship these texts mentioned in the *Onjōji denki* have with the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes*, starting with the passage attributed to Xuanzang and transmitted by Enchin:

> Written by Śramaṇa of China (Shintan no kuni 震檀国), Tripiṭaka Master (*sanzō-hōshi* 三蔵法師) Xuanzang 玄奘

[68] Although the second character of the name here is missing from the original, given that the manuscript up until this point is primarily written in Chinese characters—the alteration that Keisei claims to have made in his transcription—it is reasonable to assume that it was Keisei who copied this scripture. Other scholars such as Kubo Noritada and Minobe Shigekatsu ("'Oni' to 'mushi' – iji setsuwa kenkyū no shiza") agree with this assessment.

Transmitted by Śramaṇa of Japan, Enchin, of the rank Master Transmitting the Light (*dentō hōshi* 伝燈法師)

*Huichong cunbai meilüe* 蚘蟲寸白梅略 (the name of the text) says: The scripture says: There are different types of these three worms, known as the three corpse-worms and the nine worms.[69] It is like they are born together with humans and [thereby] cause harm. They often make a person stingy, greedy, wasteful, and angry. The *hui* 蚘 worm[70] takes wealth, lust, fortune, and flowering—there is no taste it does not like. Thus, it seems studious learners of the past have died owing to these things. These worms are spiritual beings able to commute between heaven and earth. They always make a person create evil, taking unhappiness as joy. On every fifty-seventh night (*gengshen*/*kōshin*), if you do not sleep day or night they will not be able to leave [the body]. If you always use your hand to tap on your heart and call out their names, then they lose their direction.[71] If [continuing this] you pass three years, the worms will die of their own accord. In general, the nine types will be taken as the handle 柄 and the [pathological] indications of each will be listed in detail. The first goes by the name "hidden worm" (*fuchong* 伏蟲). It has a width of one *cun* 寸 and a length of four *cun*. The second is called *hui* worm. It's as long as one *chi* 尺 and it harms a person by attacking their heart. The third is called "white worm" (*baichong* 白蟲), which is one *cun* in length. If the mother is long it will kill a person. The fourth is called "happy worm" (*yichong* 怿蟲), whose form is like a rotting apricot and which causes one suffering. The fifth is called "lung worm" (*feichong* 肺蟲). It looks like a silk worm and makes people cough upwards. The sixth is called "stomach worm" (*weichong* 胃蟲). It looks like a toad (*hama* 蝦蟆)[72] and makes people regurgitate and vomit. The seventh is called the "drowning worm" (*nichong* 溺蟲) and it looks like a wax gourd (*gua ban* 瓜辨).[73] It makes people sleep often. The eighth is called "red worm" (*chichong* 赤蟲), which looks like raw meat. It makes a person's belly moan. The ninth is called "*rao* worm" (*naochong* 蟯蟲), which looks like a snail worm (*wochong* 蝸蟲) and makes a person's lower body itch. On the night of the fifty-seventh day, recite the names of the worms three times in an abbreviated song. Use your left hand to stroke your chest three times. The three worms will

[69] As explained below, the discussion of the nine worms that follows overlaps to a significant degree with the "Indications of the Nine Worms (in Five Discourses)" 九蟲病諸候(凡五論) section in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun.* I've thus relied on this section to decipher parts less clear in the *Onjōji denki.*

[70] The worm names that follow are given in Chinese.

[71] 不東西: It would appear a verb is missing here.

[72] *Zhubing yuanhou lun* has *xiama* 蝦蟇.

[73] *Zhubing yuanhou lun* has *ban* 瓣.

then depart and the ten-thousand blessings will arrive. The [aforementioned] song says: Pengzhi-zi 彭質子,[74] Pengchang-zi 彭常子, Mingerzi 冥兒子—[you] all enter the dark underworld and leave my body. Guqushi 鼓絝尸, Guzhishi 鼓質尸, and Gujiaoshi 鼓矯尸 are like this. (Personal note: These are the names of the three worms).

Commentary says: The upper corpse-worm, Guqu, resides in the head and solely attacks the person's eyes. Thus the eyes darken and the face wrinkles, the breath stinks, and the teeth fall out. The middle corpse-worm, Guzhi, resides in the person's belly and attacks their five viscera, reducing their *qi* and making them forgetful. [This corpse-worm also] makes the person enjoy doing bad deeds, even eating sentient beings. Or, it creates nightmares that frighten the mind and disturb its peace. The lower worm, Gujiao, resides within the feet, causes a person to have blockade, disturbs the five emotions, and agitates the person so that they cannot control themselves.

Chishō Daishi imported [this text] from the Great Tang. It only exists in the scriptural treasury of Miidera and thus does not circulate in the world. It very much must be kept secret, must be kept secret.[75]

It is not known whether the *Huichong cunbai meilüe* is extant, but given the fact that Enchin's catalogue describes it as a fourteen fascicle work in two books, it must have been much longer than the passage that is cited in the *Onjōji denki*. In any case, we know at least this section of the text relies extensively on earlier works. The content here is made up primarily of three sections: 1) a discussion of the three worms, including the *kōshin* practice; 2) a longer discussion of the "nine worms"; 3) a brief summary of the *kōshin* vigil, with the spell to be recited; and 4) commentary that provides more information on the three corpse-worms. The section on the "nine worms" overlaps considerably with the "Indications of the Nine Worms (in Five Discourses)" 九蟲病諸候(凡五論) section in the *Zhubing yuanhou lun. Huichong cunbai meilüe* was probably written after, and drew much from, the incredible classic of nosology that was the *Zhubing yuanhou lun*.

[74] An editors note here indicates that *zhi/shitsu* 質 is rendered in another version as *zhi/seki* 隻.

[75] DNBZ 127: 30–31.

What's notable in thinking about the Jimon ritual sources is that, while we shall see the notion of "worms" make a brief appearance in them (via Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū*), the set of nine worms are nowhere to be found. Moreover, while the names of the three corpse-worms and a brief description of the three worms appear in the liturgy, the prescription in the above passage (before the "commentary") involving the spell does not appear in the liturgy, *Ritual for Expelling Demons*. This spell was basic to *kōshin* practice among the Heian aristocracy, something we know from entry from the *Taiki* noted above. For example, we also find it in a work written by Minamoto no Tamenori 源為憲, author of the famous *Sanbō'ekotoba* 三宝絵, known as the *Kuchizusami* 口遊 (970). This text was meant as a textbook for the education of a child of the aristocracy, and thus can be taken to reflect knowledge that was important for everyday life at court:

> Hōkōshi, Hōjōshi, Meishishi: enter the dark oblivion and depart from my body.
> (This is called the recitation of the fifty-seventh day.)
> Note: On every night of the fifty-seventh day, if you do not sleep and call these names, the three corpses will long depart and the myriad blessings will come of themselves.[76]

This is the surely the practice that Fujiwara no Yorinaga and his guests were performing. What does appear in the Jimon liturgy is the final "commentary" citation that describes the nature of the three corpse-worms, with the exception that the names differ.

The later section in *Onjōji denki* overlaps to some degree with *Essentials Notes*, but then adds information not found elsewhere.

> On *Sen* 璇 and *Ki* 璣[77]

---

[76] *Kuchizusami chūkai* 1997: 46. In other texts, such as for example the medieval encyclopedia *Jinten ainōshō* 塵添壒嚢鈔 (1532), Hōkōshi is the name given to the upper corpse; see DNBZ 150: 239-240. Hōkō is also the name of a tree spirit in Chinese folklore who may have later become the model for the Japanese monster (*yōkai* 妖怪) known as Yamabiko 山彦; see Kyōgoku, *Yōkai zukan*: 154.

[77] *Sen* (Ch. *xuan*) and *Ki* (Ch. *ji*) are the second and third stars of the Northern Dipper (*hokuto shichisei* 北斗七星); see the *CJKV-English Dictionary* entry for "璇璣."

> *The Scripture of Seeking Long Life by Guarding the Fifty-Seventh [Day] [Expounded by] the Filial Son* says: All human life obtains its physical form by according with father and mother, who contain vital essence from gains. This is why all humans have the three corpses within their bellies which cause that person great injury. On the Fifty-Seventh night, they ascend and report to the Celestial Emperor and record their host's crimes, thus cutting short that person's life registry. They hope to make that person die early, so that the earthly soul [of the deceased] enters the Three Springs. The form of those three worms is like the form of a small young horse. They all have heads and tails. They are referred to as "demons" (*ki* 鬼). The thought that the deceased return to the home, this is actually not the spirit of the deceased. Physicians under heaven cannot cure it. During the night of the fifty-seventh that corresponds to the eighth day of the sixth month, one must contemplate one's astrological birth star (*honmeisei* 本命星), the star of the current year (*tōnensei* 當年星), Monju 文殊, and Kannon 觀音. If you do not contemplate this, the three corpse-worms—everyone still alive in your family will die. (It's a seventy-five day illness). Some abandon [the corpses] in mountain swamps, others throw them into rivers. If you bury them [the normal way], [the disease] will progressively increase. On the day of the Tiger, get rid of your toenails. On the sixteenth day of the seventh month, get rid of your toenails. Then the three worms in the bellow will be expelled far away. The preceding is a deeply secret teaching of the Daishi. It must be respected. As a result [of the existence of this teaching], persons under the Mii gate do not get this illness.[78]

In the middle of this section, after a phrase we find basically at the start of the liturgy ("Physicians under heaven cannot cure it"), we see a remarkable hybrid *kōshin*/Buddhist practice involving astrological practices concerning one's birth star and the current star along with invocations to Monju and Kannon. While the latter does figure into the pantheon of the Shōmen Kongō rite—specifically in the guise of Nyoirin Kannon, however—it is clear that a practice different from the moxibustion rite is being articulated in the passage. Nevertheless, this is instructive. It shows that over the medieval period, there were multiple attempts to integrate *kōshin* ideas with Buddhist practices and other related practices, such as the attempts to transform fate through astrological elements. Of course, while the astrological also does not figure into the moxibustion ritual per se, it is already relevant because of the habit of the three

[78] DNBZ 127: 33.

corpse-worms of ascend to the Celestial Emperor on a particular day on the calendar. Stars control human destiny, precisely the role that is given to the Celestial Emperor in *kōshin* texts, and the Celestial Emperor was himself thought to reside in a palace in the Big Dipper.

Finally, let us cite Keisei's addition, the most comprehensive version of the *kōshin* scripture:

> *The Scripture of Seeking Long Life by Guarding the Fifty-Seventh [Day] [Expounded by Laozi]*
>
> The human belly contains countless worms. The three corpses are the generals of those worms and reside in the Five Viscera. The upper corpse causes its host to be fond of horse-driven carriages and clothing. The middle corpse makes its host enjoy the five flavors of food and drink. The lower worm causes its host to take pleasure in sex. These three corpses are also the roots of the Three Poisons. Those who kill [the three corpses] will enjoy a long life of one hundred and twenty years. The three corpses cause their host to feel euphoric and enraptured, which [thereby] diminishes the host's desire to be free of fear or acute and bright in his ears and eyes—it is the pleasure [these worms create] that conceals [these more virtuous desires.]
>
> The vital spirits of these worms traverse heaven and earth. They constantly incite people to evil deeds and prevent them from performing good ones. Every fifty-seventh day, the corpses leave for the upper realm to report their host's vices; they do not speak a word about virtues. If, on every fifty-seventh day, one does not sleep during the day or night, the corpses will be unable to leave the body. Once a person has passed three years [guarding the fifty-seventh day], the worms will not leave [the body] and will perish of themselves. People who are wicked and evil have the greatest number of worms.
>
> The Scripture of Immortals says, "The three corpses take residence in the human body. They may be physical and have form, but in actuality they belong to the class of spirits, demons, and gods. They are born together with their host and always desire to cause that person an early death."
>
> QUESTION: What are each of the corpse's names?
> ANSWER: The Scripture of Great Clarity says, "The upper corpse's name is Pengju; the middle corpse is Pengzhi; and the lower corpse is Pengjiao."

QUESTION: What form and color do they have?
ANSWER: The same scripture says, "The three corpses greatly resemble humans in their form, but they are about three cun in length." It also says: "The upper corpse is black in color and its form resembles a hand. The middle corpse is blue in color and it resembles a foot. The lower corpse is white in color with the appearance of a baby chicken." Also, Master Zhao says, "They look like small children, or else like dogs or horses, with heads and tails. They are roughly three to four cun in length." Also, *Prescriptions [Worth] a Thousand in Gold* observes, "They look like [pieces of] thin muscle."

QUESTION: Where do these three worms dwell inside the body?
ANSWER: The *Scripture of Great Clarity* says, "Pengju resides in the head and is thus called the upper corpse. Pengzhi resides in the throat and is therefore called the middle corpse. And Pengjiao resides in the legs and is therefore called the lower corpse. It is also said that the lower worm resides in the belly."

The *Scripture of the Immortals* says, "The three corpses reside within the body. Some enter the mind and make it chaotic, conjuring manifold likes, desires, and pleasures. The upper corpse makes people fond of horse-driven carriages and clothes. The middle corpse causes people to enjoy the five flavors of food and drink. The lower corpse entices its host to sexual passion, makes him poor, and causes him to enjoy killing."

QUESTION: What is the basis for their wanting to make their host die early?
ANSWER: They wish to kill their host because by transforming into demons, they become free to roam and wander and consume the libations that humans offer to the gods.

QUESTION: What methods do the three corpses employ in their scheme to make people die early?
ANSWER: On the last day of the sixty-day cycle, the three worms ascend to heaven and report to the Directors of Destiny where they announce the crimes of the practitioner. [The result is that] [if the reported crimes are great,] the worms steal a year [of their host's life]; [if the crimes are small,] they steal only a single day. On the night of the fifty-seventh day—whether the moon is on its final phase of the month, a crescent, or full—[the corpses] will definitely report one's faults.

QUESTION: Aside from causing a person to develop many likes, desires, pleasures, and agitations [by residing in] one part of a person's body, is there any other harm that they cause?

ANSWER: Pengju, residing in the head, specializes in invading the eyes. This causes the eyes to blacken, the face to wrinkle, the mouth to emit a foul smell, and the teeth to fall out. Pengzhi, residing in the belly, invades the Five Viscera and saps them of *qi*, makes its host forgetful, and causes him to create evil deeds, including the devouring of sentient beings. Pengjiao, residing in the feet, obstructs the passing of urine and feces, sends its host into confusion, and stirs up the desires of the five senses, leaving the person without control to regulate himself.

QUESTION: Is there a method for expelling the three corpses?
ANSWER: *The Scripture on the Filial Son and the Three Corpses* says, "Those of superior quality cultivate [virtue] and thereby subdue [the three corpses]; those of medium quality protect themselves from the three corpses by not sleeping any day that falls on the fifty-seventh; those of inferior quality consume good medicines to kill them."

QUESTION: What goes on during the Fifty-Seventh day ritual?
ANSWER: The *Scripture of Immortals* says, "During the Fifty-Seventh day, one does not sleep. Once the middle of the night has passed, one faces southward and recites the following incantation: 'Pengju, Pengzhi, Pengjiao—all of you enter the Dark Worlds and depart from my body!' Once one completes reciting these three lines, the corpses will be subdued and will depart from the person. This [spell] is [also] to be used on the last day of the sexagenary cycle. This is the Fifty-Seventh day ritual." The *Scripture on the Filial Son and the Three Corpses* says, "If a [virtuous one] is vigilant on the Fifty-Seventh day, he will see to the end of the three corpses. Also, if when approaching daybreak, you begin to feel tired, you must not lie down for sleep. Wake yourself again and again, and if you do so, the [three corpses] will not be able to report to the Celestial Emperor."

The same scripture says, "Respectfully considering the *Scripture on the Filial Son and the Three Corpses*, we see that it says, 'All human life obtains its physical form from the vital essence of the grains within the father and mother. This is why all humans have three corpses within their [bellies] that cause great injury. On the night of the Fifty-Seventh, they routinely ascend to the Celestial Emperor and record their host's crimes. By cutting short a person's life registry, they hope to make that person die early. The Earthly Soul [of the deceased] enters the [Three] Springs and the three worms alone remain on earth, becoming what are known as "demons." During the rituals of the four seasons, they [cause misfortune and harm to] humans, resulting in pain and itchiness [. . .], shortening a person's naturally allotted life[span].

'The three corpses resemble small children in form, and some resemble the shape of a horse. Each has a head and tail. They are two cun in length and live in the human body. After one dies, [these corpses] are thereafter called demons. They look like their host when they were living, wearing robes and clothes of various lengths. A person who sees them will say that the dead has returned to the home, but in fact, these are not the spirits of humans. In general, there are many different types of the three corpses and the nine worms.

'Every night when you wish to lie down [to sleep], clack your teeth together thirty-seven times. Then, while rubbing your heart area with your left hand, call out the names of the corpses three times. This will make it so they cannot bring injury to you.

'Master of the White Mountain received this text [from the Lord on High] on Golden [Garden] Mountain and this was transmitted to [Li Fang, administrator of the Yangdi district]. [Deity of the] Fifty-Seventh day—Huawenyang!'"

The spell [for expelling the three corpses] is as follows: "Pengju, Pengzhi, Pengjiao—each of you enter the [Dark Worlds] and depart from my body!"

This concludes the text.

## PRACTICAL HOMOLOGIES

Given the ways that the three corpse-worms and information regarding *kōshin* was interwoven into the ritual texts, as well as the inclusion of these ideas in the *Onjōji denki*, we must conclude that these ideas held special meaning for the compilers of the Jimon moxibustion ritual. What was the purpose of the integration of these ideas into the rite? How did corpse-worms complement the ritual's presentation of corpse-vector disease? As I will argue in this final section, the inclusion of these ideas was both sensible and strategic. It was sensible in that it's clear corpse-worms provided for Jimon monks a more comprehensive understanding of the disease they were aiming to ritually treat. In certain ways, it lended the notion of corpse-vector disease they were in the act of assembling greater coherence. At the same time, this focus on the corpse-worms and the practices of *kōshin* in particular was tactical.

It allowed Jimon monks to create a bridge between their healing practice and its pathological imaginary, on the one hand, and to connect all of this with certain practices and beliefs that were important to courtiers, the community we should remember constituted the primary audience for the ritual, the potential or current patients of corpse-vector disease.

To begin with the first, what the inclusion of the *kōshin* ideas does is to highlight connections between many of the pathological agencies that we have already explored in this chapter. This is most apparent at the end of the liturgy, where a clear logical line is drawn between those entities. Those connections begin when the liturgy cites the *Mohe zhiguan* and then progresses to the *kōshin* scripture. For the purposes of analysis, I have numbered different sections of the passage, each number demarcating the start of a new link:

> **[1]** The [*Great*] *Calming and Contemplation* says, "If an adept is suffering from an illness due either of the two diseases [caused by] demons or *māra* disturbances, these should be treated through contemplative practices or powerful spirit spells [i.e. *dhāraṇī*], and then the sufferer will improve. If it is a karmic disease, then the adept should use the power of contemplation internally while practicing repentance externally—his condition will then improve. These methods of treatment are not the same. The adept must understand this well. One must not weild a sword by grasping the blade only to bring harm to themselves." **[2]** *The Scripture of Seeking Long-Life on the Fifty-Seventh Day* says: Hōkyo resides in the eyes, darkens them, wrinkles the face, makes bad breath, and causes the teeth to fall out. Hōshitsu resides within the abdomen, attacks the person's five viscera, reduces their *qi* and increases their avoidances, makes them enjoy evil and consume sentient beings. Hōkyō resides within the feet, causes the person to have blockade, agitates their five emotions chaotically, and makes them unable to control their self. If the three worms become gods, then they will harm decendents, therefore this affliction does not cease. [On the] fifty-seventh [day], you do not sleep, the three corpse-worms will cease for a long time. On the night of the fifty-seventh, these three corpse-worms will always report to the Celestial Emperor a record of the person's misdoings to cut short their life registry. They always want to make [their host] die quickly so that the *hun* souls enter the Three Springs. **[3]** Sometimes these demons cause harm to people, causing pain in the chest and the person to be paralyzed with exhaustion. The disease suffering [caused by] one demon transmits to offspring, brothers and sisters. **[4]** Therefore, people of the time also call it

transmitting-death [i.e. corpse-vector disease], *enchō* 厭蝶,[79] *fukuren* 復連,[80] bones-steaming diseases. Also, when within one household all are dying and there are none to determine the reason, soon it will progressively increase, those with severe cases will die if not treated within a few months. Therefore, in hating this [disease], the parental ties between father and son are terminated, husband and wife turn suspicious on their marital obligations. **[5]** This is a disease of accumulated karma."

What this deft use of citation and summary is doing at the end of the liturgy is enacting the linkage of different aspects of this disease, some of which we have already seen. The first citation **[1]** is from *The Great Calming and Contemplation*, which describes diseases of three types: demons, *māra* disturbances, and karmic. As we've seen, aspects or agents of corpse-vector disease were tied to each of these ideas. The karmic dimension is explicitly reiterated at the end of the passage **[5]**. In terms of demons, we've seen the affliction described as the "corpse-vector demon-disease" and a "demon god," and linked with demonic agents such as Tenmarashitta and Harita. There is much overlap between demons and *māras*, but the clearest example of such a being was Tokeria, a meditation-meddling creature culled from Zhiyi's discourses on meditation.

But this passage also makes a subtle connection between demons and corpse-worms. After citing *The Great Calming and Contemplation* **[1]**, the text moves immediately into a citation from the *The Scripture of Seeking Long-Life on the Fifty-Seventh Day* **[2]**, which includes a description of the three corpse-worms and the *kōshin* vigil. The transition to the next section thereafter is especially important: "**[2]** [The three corpse-worms] always want to

---

[79] The corresponds to what in Chinese medical literature is known as *yedie* 殗殜. The editors of the *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu* (Zhang and Unschuld, vol. 1: 263) translate this as "progressing calamity,"and take it as a pathological condition identical to corpse-vector disease. Indeed, in the example given in the dictionary from the *Waitai miyao fang*, we read: "The ailment of corpse [evil] transmission…in its initial stages, when one lies as much as he is up, this is called progressing calamity." An explanation is given in the *Denshibyō kanjin shō* (Minobe et. al., "Denshi 'oni' to 'mushi' – Kyōushookuzō – 'Denshibyō kanjin shō' ryakkai," 76–77) of the Anō lineage.

[80] In Chinese medical literature, this is *fulian* 伏連. The editors of the *Dictionary of the Ben cao gang mu* (Zhang and Unschuld, vol. 1: 175) translate this as "hidden link." As with *dedie*, they take this to be identical to corpse-vector disease and give a passage from *Waitai miyao fang*: "The ailment of corpse [evil] transmission, when it is transmitted internally to the five depots, it is called hidden link."

make [their host] die quickly so that the *hun* souls enter the Three Springs. **[3]** Sometimes these demons cause harm to people, causing pain in the chest and the person to be paralyzed with exhaustion." Although section **[3]** moves away from the *kōshin* scripture citation, it connects the corpse-worms to the demons it then describes by simply saying "sometimes these demons." Between sections **[3]** and **[4]** is a bridge connecting those demons to the contagious aspect of the ailment: "The disease suffering [caused by] one demon transmits to offspring, brothers and sisters." What follows in section **[4]** is classic corpse-vector disease discourse taken from medical literature, which gives the affiliated or adjacent diseases (*enchō*, *fukuren*, *kotsujō*) and goes into more detail about its transmission, especially the way it brings households to ruin. Finally, as noted above, the passage concludes by reaffirming the karmic dimension of the disease **[5]**.

Although the sequence of citations lends this passage a somewhat uneven texture, more than any other in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* liturgy, it brings together the multifarious aspects of the disease in a roughly coherent manner. Given that this passage is placed at the end of the liturgy, I would suggest it was indeed meant to do the work of summarizing and tying up the loose ends of even more scattered references to different aspects of the disease found throughout the literature. Even as the terminology shifts as the passage tours through several different citations through demons, *māras*, karma, corpse-worms, contagion, and corpse-vector disease, the threads of the logic would arguably have been clear to readers who had read through the whole scroll. In other words, the text is here explicitly finalizing homologies that were implied throughout the text.

Although authors like Zhiyi would have wanted to make finer distinctions between the different categories of diseases, the compilers of the Jimon ritual appear to be less interested in the theoretical. What concerns them is comprehensively capturing the strange and multiple ontological status of the disease, and the links between its different agential manifestations. In fact, this kind of thinking is not far off from a logic of description that we often find in classical medical texts. For example, what are the exact relationships between *denshibyō, enchō, fukuren,*

and *kotsujō*? The *Waitai miyao fang* suggests that these are different stages, or different manifestations of the same disease. On the other hand, in the same text, all these diseases are arguably assumed into the framework of corpse-vector disease. We are back again to the logics of generalizing and individuating. Another reading, adopted by the Jimon compilers in certain sections, was to see these different diseases as of the same "species" (*rurui* 流類). We are also reminded here of an early description in the liturgy, which describes how, depending on the status of the sufferer, the disease manifests differentially in three forms: as *lai*, corpse-vector disease, or madness. In other words, the Jimon compilers undoubtedly saw much ontological flexibility. This outlook might have put them in good company with certain authors of medical literature—in addition to Wang Tao, Chao Yuanfang (or in any case the team of medical erudites that produced *Zhubing yuanhou lun*) ought to be mentioned as well—but it meant they departed from Buddhist thinkers like Zhiyi, ironic in some sense given that was perhaps their biggest inspiration, as this chapter has had several occasions to verify.

The above passage is thus an example of how the liturgy enacts the multiplicity of corpse-vector disease through the curation and braiding of various texts. But, recalling that the liturgy is also concerned with prescriptions for conducting ritual practice, we also need to attend to how the homologies established through the above passage were enacted through material practices that would have been part of the ritual performance. For example, in one procedure of this ritual, the ritualist is to fashion three shapes out of grain flour and Amour cork tree, perhaps the bark. Those three figures are effigies; specifically, in the text, they are called the "three demons" (*sanki* 三鬼).

The name the "three demons" derives from the "Six-Character Rite" (*rokujihō* 六字法), the practice from which the Jimon compilers consciously modeled this part of the ritual performance.[81] It works like this: The molded demons are to be boiled in a vat of oil and then

[81] On this practice, see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine,* 265–268, who provides an illustration of the three demons from the *Kakuzenshō*; more recently, the ritual and its sources have been studied extensively in Lomi, "Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw Dolls: Ritual Choreographies and Healing Strategies of the *Rokujikyōhō* in Medieval Japan," 2014.

thrown into the *goma* fire, reducing them to ash; success will be signified by the manifestation of the Siddhaṃ character A within the ash. As the passage from the liturgy examined above reveals, the Jimon compilers saw the corpse-worms to be identical to demons. Thus, this procedure works to enact, through a material practice, the identity of the corpse-worms and the demons. The identity between them is, in other words, not simply theoretical; it is something which the ritualists give material form in the process of performing the ritual. This has major advantages as far as the strategic goals of the rite are concerned. By linking the three corpse-worms with the three demons that are made into effigies, the compilers render physical corpse-vector disease in more than one of its ontological guises. If we imagined the rite was performed with audience, such acts make visible those ontological guises, as well as their destruction.

This practical and material enactment of corpse-vector disease can also be discerned in the rite's definition of points on the body to which moxibustion is to be applied. Although we discuss this topic more thoroughly in Chapters 5 and 6, a couple points are worth mentioning here. First, on the one hand, the liturgy connects those moxa points collectively to demons, two in particular: "These [points] to which you apply moxa are those places where the Cat Demon and the Tokeira Demon hinder and harm." Thus we know that demons act at certain sites of the body, and this becomes the rationale for the use of moxibustion on those sites. On the other hand, the prescriptions also includes a point location whose name is identical with the third corpse-worm, Pengjiao, who is said to reside in the feet. Therefore, in the liturgy's prescription for moxibustion application, multiple manifestations of corpse-vector disease's diffused and demonic ontology—namely its dual connection to demons and to corpse-worms—are established as a physical practice the ritualist performs on the patient.

This same act is reaffirmed in a related prescription. The ritual prescriptions also demand that the ritualist wash the sites upon which moxibustion has been applied, a practice consistent with prescriptions for moxibustion practice found in Chinese medical texts. The prescription in the liturgy reads: "Take agarwood and sandalwood and place them into the

copper vessel. Recite the previous Body Spell thirty-seven times in order to empower the aromatic water. Put *heisō* and willow and pomegranate branches [into the aromatic water], and use this water to clean the points at which moxa has been applied on the sufferer's body."

*Essential Notes* provides the explanation for the use of this strange grass called *heisō*:

> *Heisō* 苪草 (the [Japanese] name for this plant is 'demon's arrow shaft' (*oni-no-yakara*). It is also called 'stone dragon-*zei*' (*sekiryūzei*).[82] [Another] Japanese name for this is 'lion's brow grass' (*shishi-no-hitai-gusa*). It is also called *fukatsumi.* Children call (*warawabe iwaku* 童部云) it '*kishi-kishi* grass' ([*kishikishi*]*-no-kusa*.)
> This is the grass called 'demon's arrow shaft.' According to another explanation it is the grass *kishikishi*. *The Scripture of Seeking Long-Life by Guarding the Kōshin [Day] Expounded by [Laozi]* says, "*Heisō* is the plant that the three corpse-worms detest. If one boils this plant and bathes in it, the three worms will depart."

Incredibly, we see here that the plant derives from the *kōshin* scripture, where it is prescribed for bathing, because corpse-worms hate it. We can also note the local variations on the grass's name, where ties are again made to demons (*oni*). The Jimon compilers have taken this prescription and applied it to a classical aspect of moxibustion practice, the cleansing of the sore points on which moxibustion has been applied.

Surprisingly, we have not exhausted all of the pathological homologies that Jimon monks established in assembling corpse-vector disease. We find an additional set in a colophon in *Essential Notes* that was probably written by Keihan (see FIG. 10 on next page):

> The Three Corpse-Worms
> Hōkoshi, Hōshishi, Hōkyōshi
> Above are the names of the worms (*mushi* 虫) that are born first in the human body. "Corpse" means "stubborn."
> In the *Ōjō yōshū* [it says] when people are born in seven days worms are born. Perhaps that's what this is.

[82] The characters for "stone dragon" are not legible in the *Essential Notes* manuscript; I've taken them from *Denshibyō kanjin shō* in Minobe et. al., "Denshi 'oni' to 'mushi' – Kyōushookuzō – 'Denshibyō kanjin shō' ryakkai," 77.

These worms report the person's offenses to Śakra (Tentaishaku 天帝釈).[83] Perhaps the "born-together-gods" (*kushōjin* 倶生神) are [the same as] these [entities]. This ought to be investigated.

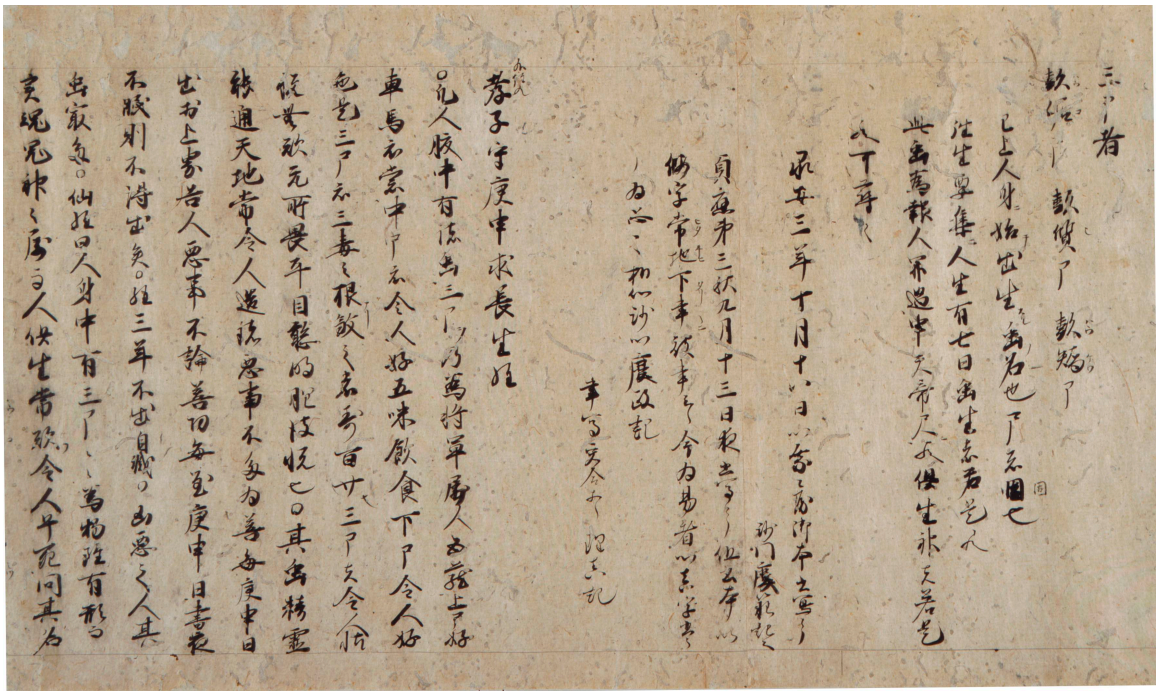


Fig. 10. Keihan's description of the three worms; colophons by Keihan, Keisei, and Rishin; and Keisei's insertion of a quote from the *Kōshin kyō*, *Essential Notes* ms. Source: Courtesy of Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. Image: TNM Images Archives.

Keihan first gives the names of the three corpse-worms, and then defines them as "worms" that are born in the body. But these worms are not quite corpse-worms, but of the *mushi* 虫 variety. Judging from characters alone, this suggests that they are closer to the "nine worms" we saw in the citation of the *Huichong cunbai meilüe*, although already there that text was discussing such worms in relation to the three corpse-worms. Here, this connection to worms allows Keihan to take things in a slightly different direction. He then cites Genshin's *Ōjō yōshū*, a text we previously noted was particularly important in spurring new understandings of the

[83] The Chinese "Celestial Emperor" has, through the addition of a single character, been rendered into an Indian deity.

defiled body in medieval Japan. One aspect of that defiled body (*eshin* 穢身) was of course the legion of worms that crawl and squirm throughout it. In this way, Keihan makes a link between the *kōshin* worms and the Buddhist worms of Pure Land defiled-body discourse that was more broadly important for Tendai lineages. The next line enacts a similar move. Whereas in the *kōshin* scripture, the corpse-worms ascend to heaven in order to report their host's vices to the Celestial Emperor (Tentai 天帝), Keihan here adds the character *shaku* 釈, thus rendering the astrological monarch identical to Tentaishaku, or Taishakuten, that is, the Indian god Śakra. Two cosmologies, *kōshin* and Buddhist, have been folded into one another here. Apparently on a roll with these connections, Keihan finds one additional similarity that links the three corpse-worms of the *kōshin* scripture and the worms born in the human body described by Genshin with the "born-together-gods." The *Huichong cunbai meilüe* had already included a suggestive passage: "There are different types of these three worms, known as the three corpse-worms and the nine worms. It is like they are born together with humans and [thereby] cause harm." But here Keihan takes them as another entity, a pair in fact, of gods that live inside the body and likewise report on a person's misdeeds.

What is particularly interesting about Keihan's linking the three corpse-worms and the gods-born-together is the way that both recall the "body gods," or *jinshin* 人神. The body gods were those entities that circulate the body according to the calendar, and upon whose scrupulous calculation as to their location in the body the practice of moxibustion depended, at least for court physicians and their patients. In spite of their importance for medical practice, however, there was not much in the way of "theory" about these entities. Rather, they were agents of preeminently practical ontologies, to be dealt with only insofar as they matter for precise and risk-reductive therapeutic application of modalities that might otherwise harm.

In contrast, the *kōshin* scripture and other medical sources demonstrate that there was much known in Japan about the nature of the three corpse-worms—their personalities, location in the body, appearance, habits, and so on. But corpse-worms and body gods are quite similar, and that similarity is brought to our attention by Keihan's link to the "born-together-

gods." That is, all three classes of these entities are born together with, which is to say born within, the human body, which they take as their home. Both technicians of the body (ritualists, court physicians, *onmyōji*) as well as the owners of those bodies must deal with these entities throughout their lives. As we know, they did so through the mediation of practices like moxibustion injunctions and the *kōshin* vigil. Thus, by bringing corpse-worms into alignment with the demons that cause corpse-vector disease, the Jimon monks were creating a moxibustion method around entities of the body that then more closely approximately mainstream forms of medical practice and moxibustion performed by physicians at the time. To put it differently, although the Jimon ritual does not adopt the system of calendrical injunctions, it nevertheless targets a set of entities that, in one respect anyway, are quite close to those of concern for court physicians. Yet whereas the latter seeks diligently to avoid those entities—for to scorch a body-god is to harm or even murder the patient—the Jimon ritual targets the very sites at which they reside.

There is no question that Jimon monks were at least familiar with the notion of the body gods familiar to the practice of court physicians. Yet they engaged with them not through the practices of the latter (checking interdiction dates to determine their movements, compiling new extracts to ground particular theories about such movements), but rather by drawing out parallels to similar notions of worms found in more familiar Buddhist sources, to other gods that are born together with humans, and to the notion of the three corpse-worms, which is one prominent pathological idea throughout the ritual sources.

We can understand the gathering and correlating of these concepts, then, as a way to interface with notions of the body that were important among courtiers, the elite patients treated by court physicians but who also constitute the presumed audience for the Jimon moxibustion healing ritual. Here, what emerges is a major advantage of incorporating the three corpse-worms. Because of their connection with demons and their connection with corpse-vector disease, the three corpse-worms provide one ontological entity that interfaces similar

notions undergirding the kind of moxibustion practice that was prevalent in the clinical encounter at court in Heian society.

In general, the adoption of *kōshin* beliefs and practices in the Jimon rite clearly meant that the practice would be more meaningful to courtiers. We have already seen the mention of the *kōshin* practice in the *Kuchizusami* as well as the *Taiki.* As a voluminous amount of research by Kubo Noritada, Kobanawa Heiroku, Yoshioka Yoshitoyo, and many others have demonstrated, this practiced was deeply integrated in court life, a time when courtiers came together, played *sugoroku*, drink sake, recited spells—a very pleasurable prophylactic against some less-than-savory creatures who are recording such deeds (perhaps the wrong time to party). In his extensive research, Kubo collected hundreds of entries pertaining to the culture of *kōshin* from the Nara to late Edo period and arrayed them in chronological fashion.[84] This is the same calendrical system of which body gods figured prominently. That the Jimon monks had in mind the strategy to connect their ritual to *kōshin* not simply as a set of beliefs about the three corpse-worms but also as a phenomenon that was enacted in practice becomes clear when we notice that one of the prescriptions in the liturgy entails more of the patient's involvement. That prescription reads: "Moxibustion must be performed on this disease on the *kōshin* day, [after] receiving the Three Refuges and the Five Precepts." Because the monks that would be performing this ritual would have already been ordained in a much more elaborate way than laypersons, it is reasonable to understand this prescription to mean that the patient must receive the Three Refuges and the Five Precepts. Moreover, this is performed on a day in which courtier patients would be vigilant—the *kōshin* day. Therefore, this prescription addresses the participation of patients in their own healing. The Jimon compilers have brought the moxibustion ritual into close alignment with court practices.

[84] Kubo, *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū: Nicchū shūkyō bunka kōshōshi*, 781–989.

## *Conclusion*

How many demons does it take to make a person sick? The Jimon compilers of the textual sources for the moxibustion ritual multiplied the categories and agents of corpse-vector disease, creating within a veritable index of ways to think pathology. In their agglutinative work, undoubtedly performed with the hopes of rendering one more aspect of corpse-vector disease that much clearer, they were assisted tremendously by the textual resources imported or sent from China, sources they had on site in their archive of sacred writings, namely Tō'in. Demons and corpse-worms were drafted from across a range of sources and genres—Tiantai, esoteric Buddhist, classical medicine, Daoist. What becomes clear in examining the Jimon ritual sources is the extent to which pathological imaginaries are encompassed by the textual horizons in which these monks were active.

Jimon monks multiplied the agents of affliction, but recalling the insights of Annemarie Mol, they did not do so indefinitely, as if corpse-vector disease were an empty signifier that could translated into any possible notion. Thus, while the images of disease in these sources might at first appear scattered and disorderly, close readings reveal significant areas of overlap and resemblance between the disparate etiologies—the agglutinative endeavors begin to show the contours of certain logics, physiomoralism perhaps foremost.

Moreover, the multiplication of agents not only allowed Jimon monks to collectively piece together a more coherent sense of corpse-vector disease, but also allowed them to distribute that knowledge more effectively over material practices, thus transforming pathologies into performances. In so doing, their novel ritual might be tethered to other current practices, and thus cast into sphere of consensus, given legitimacy. We have seen, for example, how they were modeling on coeval esoteric liturgies like the Six-Character Rite. More importantly, it allowed them to connect their ritual to the *kōshin* vigil, which was focused on the three corpse-worms, and to the practice of moxibustion, which was focused on body-gods, entities of a comparable character. I say "more importantly" because, while inter-lineage

dynamics were undoubtedly important for how certain details of the Jimon ritual was conceived, what guided the multiplication of disease agents, the attempts to braid various traces into lines of coherence, and the actualization in the form of practices was more about relating to, and interfacing with, the world of aristocrats, their patients, for whom the *kōshin* vigil was a regularly scheduled event and moxibustion, for many, an activity for the everyday maintenance of disease.

Of course, the problem with multiplying disease agents in the context of a healing ritual is that you are then going to have to muster fairly compelling means of eliminating them. The demons of corpse-vector disease might be correlated with the body-gods, but how could moxibustion—the apparent solution of this ritual, but again, a routine practice at court and one associated with court physicians—how could that be enough? In the next chapter, I'll examine how Jimon monks transformed moxibustion into a healing modality that was quite different both from moxibustion of court physicians and distinctive among the ritual technologies at play in the *goma* fire ceremony.

# Chapter 4
# Playing with Fire

> This ritual is not aimed at harming a human being
> in his body, nor at depriving him of his life.
> It is strictly aimed at destroying by fire
> the evil deeds committed by someone.
>
> —Kakuzen, on the *Rokujikyō hō*[1]

> One could speak of the increasing concentration (integration)
> of reality, such that everything past (in its time) can acquire a
> higher grade of actuality than it had in its moment of existence.
> How it marks itself as higher actuality is determined by the image
> as which and in which it is comprehended. And this dialectical
> penetration and actualization of former contexts puts the truth
> of all present action to the test. Or rather, it serves to ignite the
> explosive materials that are latent in what has been.
>
> —Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*[2]

HAVING ACQUAINTED OURSELVES with corpse-vector disease, the problematic at the crux of the healing ritual developed by Jimon monks in the late twelfth century, it is now time to examine the healing technology they proposed in response. The Jimon ritual is focused on moxibustion, a practice in which, minimally defined, the healer facilitates healing by burning

[1] Quoted in Faure, "Buddhism and Symbolic Violence," 223.

[2] Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, 391–392.

the patient's skin. As moxibustion derives from Chinese medicine, it would be easy to see this adoption as yet another example of combinatory practice. But in fact, this particular hybridizing of classical medical technology with Buddhist ritual raises broader questions about the production and perception of healing rituals in early medieval Japan. Stated succinctly, as research on this period continues to remind us, the late twelfth century marked one high point in the creation of esoteric Buddhist rituals. In the field of ritual healing, this flurry of activity was undoubtedly spurred by a pervasive faith in the efficacy of such rituals to eliminate disease and transform the body. Here then is the problem. If by the late-twelfth century esoteric ritual had assumed a dominant position among the available healing technologies, why would monks of a lineage especially known for ritual prowess craft a healing program centered on a modality that was patently outside the esoteric liturgical tradition?

In order to shed light on this question, this chapter explores the ways that moxibustion contributed to the efficacy of ritual healing as it was configured in the Jimon rite. It is important to be clear at the outset that in writing about "efficacy," I seek to reframe the issue in terms that include, but seek to move beyond, soteriology. It is often said that the power of esoteric rituals, particularly the *goma* 護摩 (Sk. *homa*) or fire rite, derives from the officiant's ontological identification with the deity invoked during the process. Having incorporated this power through visualization, spells, hand gestures, and ritual implements, the ritualist empowers objects, spaces, and bodies in order to secure healing and many other this-wordly benefits. As a basic premise of esoteric ritual, the notion that power derives from soteriological fusion certainly informed how it was understood historically by practitioners, scholar-monks, and patrons throughout East Asia. We will thus necessarily encounter the idea throughout our examination. However, if such divine sources and soteriological processes wholly and finally accounted for the potency ascribed to esoteric ritual, what reasons would Jimon monks have had to look for inspiration beyond the esoteric ritual repertoire? The global mechanism that the soteriological account offers only takes us so far in understanding new developments in ritual practice, including the braiding of ritual with non-Buddhist techniques.

Therefore, in this chapter, I examine efficacy by thinking firstly from within the textual sources of the Jimon rite, and from there trace out the broader set of ideas and practices underlying those sources. As prescriptive documents focused on instructions for the performance of the rite, these texts lack explicit explanations or theories as to why or how the rite is effective and what role moxibustion plays in that process. When carefully surveyed, however, these texts reveal numerous clues in the way of metaphors, actions, tropes, and images that can tell us much about how the miraculous operations of healing and transformation were imagined. Central to this imagination was a demonstrative logic already embedded in the meaning of the character *gen* 驗, a term used throughout ritual and medical texts to describe successful ritual results.[3] Sino-Japanese texts commonly gloss this character as *shirushi*, or "signs." Thus, even when the agencies understood to facilitate healing are unseen—and indeed, they often were—efficacy is almost always attended by the manifestation of signs that assert themselves upon the senses. It is these shifts of perception attending efficacy, whereby the operations of ritual action on the body, disease, and world become visible, concrete, and tactile, that effects become legible as tokens of therapeutic transformation.

But, as I argue in this chapter, precisely because they gave shape to articulations of ritual efficacy, such images and signs were not only end-products, for they could also in turn influence the practical dimensions of ritual: which techniques were thought to be effective, how concretely they were deployed, and for what purposes. In particular, my analysis will show how the adoption and use of moxibustion in the Jimon rite was shaped by the pervasive role of fire in constructions of efficacy. Fire has long been at the heart of how esoteric traditions envision transformation, just as its wondrous materiality has ever-occupied a critical place in ritual enactment, the spatial and symbolic center of the *goma* ritual being the hearth. Linked to fire in the Jimon healing program, moxibustion was reinscribed with meanings and

[3] In line with the move away from divine sources, I resist translating these terms "supernatural powers" or "miracles." For one, they are usually produced by ritualists. Second, they depend for their articulation on culturally specific ways of understanding the natural and materiality.

powers in ways much unanticipated by its long career in classical medicine or its more recent reception in Japan. In this new context, moxibustion would literalize a virtual metaphysics of efficacy long kindled by the esoteric imaginary and diffused in early medieval healing culture. This process will shed light on the circuit between practices and efficacious signs that guided the production and perception of healing practices in medieval Japan.

While this process will shed light on the traffic between practices and efficacious signs that guided the production and perception of healing practices in medieval Japan, I insist throughout we must take seriously the fact that the intervention moxibustion brings to this new context is locally meaningful, specific to the rite in question and the issues with which it was grappling. A method of scorching the patient's flesh with fire, moxibustion is a modality that blurs the boundaries between healing and harming. But it was because of this inherent ambivalence, I argue, that moxibustion offered a solution unique among ritual techniques against a disease understood to be both demonic *and* embodied. In this way, the localized stategy that its adoption represented, very much a departure from healing rites involving spirit-mediums at which Jimon monks excelled in the Heian period, would have larger consequences for what it meant to "subjugate" (*chōbuku* 調伏) disease-demons.

## FRAGMENTS IN PRESCRIPTIVE TEXTS

Before proceeding, a word is in order about the textual sources and how we will use them in this chapter and the next. The primary text examined here is the base liturgy for the Jimon moxibustion rite, *Ritual of Shōmen Kongō for Eliminating Demons and Māras* (*Shōshiki Daikongō Yasha byaku kima hō* 青色大金剛藥叉辟鬼魔法; hereafter, *Ritual for Eliminating Demons*), which we will supplement with passages from *Essential Notes*, a text we will consider more fully in Chapter Five.[4] The full contents of these texts and editions used is

[4] All citations to the *Ritual for Eliminating Demons* are to the unpaginated manuscript edition held at Shinpukuji discussed in the Introduction. Because this analysis was conducted primarily remotely using photographs, reference to sheet number proves difficult. Thus, I provide transcriptions of the original and, where available, cite

discussed in Chapter One. Here, we perform a close reading of the methods and techniques prescribed the liturgy. Since prescriptive texts like these are written largely as instruction manuals for conducting the rite, however, the information they provide is admittedly limited and constrained. Those we examine here, much like other ritual texts composed in medieval Japan, provide neither justification nor rationale for the practices adopted, to say nothing of theoretical or explanatory accounts of efficacy. Moreover, these sources were written for and by monks immersed daily in ritual activities. In most cases, disciples would have received these sources together with non-textual, practical, hands-on knowledge for which we have no means of access.

Despite these issues, it is nevertheless possible to tease out all kinds of information from them. Creative approaches emerge when we appreciate how these texts were composed. Medieval ritual texts can be thought of as patchworks of fragments, thematically-organized collections of quotations from other texts, with or without attribution, and the teachings of the already initiated. Moreover, although the primary text examined in this chapter is a liturgy (*giki* 儀軌), parts of it, as well as *Essential Notes*, circulated between lineages in digested forms, becoming fragments for still other texts. Referred to variously as "cut paper" (*kirigami* 切紙), "oral transmissions" (*kuden* 口伝), and "notes" (*shōmotsu* 抄物), fragments concerning ritual practice (*jisō* 事相) were subject to projects of collection, editing, and textualization more thoroughly in the late Heian period, which is when copies of the Jimon liturgy begin to appear.[5]

---

corresponding passages from the Taishō canon edition (T. 1221). As the Taishō edition is also fragmentary and problematic, I availed myself of Yoshioka Yoshitoyo's transcription of the Kōyasan Daigaku edition; see Yoshioka, "Shōmen Kongō to kōshin shinkō," 238–241.

[5] On this process of textualization, see for instance Ōkubo, "Hongaku shisō: Tendai kyōgaku no Nihon teki tenkai." In tracing a genealogy of "chroniclers" (*kike* 記家) in which to place Kōshū and his *Keiran shūyōshū*, Tanaka (*'Keiranshūyōshū' no sekai*) views this moment as the second of four key stages in the medieval development of Tendai; Matsumoto Ikuyo ("Onjōji-bon 'Hōhiki' kuden to Kujō sekkanke: Tendai Jimon-ha ni okeru Kei-ryū no keisei") locates Keihan's *Hōhiki* in this history.

Given the dynamic intertextuality that characterized the production and movement of sacred works (*shōgyō* 聖教) in the medieval period, it is possible to treat fragments in several ways. First, citations can be read against the larger texts from which they are extracted. Doing so allows us to see the original context to which Jimon monks would have also had access. Second, fragments can be read alongside texts circulating at the same time for which there are obvious thematic and contextual links. This is important not only because additional texts might offer more information, but also because other genres operate according to different constraints, thus allowing for views on a practice or idea otherwise unlikely in prescriptive sources. Third, we can recognize that compilers had reasons for selecting particular fragments and collating them together in the framework of the rite. Larger patterns thus emerge when those fragments are considered together, and this is the approach adopted here.

## VIRTUAL FIRE: ENVISIONING EFFICACY

In ritual texts, prescriptions for ritual actions are often interwoven with descriptions of ritual efficacy. Our first fragment from the *Ritual for Eliminating Demons* contains the first set of instructions introduced in the liturgy, and our first nod toward transformation:

> 治此病時、誦前大身咒三七遍。以右手把白芥子、誦前身咒三七遍、散打其病人頭面、其鬼身碎裂、如火所焼失。或把楊柳枝、誦前身咒三七遍、打其病人。或以柘榴枝、誦前身咒三七遍、打其病人、如此三日其鬼退散、其病即愈。
>
> When treating this disease, recite the aforementioned Great Body Spell thirty-seven times. Take white mustard seeds in the right hand, chant the former Body Spell thirty-seven times, and scatter the seeds into the face of the diseased one. The demon body will break and split apart as if consumed by flames. Or, grab a willow branch, recite the former Body Spell thirty-seven times, and beat the diseased person. Or, grab a pomegranate branch, recite the former Body Spell thirty-seven times, and beat the diseased person. If continued in this manner for three days, the demon will depart and the disease will thereupon be cured.

The passage juxtaposes modified citations from two disparate sections of the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* (*Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集経). Understanding why will help us grasp how the compilers curated textual fragments to foreground certain practices and images. First, the prescription to flog the patient with a pomegranate branch toward the end of the passage derives from Fascicle Nine of that text, in a section devoted to the wrathful deity, Wisdom King Ucchuṣma. The original passage, a method for treating "all manner of diseases [caused by] demons and spirits," includes the line that "the disease will thereupon be cured." To this, the Jimon compilers inserted the note about the departure of the demon.

This inclusion of instructions from Ucchuṣma's fascicle in *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* in the Jimon liturgy is not surprising, given that this fascicle also contained the first known passages devoted to Shōmen Kongō, the eponymous *honzon* of the Jimon rite. This was probably a fascicle with which the Jimon compilers were well acquainted. But the other prescription in the passage, those pertaining to mustard seeds and willow branches, derive from a part of *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* unrelated to Shōmen, Fascicle Eleven, which pertains to the demoness Cāmuṇḍā (J. Shamonda 遮文荼). Unlike Shōmen, Cāmuṇḍā plays no part in the Jimon liturgy. Thus, the inclusion of this prescription might not relate just to the methods; it may have as much to do with the striking image to which those methods are attached: "the demon body will break apart as if consumed by flames."

Before we get there, it is worth appreciating the uses to which monks in early medieval Japan put the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*. Despite its longstanding scholarly designation as a "miscellaneous esoteric" (*zōmitsu* 雑密) text, the collection continued to serve through the late Heian and Kamakura periods as an extremely convenient resource for monks of all major lineages, especially those trying to cobble together a liturgical text or a ritual practice. Over its twelve fascicles, the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* describes a staggering number of ritual techniques: spells, methods for constructing altars, instructions for deploying spirit-mediums, and countless objects of certain potency, such as the seeds and branches prescribed in the passage above. These methods and materials were, moreover, framed as effective for realizing

the manifold worldly objectives one routinely encounters in early esoteric literature: purification, the erasure of karmic sins, healing, the expulsion of malicious forces, the conquering of enemies, and so on. While the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* organizes these techniques under sections devoted to individual deities, between whom links are fastened in the form of spells associated with the deity invoked, monks in medieval Japan often ignored the text's own cultic categories and extracted these techniques for use in other, sometimes altogether new, contexts. It is for this reason that methods culled from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* can be found scattered throughout medieval Japanese liturgical anthologies, ritual programs, and *kaji* texts.

Many methods and materials appearing in the veritable recipe book that was the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* were understood by monks and patients alike in Japan as potent. By the late Heian period, the set of plant-based objects prescribed in the Jimon liturgy—white mustard seeds and pomegranate and willow branches—had each acquired considerable notoriety as therapeutic materials. Willow, certain species of which were native to Japan while others were imported from the continent at an early date, was known in Japan for its ability to quell epidemics, a role based in the *Scripture on the Dhāraṇī for Summoning the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara to Eradicate Toxic Harms* (*Qing Guanshiyin pusa xiaofu duhai tuolunizhou jing* 請観世音菩薩消伏毒害陀羅尼呪経).[6] A *goma* rite based on the links developed therein between willow, pure water, and Avalokiteśvara was transmitted at first primarily by Taimitsu monks and was performed as early as the year 1156 against a deadly epidemic.[7] Pomegranate was

[6] Often referred to simply as the *Scripture for Summoning Guanyin* (*Qing Guanyin jing* 請観音経), the text describes how a community makes an offering of "a willow twig and pure water" (*yangzhi jingshui* 楊枝浄水) to Guanyin, who then bestows upon them the "*dhāraṇī* for eradicating toxic harms" (*xiaofu duhai tuoluoni* 消伏毒害陀羅尼), a spell that decisively quells a plague in the region. This association between willow as a healing agent and the iconography of Guanyin holding the branch and a water vase were explicitly connected; see e.g. *Qianguangyan guanzizai pu sa bimi fa jing* 千光眼観自在菩薩秘密法経, T. 1065: 122b27–29. On willow in China and early Japan more generally, see Kinoshita, *Man'yō shokubutsu shi*, 558–562. An introduction to the Buddhist history of willow can be found in Nakamura, *Bukkyō shokubutsu sansaku*, 229–234.

[7] This information is found in fascicle 84 of the *Asabashō* (*DNBZ* 58: 231–235). Hayami Tasuku notes that before it became the basis for a Taimitsu rite the scripture was recited (*dokkyō* 読経) at least twice to treat the illness of Emperor Horikawa, one of those times at the behest of Retired Emperor Shirakawa. Hayami speculates its ritualization took place first among Anō lineage monks, with key contributions by Kōgei 皇慶 (977–1049), whose

likewise associated with Buddhist healing in Japan, so much so that it appeared in prescripts delivered by Buddhist divinities in the dreams of courtiers.[8] Of the three, however, white mustard seeds were by far the most in vogue. These seeds had become the centerpiece of a simplified *goma* referred to as "roasting mustard seeds" (*keshi yaki* 芥子焼), a rite Shinmura Taku has speculated was perhaps the most commonly performed healing rite in the Heian period.[9] They were burning tons of these seeds.

The Jimon compilers thus had more than enough reason for making room in their ritual program for these materials, even if two of them were not included in the sections of the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* associated with Shōmen Kongō. However, assuming that the citations were not arbitrary, this utilitarian reason does not tell us why the compilers chose the particular textual passages they did. After all, willow and mustard seeds are prescribed with great frequency throughout the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, as many as 114 times in the case of the latter. The Jimon compilers had any number of passages to choose from.

Rather, what stands out in both modified quotations from the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* are the images that describe the effects of the prescribed ritual actions. All of them deal

---

oral transmissions were recorded by Chōen 長宴 (1016–1081). Today, healing continues to be associated with rites involving willow through the "Empowerment of the Willow" (*yanagi no okaji* 楊枝のお加持) conducted on 1/15 at Sanjūsangendō temple 三十三間堂 (Renge'ō'in 蓮華王院) in Kyoto; on these topics, see Hayami, *Kannon shinkō*, 303–323.

[8] This remarkable episode is detailed over weeks of entries in the *Shōyūki* 小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資 (954–1046). After Sanesuke suffers an accident at a temple still under construction and slashes his face, he has weeks of rites performed at Kiyomizudera, Gion, Rokkakudō, and the hall at which the incident occurred. Sanesuke eventually reports, "At dawn, I had a dream-vision of longevity; I know this is the efficacious virtue of the offering rite of Sonjōō." This is followed by a second remarkable dream, about which Sanesuke writes, "Now that I think of it, this is a message from Yakushi Nyorai, to whom I've been entrusting my faith. My heart is filled with a gratitude for which I know no comparison." The dreams did more than verify ritual success, for they also came with a prescription. Court physician Tanba no Tadaaki had appeared in his dream and endorsed the following two medical ointments: a liquid made from peach seeds (*tōkakujū* 桃核汁) and roasted pomegranate bark 焼石榴皮. However, when Sanesuke checked the dream prescript with the actual Tadaaki, however, he's discouraged from using the pomengranate, saying, "Although we might see pomegranate within the [teachings of the] Buddha-dharma, it should not be used on the scar." Emboldened by his dream, however, Sanesuke would go on to solicit a second opinion from another physician and eventually try his luck with the pomengranate bark. One major link between pomegranate and Buddhist teachings was through Kishimojin 鬼子母神, who was said to be fond of pomegranate (see *Tōzan ōrai* 東山往来; *ZGR* no. 359, 13.2: 1125).

[9] See Shinmura, *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū*, 246–248.

with demons, which as we know from the previous chapter, was how the Jimon compilers understood corpse-vector disease. Hence, in the final line, it was the Jimon monks who added the demons to the quote: "the demon will depart and the disease will thereupon be cured." The compilers were deliberately lining their prescriptive discourse with descriptions about effects; just as likely, then, that a focus on effects informed their citational practice. This allows us to make sense of the inclusion of the other passage: When mustard seeds are scattered in the patient's face, the text reads, "the demon body will break and split apart as if consumed by flames." Prescriptive discourse is accompanied by a description of what mustard seeds concretely *do*. And that doing—the immediate therapeutic effects—takes the form of a metaphor articulating destruction by flames.

The *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* in question is shot through with this trope. "This *dhāraṇī* method," one commonly encountered passage reads, "is like the sun shining on frost, like fire that burns all things."[10] The obliteration of karmic sins is described similarly, this time mentioning the material consumed for an even crisper image: "If [the adept] makes offerings to the buddhas and recites daily, the erasure of karmic crimes will be as fire burning up grass and trees."[11] Paired with Buddhist hyperbole, such images could be scaled-up to heighten the effect: "If there is a person who sees, hears, and studies this rite and conducts it according to the method, the four grave [offenses] and the five contrary [acts] as well as the sins as numerous as grains of sand in the Ganges will be instantly annihilated, like a ferocious fire that burns up all grasses and trees."[12] That a reader encountering these passages in the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* would have understood these images in terms of efficacy is certain from the occasional explicit

[10] T. 901: 795a08–09. 是陀羅尼法。如日照霜。如火燒衆物。

[11] T. 901: 812a29–b04. 若日日供養誦明兼念佛功德。如須彌之高大海之深。若空念佛不兼誦☆明功德。如香山之小。如阿耨達池之細。不可挍量。若日日供養諸佛誦明。滅罪如火燒草木。罪滅亦爾。This passage is cited in fascicle 16 of the *Gyōrinshō* in a section on the efficacious virtues (*kunō* 功能) of the "Sutra for Benevolent Kings Rite" (*nin'ō gyō hō* 仁王经法), attesting to the use of *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* to elucidate such powers (T. 2409: 137e25–138a04).

[12] T. 901: 823a24–26. 若人見聞及學此法如法行者。四重五逆及恒沙罪一時消滅。猶如猛火燒諸草木。

use of a term with that meaning in such passages: "Afterwards, the various techniques [described previously] will all obtain efficacious results (Ch. *xiaoyan* 効驗). For treating illness, [these techniques work as] ferocious flames scorching dry grass; their power is like pouring hot water over snow."[13]

Looking to other early esoteric texts demonstrates this was a pervasive convention. Indeed, on the rare occasions when esoteric ritual texts break from the prescriptive mode and allude to anything we might want to call an effect, a by-product, a sign of potency, such passages often rely on metaphors of or allusions to fire and its violent but transformative virtues. Among incantatory treatments for demonic possession mentioned in the *Sutra on the Amoghapāśa Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara* (*Bukong juansuo tuoluoni zizai wang zhou zhing* 不空羂索陀羅尼自在王呪): "Once you finish reciting this spell, the body of the spellcast patient will [feel as] fire burning, and [the demon will be] made to say, 'I will leave and never come back."[14] This example is different from those above because it is suggested that the patient might actually feel the heat of the transformation. This burning is not a symptom of the ailment but a sign through which both patient and healer might confirm the therapy is indeed working as expected. In another example quite close to that of the Jimon liturgy, the *Scripture of the Peacock King's Spell* (*Mahāmayūrī vidyarājñī sūtra*; Ch. *Kongquewang zhou jing* 孔雀王咒經, T. 984), which predates the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* by over a century, we find the following passage: "When the mustard seeds are consumed within the fire, the body of the evil demon will light up in flames. Draw the demon image and whip it with a pomegranate branch; blood will spill from the evil demon's mouth."[15] The juxtaposition of these two passages, which

[13] T. 901: 848a17–19. 從此以後種種用之皆得効驗。若欲療病。猶如猛火燒於乾草。若湯沃雪有如是力。

[14] T. 1097: 427a23–24. 誦此呪已。所呪病人身如火熱作如是言。我今即去永不復來。

[15] T. 984: 459a01–02. 芥子燒火中、惡鬼即身上火然。畫作鬼像、石留枝鞭之、惡鬼口中血流。The practices based on this scripture, or perhaps the related *Fomu Dakongque mingwang jing* 佛母大孔雀明王經 (T. 982), were incorporated into the *Ritual for Eliminating Demons.* For instance, we find this passage in the liturgy: "The adept must always uphold the root mudra and mantra of the Peacock Wisdom King in order to protect the person and eliminate all harms caused by demon-gods [interlinear note:] (it eradicates all evil dreams, harmful

include one prescription and one image each, brings into stark relief the violence that fire enables the texts to express.

The literature contains too many examples to exhaustively survey here, but one key point to bear in mind is the parallel between these prevalent images and the large number of methods that involve burning material objects in combination with additional ritual acts like chanting spells or forming mudras. The *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* is indeed filled with methods calling for the burning of mustard and sesame seeds and aromatics like *gum guggul*, aloeswood, sandalwood, and fragrant tree resins. Stock phrases used frequently throughout the work instruct the ritualist to perform "one spell, one burn" (Ch. *yi zhou yi shao* 一呪一燒), "for each burn recite the spell," (*geshao songzho* 各燒誦呪), or "one spell, one toss into the fire to burn [it]" 一呪一投於火中. The parallels between metaphor and technique have been noted by scholars. Commenting on the *Scripture of the Peacock King's Spell* passage above, Charles D. Orzech notes, "What is clear is that the ritual relies on an analogy with incineration. Fire burns and consumes, and the acrid burning of mustard seed, by analogy, burns and consumes the bodies of demons."[16]

But Orzech also rightly observes the lack of details here, a feature which parallels the relatively simple structural elements in this text as compared with later ones. Indeed, the analogy by fire we see here, in the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra,* and reproduced in the Jimon liturgy is intriguing, but it is quite elementary, dare we say primitive. Far indeed are such descriptions from a theoretical or systematic account of the effects these rites and methods are presumed to have. What's more, although we have been able to detect some variety among these passages, we have to admit that the images on display throughout are almost completely conventional and formalized, as the formula "one spell, one burn" makes abundantly clear.

---

dreams, and so on)." 行者常以孔雀明王根本印真言護持其人、辟除一切鬼障難消滅惡夢雜夢等 (T. 1221: 100b25–27)

[16] Orzech, "Ritual Subjects: *Homa* in Chinese Translations and Manuals from the Sixth through Eighth Centuries," 268–69.

Fire appears so frequently in this capacity as to qualify as little more than the background noise of ritual literature.

That these images have drawn so little attention from scholars is in that sense not surprising. By contrast, one key aim of this chapter is to show that images pertaining to efficacy do matter, which is to say can be made to—or literally into—matter, and this was true in the case of the unprecedented focus on moxibustion in the Jimon rite. Fire metaphors and tropes, regardless of how conventional they were, could have consequences for practices and the healing imagination. The pervasive circulation of these images and their recopying by monks in early medieval Japan already tells us something. These images and metaphors, because of their commonality, would have become a way, apparently one of the few, by which esoteric ritual texts implictly and subtly encouraged readers to picture efficacy.

## GLEANINGS FROM THE FIRE REALM

This is especially true when the images circulate widely and when they figure directly in dramatizations of the healing process. We see this with ideas surrounding a technique prescribed throughout the moxibusution liturgy called the "Fire Realm Spell" (*kakai shingon* 火界呪), also known as the "Fire Realm Mantra" (*kakai shingon* 火界真言). Used to invoke the "Venerable Mudō" (Shō Mudō 聖無動), the rite's six-eyed variation of the Wisdom King Fudō (Fudō Myōō 不動明王), the spell occupies a special place in the performance of the rite, appearing in the liturgical text on four occasions. It's prescribed, for instance, in the context of this important procedure: "Next, make images of the three demons, throw them into the oil of a bronze vessel, and recite the Fire Realm Mantra of the Venerable Mudō one hundred and eight times while boiling the three demon images."[17] A prescription elsewhere in the liturgy for the use of mudras instructs the ritualist to chant the spell constantly, suggesting that the spell

[17] 次造三鬼像、入銅鐃器油中、誦聖無動火界真言一百八反、煮三鬼像。(T. 1221: 100c29–101a02)

will be heard not only during the aforementioned procedure but in fact will join the rite's ongoing audible ambience. Moreover, toward the end of *Essential Notes*, where "Fudō" is included in a list of deities whose spells are to be recited during the practice, we find to the lower right in small writing the character for "fire." The note serves to distinguish the Fudō spell selected by the Jimon compilers for this rite in contrast to other Fudō spells widely used in the early medieval period, most importantly perhaps the "Spell of Compassionate Salvation" (*jikuju* 慈救呪) and the "One-Character Spell" (*ichiji ju* 一字呪).[18] Finally, that the Jimon compilers understood the Fire Realm mantra as a distinctive feature of the rite can be seen in another note in *Essential Notes* indicating that the three effigies named in the above procedure are to be used in the same manner as in the "Six-Character Rite" (*rokujihō* 六字法) with one key exception: "the Fudō Fire Realm Spell should replace the Destruction Spell" (*saihaju* 催破呪).[19]

While the importance of the spell was obviously clear to the monks who compiled and transmitted this ritual, the texts themselves provide only the above instructions. Again, we are faced with certain limitations of our prescriptive sources. However, it is important to remember that by the time the moxibustion ritual appeared, the Fire Realm spell had already acquired quite the reputation as a powerful technique, both transformative and therapeutic. Hence, in citing this spell, the Jimon compilers inevitably draw upon a broader set of meanings and images, aspects of which can be discerned by momentarily putting our ritual texts to the side and turning instead to other coeval sources.

One place where the Fire Realm spell figures in important and even astonishing ways are *setsuwa* tales. Although part of the broader textual network informed by ritual production and practice in medieval Japan, by nature of their narrativity, tales express in more dramatic

[18] In his *Hirasan kojin reitaku*, Keisei asks the possessing *tengu* which of Fudō's three spells is most fear-inspiring, to which the *tengu* replies the "Spell of Compassionate Salvation" (*SNKBT* 40: 468; the passage is read as a statement on the nature of *tengu* in Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls: Evil and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, 45–46).

[19] 焼三類形法又准六字法、但以不動火界呪可為催破呪也。(DKNS p. 15.; not included in T. 2509)

fashion what many ritual texts are already essentially claiming about the spell.[20] They make visible therapeutic and transformative power in ways otherwise foreclosed by the prescriptive mode of ritual sources. Moreover, they allow access to what was essentially a reservoir of images shared not only between monks of all stripes but also courtiers and a larger swath of lay people.

An example illustrating the powers of the Fire Realm spell appears in *A Collection of Tales from Uji* (*Uji shūi monogatari* 宇治拾遺物語). The story in question is representative of a category of tales known as "competitions of powers" (*gen kurabe* 験競べ), *gen* being the term we take here as commonly expressing "efficacy."[21] Found in abundance throughout all major *setsuwa* collections, these stories stage contests between monks who deploy thaumaturgical skills against each other. Accordingly, these stories depict monks demonstrating—or failing to demonstrate—their potencies through concrete displays easily imagined by readers (and listeners).[22] In these depictions efficacy becomes lucid.

Our first story pertains to a monk with excessive confidence in his skills. This includes the ability to move objects with his mind, which he uses to collect water from a nearby river

[20] Abe Yasurō encourages us to view *setsuwa*, and more specifically tales or collections devoted to elucidating the efficacy of certain practices or deities referred to as *genki* 験記, as one field of larger textual networks in medieval Japan centered upon scriptural texts and especially rituals. Then we have liturgies and oral transmissions, iconographic sources, and diaries (*nikki* 日記), which document the performance of rituals, not to mention all of the objects, entities, and spaces which themselves can be understood as "texts" in their own right. This idea is developed in several studies, for instance, Abe, "Girei to shūkyō tekusuto: chūsei mikkyō shōgyō no kennō wo megurite," and more extensively in *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*.

[21] A term appearing in *setsuwa*, *gen kurabe* has been adopted as a scholarly designation. We also find it in documentary sources, as in the Kanji 1 (1092).11.17 entry in the diary of Fujiwara no Moromichi (1062–1099), *Go-Nijō Moromichi-ki* 後二条師通記, describing a bout between Enryakuji abbot Ryōshin 良真 (1022–1096) and Hosshōji abbot Ninkaku 仁覚 (1045–1102), in other words, a competition between Sanmon and Jimon priests. These competitions later became a relatively formalized feature of *shugendō*, one important type of which was the "fire walk" (*hiwatari* 火渡り), which if successfully performed "was considered to be a guarantee of abilities to cure illnesses in a *kitō* (exorcism)" (Bonnefoy, ed., *Asian Mythologies*, 283). Carmen Blacker locates these tales as the backdrop for more contemporary notions of ascesis and the powers obtained thereby; see Blacker, *Catalpa Bow*, 208–224

[22] *Setsuwa* were entangled with performance in complex ways, but it is clear they were often employed for sermonizing (*sekkyō* 説教, *seppō* 説法) and preaching (*shōdō* 唱導); on these issues, see e.g. Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*, 62–96. The discussion in this chapter on *setsuwa* also leans on Eubank's project of reading the tale as performative writing that solicits "emotional and physiological responses from its audiences." While Eubanks is concerned with the "twinned tropes of text and flesh," here we trace a metaphysics of transformation that likewise engaged readers and listeners at the level of the senses (99).

without leaving his hut.[23] The monk is taken by surprise, then, when he sees a vase not under his control soaring over his head. Intrigued, he trails the flying vase, which leads him to a modest hut further up in the mountains. Peering in, he sees an older monk fast asleep, and succumbs to the temptation to compare powers:

> Thinking to test this *hijiri*, the monk approached silently and performed empowerment using the Fire Realm spell. Instantly a blaze of fire arose, igniting the hut. Still sleeping, the *hijiri* took hold of his *sanjō* staff, soaked it in fragrant water, and then splashed [the water] in the four directions. No sooner had the fire of the hut extinguish did the monk's own robes catch fire, and they just burned and burned. The lower *hijiri* let out a great yell, upon which the higher *hijiri* opened his eyes, grasped his sanjō, and splashed [the water] onto the lower *hijiri*'s head, extinguishing the flame.[24]

As is common with *setsuwa*, the tale wraps up with a lesson about the perils of arrogance, a criticism to which monks were often subject. But perhaps more than the moral, we can imagine that readers would have been spellbound by the tale's fireworks. There are several layers to this. The power play between the two *hijiri* unfolds in a bout that pivots on the Fire Realm spell. The lesser *hijiri*'s mischievous deployment of Fudō's spell to ignite the higher *hijiri*'s hut is turned against him and, set ablaze himself, he's left at the mercy of a sleeping but more powerful opponent. We are to know that in the world depicted by the tale, potent monks who invoke Fudō's spell generate real flames as if from thin air. This recalls Gorai Shigeru's 五来重 (1908–1993) dubious but nonetheless intriguing suggestion that *hijiri* were associated with the ability to harnass fire, thus the possible etymological roots for their title in

---

[23] Tale 173: "On the *Hijiri* of Kiyotaka River," *SNKBT* 42: 342–344.

[24] In an earlier but narratively less satisfying version in the *Konjaku monogatari shū*, the hut does not catch fire; thus, the fragrant water does not extinguish fire but is instead is used by the superior monk to ignite the lower monk's robes. The author of this version may have envisioned an oil-based "fragrant water" (*kōsui* 香水). Perhaps the compiler of the newer version in *Collected Tales of Uji* corrected this based on the understanding of "fragrant water" as an inflammable substance of water infused with aromatics. For the *Konjaku* version, see *SNKBT* 36: 300–301; for an English translation see *Konjaku monogatari shū* [2], Dykstra 1998: 222–224. In her translation, Dykstra renders *kakai no shu* as "Incantation of Fire" and *kaji* generically as "prayed" rather than "empowerment," thus missing the specific relationship between the two.

the homophonous *hishiri* 火治り, meaning "to control fire."[25] That ability is here imagined to be mediated by Fudō's spell. In another pass, these pyrotechnic twists might be read for their political overtones. The competition concludes with a sort of reconciliation between the two monks, but the story inevitably alludes to awful events of recent and indeed still on-going history in the way of the very real skirmishes between rival monastic factions. Readers knew those bouts, too, ended all too frequently with arson and the destruction of not just huts but entire monastic complexes. Finally, a medieval reader familiar with esoteric rites may have noticed the interplay between fire and water that Holly Grether has argued is a persistent feature of the *homa* ritual structure in both Hindu and Buddhist forms. As Grether shows, in both internal and external forms of the *homa* rite, water is used before and after the use of fire during which the ritualist identifies with the deity. In a similar way, water elements (water vases and splashing with the *sanjō*) frame the invocation of Fudō and the generation of fire in this story.[26]

Most importantly for our purposes, however, fire linked to the spell in these ways serves to give concrete shape to efficacy. In order that the reader might compare powers, the contest between these *hijiri* necessarily entails a sequence of exhibitions, which begin in a rather benign way with flying water vases and climax with spell-wrought fires. It is the tale's materialist language, especially vivid in the case of fire, that makes the comparison of efficacy meaningful and memorable. Of course, this demonstrative logic is an important engine driving the narratives of all tales framed by the conceit of "competition of powers," and the point thus might not seem to warrant special mention. But the extent to which constructions of efficacy rely on easy-to-picture demonstrations, and in particular the ways images of fire contribute to those articulations, will become even clearer momentarily.

---

[25] Gorai, "Seika, hijiri to shūkyō minzoku"; see also Gorai, "Bukkyō to minzoku," 32–35.

[26] Grether, "The Ritual Interplay of Fire and Water in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras," 47–66.

Turning then to a second example, this time a tale from the *Tales of Times Now Past* (*Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集), the reader is introduced to a *tengu* named Chira Yōju who has traveled from China expressely to challenge the many outstanding "monks who cultivate powers" (*shugen no sō* 修験ノ僧) he has heard live and practice in Japan.[27] Chira Yōju explains to a local Japanese *tengu* that Chinese monks, though greatly skilled, succumb all too easily to his superior abilities, leaving him desiring a greater challenge to truly "try out his strength for once" (*ichido chikara-kurabe semu* 一度力競セム). As with the previous example, this story is framed in terms of competition.

Chira Yōju's local guide instructs him to assume the guise of an elderly monk and hide until a suitable opponent appears. Chira Yōju does as he's told, but when the first opportunity presents itself, he flees headlong back into the thicket. When the local *tengu* asks him why, he questions back,

> "Who was that monk who passed by here?"
> "That was the illustrious *genja* named Precept Master Yokei, coming from Senju'in Hall on the mountain [i.e. Mount Hiei] and on his descent to the court to perform august rites. Being an eminent monk, I figured you'd embarrass him, so it's too bad you let him go on," replied the Japanese *tengu*.
> "That's just right!" the Chinese *tengu* replied. "I was pleased, thinking that with such an eminent appearance, this would be my chance. But as I looked over to make my move, I could no longer see the monk's form but only a blaze of flames burning high above the palaquin. If I got closer I'd only burn up, so I thought I'll let this one pass and took to hiding."

Once again, we have a master conjuring flames that, to the *tengu* anyway, are quite real. The body of the master passing in the palaquin is completely immersed in those flames, implying an indestructible body. More importantly, the tale hints that the master has become identical to the deity he is invoking from within the palaquin. Recounting the event later in the tale, Chira Yōju says, "At first was the Precept Master Yokei, who passed by filling himself

[27] Tale 20:2, *SNKBT* 36: 221–226; for an English translation, see *Konjaku monogatari shū* [2], Dykstra 1998: 160–164. The story is analyzed in Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls,* 22.

with the Fire Realm spell, and I saw a great fire blazing over the palaquin, so I thought what would I do? Because I'd only be burned to death, I retreated." In this way, by reciting the Fire Realm spell, the master has apparently fused with Fudō, giving him the mandorla of flames for which the latter is famous.

But aside from the ontological identification that hints at the source of the master's power, in thinking about efficacy, it is equally important we appreciate how the tale uses material language to solicit the senses of readers. For example, in the passage above, the master's convergence with the powers he wields is expressed through parallel prose that invokes sight: At first, viewing from the bush, Chira Yōju is "able to see" (*mietsuru*) the eminent "appearance" (*mono no tei* 者ノ体) of the monk. This appearance immediately marks his first opponent's test-worthiness. But when the *tengu* ventures an approach, he is surprised to utterly lose sight (*miezushite*) of the "monk's physical form" (*sō no kata* 僧ノ形). What the *tengu* discovers at closer range is that the master's appearance and physical form have been displaced by an overwhelming incandescence, a blinding spectacle that signals the efficacy the master embodies. The strange effect described here offers something like a sliding ontological scale in visual and spatial terms: to see either the master or his power is framed as a matter of proximity. The drama is heightened in that shift.

The idea that power is not merely latent but rather is in one way or another to be seen is also emphasized in how the tale pairs the Fire Realm spell in the second quoted passage with the verb "to fill" (*mite* 満テ). The modern annotators of the tale note, the verb "to fill" seems out of place in this context; thus, they propose this is a mistake for *ju* 誦, "to recite." Besides the fact that the conjugation of the verb in the original would have to be changed to support their alternative reading, however, we might also want to take the *tengu* at his word: Chira Yōju describes being overtaken and repelled by a sensory experience occasioned by the master's power. The sense that the Fire Realm spell "fills out" a space of some kind is already suggested by the character for "realm" (*kai* 界) in the spell's name. The authors of the tale apparently took this image and ran with it. It was perhaps not uncommon to visualize power in spatial

terms like this. For instance, we can recall the hagiography of the Shingon monk Kakuban 覚鑁 (1095–1143). Just as he is said to have used the "Water Contemplation" to fill up a room with water, so too is Kakuban said to have used the "Fire Generating Samādhi" to fill a room with fire; in both cases, it is said that neither water nor fire leaked out from the folding screens enclosing the room he performed them in.[28]

In our examination of the Fire Realm spell in tale literature thus far, we've linked the efficacy of transformative practices with material and sensory-focused language. Let us now examine a final example in which these dynamics are further linked with therapeutic power specifically. This third story, likewise found in *Tales of Times Now Past*, could not have a more appropriate title for what we are suggesting: "How an Invisible Man Again Became Visible by the Assistance of the Rokkakudō Temple Kannon."[29] But this will take some parsing. This is a multifaceted story which we will only summarize here.

The tale begins by describing how a warrior and fervent worshipper of the Rokkakudō Kannon is rendered invisible after being spit on by a gang of demons he encounters in the night. Returning home, the man realizes that his family no longer sees him, and so he returns to Rokkakudō for divine assistance. At the temple, he encounters a mysterious herdboy, who apparently is able to see him. The herdboy urges the man to enter an impossibly narrow crevice between doors inside the temple, whereupon the man finds himself in a room in a mansion. At the center of this room a young lady lies in a sick bed accompanied by attendants. Invisible to everyone in this mansion as well, the man is encouraged by the herdboy to strike the ailing lady's body with a mallet, which when he does appears to increase the lady's agony. The man, we are to understand, is being instructed to act exactly as a disease-causing demon might, using

[28] See the *Daidenpō'in Hongan Shōnin goden* 大伝法院本願聖人御伝 (*ZGR* no. 215, 8A: 763–764). The accounts emphasize the extent of Kakuban's mastery is such he allows neither flame nor water to leak out from the folding screens in which he is enclosed.

[29] Tale 16:32, *SNKBT* 35: 554–557; for English translations, see Ury 1979: 110-113 and Dykstra 1998: 438–440.

a mallet to cause harm from the unseen realm. The reader soon learns this is a brilliant tactic on the part of the mysterious herdboy, for it puts the invisible man directly in the line of fire:

> When the priest [who had come to heal the lady] read the Fire Realm spell of Fudō and performed empowerment over the patient, the [still invisible] man's robes caught fire. They burned and burned, and the man screamed out. Then he became truly visible again. At that time, all in the household, from the parents of the lady to the ladies-in-waiting, looked at this man of plebian appearance standing by the bedside of the sick one. Thinking it strange, they captured the man and took him away, asking, "What's going on?" The man told his story from the beginning, and all who listened thought it incredible.
> But when the man became completely visible the patient was totally cured. The joy of the household knew no bounds. Then the *genja* said, "This man hasn't done anything worthy of punishment. He has received the benefits of the Rokkakudō Kannon, so he ought to be let go." They let him free. [...]
> Thereafter neither the lady nor the man had illnesss in the body. This is the miraculous efficacy of the Fire Realm spell. Such is one among the rare marvels of Kannon's benefits, and so the story is passed down.

In terms of structure, the tale's core dilemma—the man's invisibility, established at the start of the tale—is resolved at the same instant as its second one—the lady's illness, introduced later in the narrative. What powers facilitated the resolution of these two problems, both of which initally seemed hopeless? We know from the tale's title and the concluding statement above that, in one reading, efficacy is ultimately ascribed to the Kannon of Rokkakudō temple. This is hardly surprising given the purpose of tales like this, which praise the miraculous powers of deities, among whom Kannon was foremost. But we also find a second attribution that is equally explicit. In that attribution, the tale links the transformative power to the Fire Realm spell used by the eminent priest. The tale thus leaves open space for more than one ascription, multiple viewpoints on efficacy. But what's important for us again is how the tale stages efficacy by linking the Fire Realm spell to shifts of perception involving fire.

At the tale's denounement, the man is brought back into the visible world and the lady cured of her illness. A narrative device that heightens the drama of the tale's resolution, this

doubling accents what we are beginning to see was a pervasive dynamic in how efficacy was imagined to take place. By combining the very instant of cure with a fiery burst that makes an invisible man appear—a spectacle the reader shares with those in the mansion—both effects are brought into sharper relief. To make visible is to cure, the narrative appears to be suggesting, and to cure is to make visible. Efficacy, in other words, entails making seen what is ordinarily or temporarily beyond perception. As we will see, this way of envisioning efficacy likely had ramifications for the practices ritualists selected to facilitate those very transformations.

## HEALING TALES & THE JIMON LINEAGE

Before returning to the moxibustion liturgy, we need to take a short detour in order to contextually strengthen the suggestion pursued here. To show that the transformative dynamics articulated in tale literature would have informed the ways that the Jimon compilers of the moxibustion liturgy thought about and attempted to enact efficacy, we need to explicate more clearly the relationship between the Jimon community and the kind of tales we have just explored. Unlike the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* which is directly cited in the liturgy, we cannot definitively state that the known compilers of this liturgy encountered the exact tales we have examined. However, there is sufficient reason to entertain the possibility. It is, moreover, certain that similar stories were not only available to them but also taken directly as sources of inspiration.

First, the tale about the *tengu* Chira Yōju in particular would have been of special interest to the Onjōji community since the master who makes a cameo in connection with the Fire Realm spell was Yokei 余慶 (919–991). Appointed abbot of Onjōji in 979, Yokei is famous for leading the Jimon faction during the momentous split from the Sanmon branch. The major migration of Jimon monks to Daiunji 大雲寺, various *bessho*, and of course Onjōji occurred just three years after his death and under his closest disciple, Mokuzan 穆算 (934–998). This history was undoubtedly known to the tale's narrator, since the two other monks

Chira Yōju fails to challenge later in the story are Jinzen 尋禅 (943–990) and Ryōgen 良源 (912–985), long known as the "archrivals" of Yokei and the Jimon community. After Yokei was appointed by court as abbot of Hosshōji 法勝寺, rumors flew that Sanmon monks under Ryōgen were "planning to burn some of the major buildings controlled by the monks of Enchin's faction, including the library that contained the texts that Enchin brought at the Senjuin," the hall Yokei has just departed in the tale.[30] In light of this ever-looming threat of arson, which by the time the tale was composed around the twelfth century had become much more than rumor or fantasy, adds historical immediacy to the tale's depiction of Yokei using the Fire Realm mantra as a force-field to surround and protect his palanquin; perhaps against more than *tengu* tomfoolery.[31]

Yet the tale evades the underlying polemics.[32] The focus instead is directed towards the power of these Japanese masters, whom the tale refers to as "living buddhas" (*ikibotoke* 生仏). The idea of a "living buddha" is premised on the historical Buddha, who is the absent-presence *par excellence*—absent but still efficacious in the world through proxies. The masters are defined as such because they themselves manifest, which is to say make visible, the efficacy of buddhas in this world. Yokei's career proves the appellation to be more than hagiographic embellishment. Yokei frequently performed Fudō rites at court and for emperors, and to much success, apparently. So too did his "divine feet" (*shinsoku* 神足), as his disciples were known, who treated the illnesses of Fujiwara no Michinaga, Shōshi, and others, further increasing the traction of the Jimon faction in mid-Heian period court society. Two other notable Jimon

[30] Groner, *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*, 221.

[31] Ryōgen was known for accomplishing feats similar to Yokei. In a section entitled "On the Efficacy of Prayers" (Inoru shirushi 祈る験) in *A Mirror of the Present* (*Ima kagami* 今鏡), Ryōgen is said to have become like Fudō during a "roasting mustard seeds" rite, which may have been part of his treatment for En'yū'in 円融院 (959–991), conveyed in other accounts; see Shinmura, *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū*, 247.

[32] Other tales explicitly focus on these events. For instance, a series of three such tales appear together in *Kojidan*; see *SNKBT* 41: 483–487. One tale that surely discussed the Yokei-Ryōgen feud more directly but is no longer extant is Tale 20:8 in the *Konjaku monogatari shū*: "How High Abbot Ryōgen Became a Spirit, Went to Kannon'in, and Subjugated High Abbot Yokei" 良源僧正霊と成りて観音院に来たり余慶僧正を伏する語.

monks, Zōyo 增誉 (d. 1116) and Ryūmyō 隆明 (d. 1104), are likewise called "living buddhas" in *A Collection of Tales from Uji*.[33]

Stories about living buddhas, who were key patriarchs and figures in the Jimon school, would have been treasured by later generations initiated into lineages at Onjōji. Indeed, a major record for the school known as the *Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記 contains accounts that blur biographical and hagiographical lines. In one example, the infamous wandering ascetic Kūya 空也 (903–972) requests Yokei's "spell treatment" (*juji* 呪治) for an ailing arm and receives a kind of chiropractic technique that cures him, an event which contemporaries described as "the medicine of the Wisdom King [used for] the illness of Mida," identifying Yokei with Fudō and Kūya with Amida.[34] Recounted very much in the style of *setsuwa*, these stories show the extent to which the Jimon tradition valued the wondrous healing potencies of their masters. It is far from unreasonable to assume that Jimon monks at the time of the moxibustion liturgy were also exposed to and drawn to these stories about the living buddhas and human deities of their tradition.

Just the same, stories about Fudō's healing powers and the Fire Realm spell would have sparked the interest of Jimon monks, including the compilers of the moxibustion rite. For instance, in the Introduction we noted Keisei's direct involvement in the creation of *setsuwa* and other narratives, evident from his *A Companion in Solitude* (*Kankyo no tomo* 閑居友) and *Oracles from the Old Man of Mt. Hira* (*Hirasan kojin reitaku* 比良山古人霊託). These more original writings surely built out of his experience reading and transcribing related tales, among which he appears to have been especially fond of *ōjōden* 往生伝, those biographies of eminent

---

[33] Tale 78.1, *SNKBT* 42: 144–145.

[34] That is, they are equated with the deities central to their cultic practices. For the story, see *DNBZ* 86: 67. The story is older, found for example in *A Collection of Tales from Uji* (Tale 142, *SNKBT* 42: 297–298), from which the *Onjōji denki* cites. The story after this describes how Yokei used the spell of Fudō and his superior "dharmic power" (*hōriki* 法力) to take one-half of a jeweled armrest 玉几 belonging to a seven-hundred year-old "monk" named Ashi 阿師, an immortal and clearly the the landlord deity (*jinushi* 地主) of Nyoisan 如意山. Taking only half of the armrest, Yokei is kind enough to the other half of ownership of Nyoisan. These stories are replicated in the later *Jimon denki horoku* 寺門伝記補録.

monks and nuns who are said to have achieved rebirth in the pure land. The first and longest story in the second fascicle of Keisei's copy of the *A Gleaning of Tales of Rebirth* (*Shūi ōjōden* 拾遺往生伝) is the oldest version of the biography Jōzō 浄蔵, a monk said to be fully versed in Taimitsu rites.[35] Among Jōzō's achievements relevant to our discussion is his use of a Fudō rite to treat a three-years-going lower back ailment of Daigo Naishinnō's 醍醐内親王. In another event, Jōzō is said to have used the Fire Realm spell to revive Koretada Shinnō 是忠親王 four days after his death.[36] In sum, there is more than enough room to speculate that Jimon monks directly involved with the ritual were consuming these stories involving healing through the Fire Realm spell, which were circulating well before the earliest version of the moxibustion liturgy was composed. By citing the spell, they were drawing on that imaginary.

## GENERATING FIRE, GENERATING SIGNS

Other passages in the Jimon liturgy indicate performers of the rite were to actively "see" effects similar to those associated with the Fire Realm spell. However, while defined by the same demonstrative logic, those visions were simultaneously more particular and generalizable. To see this ourselves, let's read another passage in the liturgy:

---

[35] The two events that follow are found in *NST* 7: 320–321. Although abbreviated in the text, one geographic detail that may have piqued Keisei's interest was Jōzō's time as a youth at Matsunoo Shrine 松尾社. The shrine was (and still is) located in the western part of the capital (present-day Ukyō Ward, Kyoto), the same region in which Keisei transcribed *A Gleaning of Tales of Rebirth* at his temple, Hokkesanji.

[36] An analysis of Jōzō biographies with a focus on the earliest versions is Hirabayashi Moritoku 1981: 279–306. We should also note two other tales involving Jōzō found in the *Records of Immortals in this Realm* (*Honchō shinsen den* 本朝神仙伝; *NST* 7: 256–275). Tale 20 (p. 270) describes how Jōzō, lost on a climb through Mt. Ōmine, runs into a meditation monk (*zensō* 禅僧) taking a nap and, thinking the monk might be a demon, performs spells and empowerment. The monk awakens, takes hold of his staff, dips it in fragrant water, and splashes it around, whereupon Jōzō's straw raincoat catches fire. This is perhaps the predecessor to the tale examined above concerning the two *hijiri*, and here Jōzō is the lesser, making this one of several stories in which this otherwise extremely talented practitioner learns a lesson by failure. In the following Tale 21 (pp. 270–271), Jōzō hides under a tree during a storm and finds himself unable to ignite a fire, leaving him capable of simply contemplating his primary object of worship (*honzon*). Thereupon, a man appears in the tree above him and recites a spell some thirty times, whereupon the firewood catches fire. We can read the *honzon* here as referencing Fudō and the spell the Fire Realm.

入油器中、住大勇猛心、誦不動火界咒一百八遍、応敗煮三鬼像則入不動尊火生三摩地、常住此観

> Tossing [the demon images] into the fire, abide in the mind of fierce courage and chant the Fire Realm spell of Fudō one-hundred and eight times. When you boil the three demon images, you must enter the Fire Generating Samādhi of the Venerable Fudō Worthy. Always abide in this contemplation.

In these instructions for burning effigies, the Fire Realm spell is paired with another term invoking fire, namely the "Fire Generating Samādhi." The spell is to be chanted when the ritualist tosses the demon images into the fire, and the *samādhi* is to be entered when destroying the images. More commonly rendered *kashō zanmai* 火生三昧 in medieval Japanese sources, the Fire Generating Samādhi is similar to the Fire Realm spell in being intricately linked to Fudō in esoteric contexts.[37] Although the Jimon liturgy is not necessarily unique in linking the Fire Realm spell with the Fire Generating Samādhi in this way, we can see the pairing as part of what we can now begin to appreciate as a larger pattern: the amplification of fire as a central image in the rite through the addition of fire-related practices.

Concretely, what did the Fire Generating Samādhi entail? I will suggest that the Jimon compilers offered a variation that they tailored to this rite, but we should first confirm what the Fire Generating Samādhi was more basically understood to involve. The *locus classicus* for the practice in continental sources was perhaps this passage from the *Secret Method of Chanting the Trisamaya of the Worthy and Holy Acala* (*Dili sanmeiye Budongzun shengzhe niansong bimi fa* 底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦祕密法; T. 1201):

---

[37] The history of the fire-generating (or fire-realm) *samādhi* predates these associations with Fudō and its prominent role in esoteric practice. In the *Nirvana Sutra* (here, the *Dabanniepan jing* 大般涅槃経), for example, the brahman Subhadra 須跋陀羅 is said to have "entered the fire-realm *samādhi* in front of the Buddha and crossed [to the other shore of] nirvana" (T. 7: 204b23–26). Other examples are discussed in Strickmann 1983: 427–429. subsequent developments in Japan. *Shugendō* practitioners later gave the practice material form in the *kashō-zanmai yahō* 火生三昧耶法—the *hiwatari* fire walk mentioned earlier—a ceremony in which adepts and lay participants walk over smoldering ashes or burning wood; see Miyake, *Shugendō girei no kenkyū*, 116, and Suzuki Masataka, "Kumano Beliefs and Yudate Kagura Performance," 206.

> The light of flames emanates from all over Fudō's body; that is, this venerable deity abides in the Fire Generating Samadhi. In addition, in explicating "fire," there are four meanings. Two are mundane and two are transmundane. Of the mundane, one refers to inner fire: the three poisons and afflictions are called fire. This is because they burn up all the virtues and merits [accrued by] sentient beings. The second, outer fire, perfects sentient beings and nourishes the ten-thousand things. As for transmundane fire, this is the Great Wisdom Fire. Just as the fire ceremony is considered most superior among the ninety-five heretical practices, and just as the Great Fire Dragon transforms the fire of the mundane world, [this fire] scorches sentient beings [causing them injury] and burns up sentient beings. This Wisdom Fire of the immovable firstly subjugates the Fire Dragon, restrains the outsider [i.e. non-Buddhist] ways, reaches perfect realization above and reaches sentient beings below, burning habitual energies [influencing all acts] from the afflictions to the great wisdom of bodhi and, additionally, consumes by burning the hindrances of the darkness of ignorance and the afflictions: this is why. Further, the phrase of this venerable deity's mantra has the meaning of fire generated from self, that is, the phrase *mohelusha*.[38] Because this Wisdom Fire resides in all wisdom gates of the [Sanskrit] character A and again and again completely burns up the vast afflictions and habit energies of the bodhisattva and makes them without remainders, it is called Fire Generating Samādhi.[39]

Both monks of Taimitsu and Shingon lineages cited this passage outlining the meaning and powers of the Fire Generating Samādhi.[40] To see how this was conducted as a practice in medieval Japan, let's consider an abbreviated form from the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄:[41]

---

[38] This is part of Fudō's spell but it also resembles the phrase *mohelusena* 摩訶盧瑟拏 (Sk. *mahā-roṣaṇa*), translated as "great anger" (大忿怒), a distinguishing characteristic of wisdom kings like Fudō.

[39] T. 1201: 15b17–29.

[40] This text is cited as a source in the *Asabashō*, which is hereafter examined. The same passage appears in other major Taimitsu sources like the *Gyōrin shō* (T. 2409: 356a02–16), Shingon texts such as Raiyu's 賴瑜 *Usuzōshi kuketsu* 薄草子口決 (T. 2535: 253b08–17).

[41] Compiled roughly around the same time that Rishin likely transcribed the oral transmission text, *Asabashō* is a Taimitsu liturgical collection long attributed to Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282) that betrays significant links to Jimon lineages. Suffice for now to say that one of the first passages in the very first section on Fudō in this fascicle is attributed to a "great *ajari* of Mii[dera]," suggesting that some of its transmissions likely came by way of Jimon monks. Tachi Ryūshi (*Onjōji Kōin no kenkyū*, 288–291) notes other parts containing Onjōji-sourced. A section on consecration (*kanjō*) in fascicle eleven, for instance, uncritically cites Jimon monk Kōin 公胤, the subject of Tachi's substantial study, on the topic of *sanmaya.* This passage was recorded by Sonchō 尊澄, a disciple of Shōchō whose contributions to the compilation of the *Asabashō* are now recognized at substantial, at the Kamakura temple Eifukuji 永福寺. This was where Koin's own teacher, Kōken 公顯, participated in the dharma

> Next, enter the Fire Generating Samādhi.
> As for the *samādhi* method, form the previous Fire Mudra and recite the [syllable for the] character *ran* 𑖪 (RAṂ). Visualize your own body transforming, becoming the character *ran* 𑖪 (RAṂ), taken as the seed-syllable of the fire of wisdom. From the character a flame emerges, scorching the hindrances and afflictions within the body. Transforming, this generates the fire-accumulation of great wisdom of the universal *dharmakāya* of Dainichi Nyorai. Afflictions extinguished, fire extinguished—all that is remains is the character *ran*.[42] Separating, [it] becomes the bright moon, residing in your heart. It is always said one must recite the Fire Realm Mantra (*kakōkai shingon* 火光界真言). This is called the Fire Generating Samādhi.

The instructions entangle mudras and recitations with doctrinal notions, animated imagery, and Siddhaṃ syllables. The transformations are sensational and, while more intricate than what we've seen in the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra* and other early esoteric texts, the centrality of fire persists. The key work of fire to these articulations is doubly emphasized with another passage thereafter provided: "The wisdom-fire of the character 𑖪 (RAṂ) burns the body of karmic afflictions. When the affilictions are annihilated, those flames likewise expire.[43] It is like when firewood is exhausted and the flames stop. There is only the character *ran* and no flames." In the wake of these now calmed animations emerge a Siddhaṃ character, an appearance signaling the annihilation of the afflictions from the body.

The logic at play here is replicated in the Jimon liturgy's version of the Fire-Generating Samādhi. But in their prescription, the compilers appended a frame by which to locate these visions within the sequence of the rite and made a couple alterations to better align with its therapeutic purpose:

---

assembly to celebrate that temple's construction. More closely related to the Jimon liturgy and its transmissions, Chōgō 澄豪, a disciple of Chūkai 忠快 and teacher of Gyōhen 行遍, received Anō lineage transmissions from Shōchō, the compiler of the *Asabashō*. This is important because we know Chōgō received an early version of the liturgy (the one chiefly utilized in this chapter) and an oral transmission of Onjōji provenance, as well as *Denshibyō shu no koto* (probably the Shinpukuji as well as the Kinzanji edition).

[42] *DNBZ* 59: 73.

[43] *yasuminu* 息ミヌ, "to completely rest or calm"; here it is used with the character which also means "to breathe."

煮三鬼像。然後擲入爐中、護摩三七日夜。若猶無驗者、亦三七日修之。此時、三鬼成灰無其形、其灰中有𑖀字々々反成真如寂静聖无動尊。是名三悪還住本覚无動真如。 火界如大日金輪法

... boil the three images. Afterwards toss them into the hearth and perform *goma* for thirty-seven days and nights. If there is no efficacious result, practice it again for thirty-seven days. At that time, the three demons will become ash and lose their form, and in the ash will emerge the character A 𑖀 , which will in turn transform into the tranquility of suchness that is the Venerable Immovable Worthy. This is called returning the three evil paths to the immovable suchness of original awakening. The Fire Realm resembles the Dainichi Kinrin rite.

The transmutations are semantically rich but swift, so let's slow the process down and take the operations one at a time. The first step is procedural and material: the three effigies are boiled in a vat of oil and then burned in the *goma* hearth, leaving as remnants their ash. Although the disease entities represented by the effigies are thus theoretically destroyed, this is where the animations commence and the boundaries between the material and the virtual begin to blur. We are told that from the ash emerges the Siddhaṃ character A, which in turn becomes the "tranquility of suchness" that is (in another turn) identical to Fudō. In the next line, the operation is referred to as "returning the three evil paths to the immovable suchness of original awakening," a phrase that enacts two additional conversions of correspondence. In the first, the "three demons"—the disease-causing entities that the ritualist has just burned representations of, and which are equivalent to the "three corpse-worms" noted elsewhere in the liturgy—are linked to the "three evil paths," that is, the three *gati:* animals, hungry ghosts, and hell-beings. We have already seen the basis for this idea in Chapter Two, namely, that the three demons/corpse-worms corrupt the moral status of the patient from the inside and thus propel them toward an unfavorable rebirth in one of three evil paths. The homology here confirms that corpse-vector disease is a physiomoral ailment in which the demonic is not easily abstracted from the embodied sufferer. Then, in the second conversion, the deity who facilitates the ritual obtainment of efficacy, Fudō, is translated into a doctrinal notion, the "immovable suchness of original awakening." (At our remove, this allusion to "original

awakening" [*hongaku* 本覚] serves to mark the liturgy as emerging from a Taimitsu community.) In both conversions, the efficacious image of fire is tethered to the particulars of this rite, namely its problem (corpse-vector disease) and one of its key sources of divine power and *de facto* secondary *honzon* (Fudō).

There are three additional matters to appreciate about these instructions. First is the issue of the agency by which the images described are produced. It is obviously the ritualist who burns the demon images and enters the Fire Generating Samādhi. The close parallel with the *Asabashō* entry suggests that the images described in the moxibustion rite indeed comprise the content of this *samādhi*, meaning that these transformations are what the ritualist is to actively think, imagine, or contemplate. At the same time, however, these transformations are described as signs contingent on the success of the method. The passage reads, "If there is no efficacious result (*mugen* 無験), practice it again for thirty-seven days. At that time...," results will appear. This would seem to suggest a different reading, that is, that the transformations are not intentionally imagined by the practitioner but rather are witnessed. Thus, recalling that *gen* may also mean "signs," the ritualist may take the appearance of these transformations as propitious, as tokens that verify the ritual has done its work. It is not my purpose here to sort out the priorities of this ambiguous relationship between intentional visualization and resulting signs. This is a thorny issue for scholars working on issues of visualization. Eric Greene has argued of Chinese meditation texts that the dichotomy might not have been of much concern, and surely ritualists in medieval Japan could read instructions like this in diverse ways.[44] But I do want to suggest the possibility that this ambiguity could be productive. If such signs are marks of efficacy, we can imagine attempts to secure efficacy by more closely aligning the nature of those signs with the nature of the practices used to obtain them. This relationship between sign and practice is something about which we will have more to say shortly.

---

[44] Greene, "Visions and Visualizations: In Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhism and Nineteenth-Century Experimental Psychology."

Second, the possible role of the imagination in therapeutic practice recalls exactly the kinds of empowerment healing that we know Jimon monks were conducting at least since the mid-Heian period. The method outlined in the Jimon moxibustion liturgy surely grew out of their longstanding involvement in those practices. For instance, when we turn to empowerment texts like as the "Procedures for *Genza*" (*Genza sahō* 験者作法) in the *Collection on Ritual Conduct* (*Sahō shu* 作法集), we see that active imagination of a similar nature is indeed central to the performance:

> Contemplate: "My body is originally pure, endowed with the nature of the World Honored One.... Above the moon-disc of my heart is the seed-syllable of the deity. The bright light shines universally, and I myself become the deity.... When empowering a sick person, one's own body takes on the essence of the main object of worship by visualizing [as follows]: "My body is originally pure, endowed with the essence of the World Honored One," and by visualizing [the following]: "From above the moon-disc of my heart-mind is the seed-syllable of the main deity. The bright light shines universally, and I myself become the deity. And visualize [the following]: "There is the syllable ra, which blazes in radiant flames above the moon-disc of the sick person's heart-mind, scorching the sick person's crimes, obstacles, and ailments."

This passage brings into relief a third point about the Jimon liturgy's prescription of the Fire Generating Samādhi, one with both cosmic and local implications. The images of fiery destruction we noted above circulating in early esoteric texts and *setsuwa* literature clearly resonant with the instructions above and those from the Jimon liturgy. In the latter, however, these images are further particularized by the use of Siddhaṃ syllables. Siddhaṃ (*shittan* 悉曇) is an Indian script for Sanskrit that developed out of the *brāhmi* writing system employed during the Gupta Empire (ca. 380–mid-fifth century). The script subsequently saw use in India from the fourth to eighth centuries, during which time it was transmitted to China and then to Japan via Buddhist texts. While Siddhaṃ eventually fell out of use in both India and China, it remained critical through the medieval period in Japan, where its graphs were valued less for their meaning and more for their powers—this remains true to this day. That these

characters can be seen as is a consequence of the three registers by which they are constituted: shape (graph), sound (pronunciation), and meaning. For instance, it medieval esoteric texts, Siddhaṃ graphs were often used to write *mantras* and *dhāraṇī*, which were accompanied by transliterations with Chinese characters or glosses in Japanese *kana*.

The use of Siddhaṃ syllables in esoteric ritual texts has distinct effects in the way of ritual and therapy. Their presence in descriptions of ritual efficacy situates that work in an all-encompassing system which Fabio Rambelli has referred to as the "pansemiotic episteme" of medieval Japan.[45] Operating under the assumption that the entire universe is identical with the body of Dainichi Nyorai 大日如来 (Sk. Mahāvairocana), medieval esotericists saw all around them a cosmic text teeming with semantic entities. For instance, the universe co-extensive with Dainichi is composed of five particulates (*godai* 五大): earth, water, fire, air, and space.[46] By way of a correlative logic that defines relationality in this system through homology, analogy, resemblance, and other operations, those particulates can be linked to Siddhaṃ, deities, mudras, and so on.

Let's see how this works. In the Jimon liturgy, the syllable which manifests after burning effigies in the hearth is A, a character understood to be primordial due to its prominent position as the first letter of Sanskrit. It can thus represent many or all divinities and their corresponding seed syllables (*shuji* 種字; Sk. *bīja-mantra*), thus also Dainichi Nyorai, the deified cosmos whose key mantra starts with A: *a-bi-ra-un-ken*.[47] Since the instructions in

---

[45] Rambelli discusses this in several publications; see "Texts, Talismans, and Jewels: The *Reikiki* and the Performativity of Sacred Texts in Medieval Japan" (pp. 52–78, in Payne and Leighton, eds., *Discourse and Ideology in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, and more substantial treatment in *A Buddhist Theory of Semiotics: Signs, Ontology, and Salvation in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. Correspondence thinking and its emphasis on resemblance was influential beyond the production of ritual knowing. It figured, for instance, into hermeneutics via "mind-contemplation" (*kanjin* 観心) critical for Taimitsu lineages; see Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, 160–163.

[46] That is, the "four elements" (*shidai* 四大) that are especially prominent in Buddhist healing discourses plus space. Also common is the configuration of six (*rokudai* 六大), which adds consciousness.

[47] Seed syllables for deities are assigned differently in Womb Realm (*taizōkai* 胎蔵界) versus Diamond Realm (*kongōkai* 金剛界) traditions, with the former adopting the first character of the deity's mantra and the latter adopting the final character of the mantra.

question concern burning effigies in the hearth, a more proximate (and mutually inclusive) association is to Katen 火天, that is, Agni, the fire god who is always summoned to the *goma* rite. The link is accented in how the liturgy eventually homologates the character A to Fudō. Indeed, Katen and Fudō both represent Dainichi's "fire of knowledge," thus, as Bernard Faure has noted, "[t]his is why in subjugation rituals Fudō is represented inside a triangle, a shape that symbolizes fire." Similarily, Katen, when not himself depicted as symbol (*sanmaya* 三摩耶) in the form of a triangle (FIG. 11), is sometimes illustrated with a triangle in his palm (see FIG. 12 on the next page), showing iconographically how abstract and symbolically tethered fires might be visually layered upon one another.

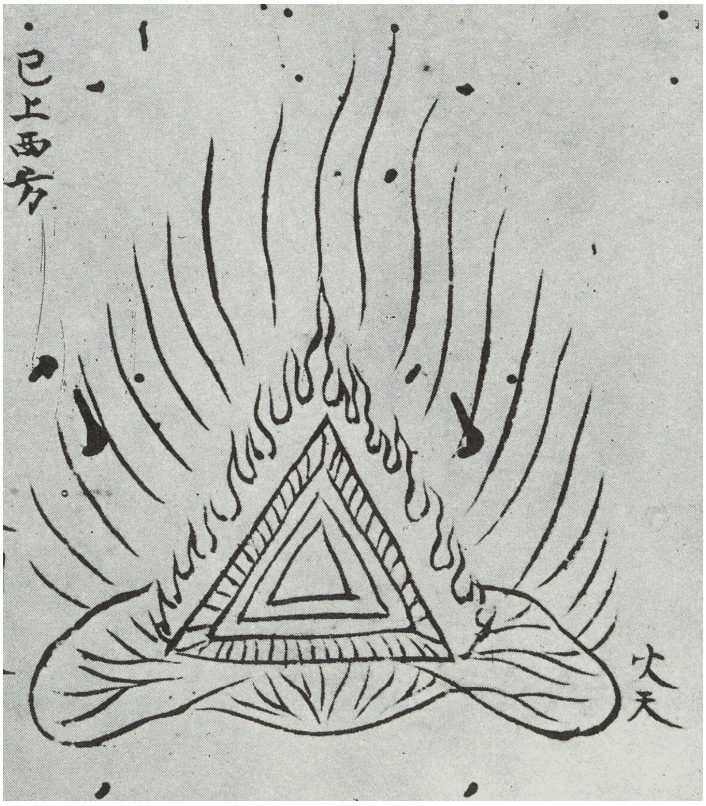



FIG 11. Katen (Agni) as *sanmaya* symbol.

FIG 12. Katen (Agni).

Such associative operations also influence practice. The triangle-shaped hearth is of course the standard for subjugation rituals, a type of ritual strongly associated with wrathful deities such as Fudō; the Jimon rite is of this type.[48] In empowerment texts describing subjugation rites, the ritualist is to carve the tips of the milkwood (*nyūmoku* 乳木; wood

[48] At the end of *Essential Notes* (p. 15), a small note under "*goma*" reads, "subjugation; or averting disasters."

burned in the ceremony) into a triangular shape, undoubtedly to weaponize them. And the ceremony must be performed facing the south, the direction of fire.[49] This made the subjugation rite a microcosmic enactment of larger geographic scales, as we see in this passage about the archipelago of Japan and its inhabitants from the the eleventh-century *Correspondences in the Eastern Mountain* (*Tōzan ōrai* 東山往来): "This is the southern continent [Jambudvīpa]. Broad in the north and narrow in the south, the shape of the land resembles a fire-wheel. The disposition of the land is fire, its body is bronze. Thus it has a triangular shape and is red. Those who can live on it have warm bodies and red faces."[50] Thus the discourse is not only the underlining system, but to tether the language to all manner of material things.

At a more local level, the appearance of these signs in the context of a therapeutic program means, among other things, that the workings of efficacy themselves are "written" by the mysteries of the cosmos in a language that is legible to initiated ritualists. Therefore, for any ritual produced within this pansemiotic regime, ritualists control not only the procedural aspects of the rite but also, via many acts of sign-interpretation which are performed along the way, could exert influence over what would otherwise be the spontaneous results of ritual. For healing rites, this is tantamount to greater management of the contingencies that attend the inherently erratic and, in the case of corpse-vector disease, undoubtedly chaotic, therapeutic process. At the same time, in going forward in our study, this already suggests the import of these tokens for adjusting existing practices or formulating new ones. It seems that Siddhaṃ

[49] *Sahō shū*, eds. Kawasaki Kazuhiro et al, 2003: 487–492.

[50] *ZGR* 359: 1916–1917. Waley defines the "fire-wheel" as a "sort of shovel in which fire could be moved from one brazier to another" ("An Eleventh-Century Correspondence," 1936: 553), but in Buddhist contexts the term referred more commonly to either one of the four elements or one of the five. At one point the image appears to have been taken from the contours a burning stick traces in the air when spun around, but symbolically it was represented as a triangle, the shape of flames. We will see "fire-wheel" shortly in a discussion of mudras, but it appears once more in *Correspondences in the Eastern Mountain* in an answer about hot springs (*onsen* 温泉), for which two types are mentioned: Muddy or cloudy water, which is hot because of a "fire-wheel" under the hearth; and the salty water which is located just above the "fierce flames of hell" (ibid.: 1013–1014). This association between hot springs and hell is noted also by Koremune Tomotoshi in his *Idanshō*, where he also discusses the renowned hot springs of Arima (lower volume [*ge*]: pp. 217–218).

characters, and indeed other certain marks of efficacy, require high temperatures for their manifestation.

## GESTURING TOWARD WHAT MATTERS

Aside from the imagination, the Jimon compilers were heir to still other methods for capturing and enacting efficacy. These methods offered meaningful ways to render virtualities actual. One technique was to grasp efficacious images, literally, by the hands. In a passage in the liturgy that summarizes the moxibustion rite, mention is made of an intriguing set of mudras: "This 'special method for eliminating demons' is an utmost secret method among secrets. [The adept] must constantly use the Fire Realm [spell] and Fifteen Mudras when performing empowerment and protection contemplations."[51]

The centrality of these mudras for the rite is evident from the fact that they are mentioned after the text emphasizes the highly secretive nature of the practice, as well as in the prescription to perform them constantly. While not spelled out in the liturgy, these fifteen mudras appear in the *Asabashō* we noted earlier. *Asabashō* in fact is the only source of the period known to me that mentions the "Fifteen Root Mudras" (*jūgo konpon in* 十五根本印), the set to which the Jimon refers. Indeed, in a note at the end of that list, Chisen-bō 智泉房 is quoted to say, "Those who know the Fifteen Root Mudras are rare."[52] Chisen-bō's comment makes an implicit comparison with the "Root Fourteen Mudras" (*konpon jūshi in* 根本十四

[51] 此辟鬼殊法祕中極祕密法。常以火界十五印加持護念。The "special method for eliminating demons" is a common abbreviation for the name of this ritual found in medieval sources.

[52] 智泉云。十五根本印知人希。云々 (*DNBZ* 59: 72b). In the *Asabashō*, the fifteen mudras appear in a section simply titled "Fudō," the first of the compilation devoted to Fudō; for those see pp. 71c–72b. The fourteen mudras, however—which are clearly much more well known—are described in the second section devoted to Fudō, entitled "Fudō Myōō *nenzu shidai*" 不動明王念誦次第; see that list on pp. 76a–78a. It is not clear if this indicates the list of fifteen has been prioritized over the list of fourteen. The monk Chisen-bō cited here is Kakuhan 覚範, a Taimitsu monk that was disciple to Raishō 頼昭 and teacher of Jōnin 尋仁, not to be confused with Chisen (same characters), the disciple of Kūkai known for his copy of the *Shishu goma honzon oyobi kenzoku zuzō* 四種護摩本尊及眷属図像 from the year 821.

印), a set much more commonly associated with Fudō. It appears then that the set of fifteen is a practice distinctive to Taimitsu, although the two sets are nearly identical. What's important for our discussion, however, is how the Jimon compilers have linked the set of fifteen mudras with the Fire Realm spell. As is evident from the conventions of liturgical collections, it is common to prescribe mudras and spells (*inmyō* 印明) in pairs and sets in this way, but a similar connection is not made in the corresponding section in the *Asabashō*. Once again, the Jimon compilers have seized an opportunity to emphasize the Fire Realm.

What we do find in the *Asabashō* relevant for this emphasis on the Fire Realm is the practice of replacing the "First Root Mudra" with the so-called "Flames Mudra" (*kaen-in* 火炎印).[53] This is an alternative practice used in cases when the corresponding recitation is Fudō's Fire Realm spell. The Flames Mudra is the fourteenth in the set of fifteen, and the ninth in the set of fourteen. This unique linking between the spell and the mudra, also apparently specific to Taimitsu, owes to the obvious nomonological resemblance, as important an adhesive as the semiotic operations above. Accordingly, in practice, the Flames Mudra was sometimes referred to simply as the "Fire Realm mudra."[54] Just as other mudras in the list derive from iconographical features of Fudō and his tools—his "tools" (*dōgu* 道具), as the *Asabashō* puts it[55]— the Flames Mudra in particular could be emphasized to exploit the symbolic associations between Fudō and fire.[56]

In linking the entire set of fifteen with the Fire Realm, the Jimon liturgy likewise signals that the Flames Mudra is especially important among the set of fifteen. This reading is supported by evidence from the *Essential Notes*. That text prescribes a few additional mudras,

---

[53] 第一根本印火界呪。或火炎印。火界呪。 (*DNBZ* 59: 66c).

[54] For instance, see *Sangokudenki* 三国伝記, fascicle 7, tale 15.

[55] *DNBZ* 59: 77c.

[56] The sword is another salient element of Fudō that has been highlighted in iconographic, symbolic, and ritual ways. Faure 2016 (v. 1: 139, 141–142), for instance, discusses the "Wave-cleaving Fudō" (Namikiri Fudō 浪切り不動).

for example, the "Treating All Demonic Diseases Mudra" (*ryō issai kibyō in* 療一切鬼病印) and the "Subjugating *Māras* Mudra" (*gōbuku ma in* 降伏魔印). But among the Fifteen Root Mudras, the only one spotlighted there is the Flames Mudra, which is given in its common variant name, "Flame-Wheel Mudra" (*kaenrin in* 火焔輪印). The motivations behind this inclusion can be understood as two-fold, one textual and the other strategic. On the one hand, aspects related to all three of these mudras—Flame-Wheel, Treating, and Subjugating—appear in the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, which we know was a vital resource for the Jimon monks who assembled the moxibustion liturgy.[57] At the same time, spotlighting the Flames Mudra of Fudō's fifteen serves strategically to amplify in a different way this rite's core image of efficacy, fire.

That the Jimon compilers gave some thought to how they might weave images and meanings with hand gestures can be illustrated with the examples of the other two mudras mentioned in the oral transmission document, the "Treating" and "Subjugation" mudras. The two malicious entities those mudras by their titles imply that affect—demons and *māras*—are found in the very title of the Jimon liturgy: "Ritual of Shōmen Kongō for Eliminating Demons and *Māras.*" In addition, as we saw in the Chapter Two, those were the first two entities mentioned in the liturgy's quote of Zhiyi's *Great Calming and Contemplation.* At least in name, then, these mudras appear to have been designed to deal with the pathological problems at hand. Moreover, when we turn to the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, we see that while Subjugation is prescribed as a mudra, "Treating All Demonic Diseases" is in fact not the name of a mudra. Rather, the Jimon compilers adopted the name from one or two passages mentioning methods (including mudras with other names) that are described to have "great efficacy in treating all demonic diseases" 療一切鬼病用之大驗.[58]

---

[57] The Subjugating Devils Mudra can be found in fascicle 9 (T 901: 868a25–b01).

[58] The relevant passages are in fascicle 7 (T. 901: 844b13–c04), fascicle 9 (T. 901: 868a16–17), and fascicle 10 T. 901: 872a25–27.

These examples of other mudras in the liturgy allow us to reconstruct the logic behind the inclusion of the Flames Mudra. I suggest the Flames Mudra is a similar case insofar as it contributes to the rite's master trope by way of a specific practice. Jimon monks would have been aware of the rich associations embodied by the Flames Mudra. For example, in a secret transmission associated with Chisen-bō in the *Asabashō* (in a section on the fourteen mudras), we read the following: "take wind to point at the base of flames on the left [hand]. This means to use wind to fan up flames."[59] The prescription exploits the esoteric semiotic system, wherein each finger is associated with one of the five elements, thus to take to take the pointer finger (wind) to touch the base of the middle finger (fire) materializes a special meaning. Additionally, about the Flames Mudra of the list of fifteen, the *Asabashō* notes that it ought to resemble the "vigor of illumination in the back" 背光勢, a nod to Fudō's fiery mandorla, a defining feature of his iconography.[60] We should also note that a similar set of images are evoked for the mudra that follows this one in both sets, namely the "Blocking Fire Mudra" (*shaka-in* 遮火印), referred to in the list of fourteen as "Flame-Wheel Stopping Mudra" (*kaenrin-shi-in* 火輪止印). This mudra is said to "halt the poisonous flames of the unwholesomeness of outsiders [non-Buddhists],"[61] and to create "the flame of wisdom which blocks the fierce flames of heretical views."[62] In sum, whether generating fire or fighting fire with fire, this imagery is important.[63]

As suggested above, the meanings were interwoven with the specific shapes that were adopted. This becomes clear when we take a look at what some of these mudras of this constellation of images would have looked like in practice:

---

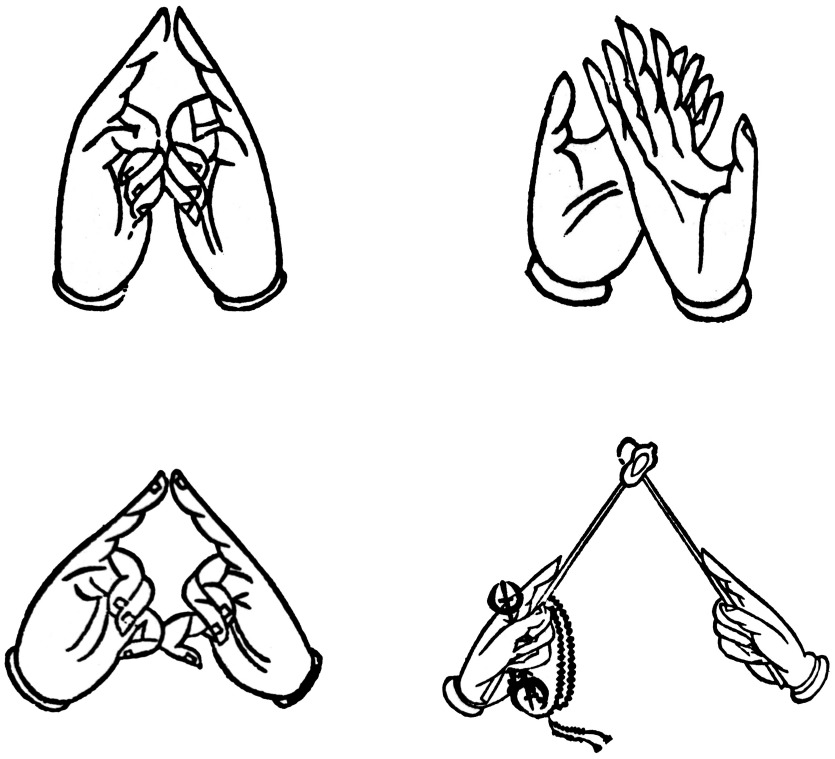
[59] 或云、智泉秘伝、以右風ヲ、指左火ノ本ヲ也。以風盛火ヲ意也。云々 (*DNBZ* 59: 77b).

[60] *DNBZ* 59: 72a–b.

[61] The full passage reads: 常云。制止外人不善毒火也。用火光界明。云々。(*DNBZ* 59: 77b).

[62] 智恵火遮邪見盛炎故。云々(*DNBZ* 59: 77b).

[63] For a short analysis on how symbolic imagery is expressed through mudras related to fire, see Akiyama, *Butsuzō no insō wo tazunete: te no katachi to mikata, musubikata*, 403–404.



From left to right, top to bottom:

FIG. 13 Flames mudra; FIG. 14 Flame Court mudra; FIG. 15 Flames mudra variation; FIG. 16 Joining tongs

So this is the underlying logic of many of these practices. Although we cannot fully recover those from the liturgy, these depictions of mudras were transmitted in the Taimitsu lineage of Anō, linking them to the *Asabashō* and thus to the Jimon lineage.[64] There are no images for

[64] The illustrations appear in Keisokuin Kanshitsu, ed., *Anō-shōryū: shidogyō ki wakai*, 2006: Fire-Generating Mudra on p. 52 (referred to as the Flame-Wheel); Flame Court Mudra on p. 160; Flames Mudra on p. 70; *shushaku hō* on p. 168. Some rationale is in order for their inclusion here. The illustrations are taken from an explanatory text, produced by the Kyoto publisher Shibakinseidō 芝金聲堂, for basic *goma* practices used today by Sanmon-Tendai initiates (Keisokuin Kanshitsu, ed., *Anō-shōryū*). Explanations and commentary on ritual procedures are provided in Japanese, along with illustrations, mostly of mudras and implements, for the Eighteen Methods, the Womb and Diamond Mandalas, and the generic *goma.* Although this is a contemporary textbook, the text is composed primarily of Anō lineage transmissions associated with the Keisoku'in 鶏足院 cloister of Yokawa 横川. Tracing its history to Shōshō 聖昭 (fl. 11th c.) in the line of Kōgei, the lineage owes much to Chōgō, who as we noted above received transmissions from Shōchō, compiler of the *Asabashō*, and was instrumental in transmitting Buddhist moxibustion texts such as the main liturgy under investigation in this chapter. The Kinzanji manuscript for *Denshibyō shu no koto*, a later creation in this genealogy of Buddhist moxibustion texts, contains a line indicating it was in the possession of Keisoku'in in addition to colophons from Chōgō and other Anō lineage monks. The illustrations used here might not correspond precisely to those of the Jimon liturgy, but

the variation of the Flame-Wheel Mudra adopted in the Jimon liturgy, but the idea is the same.[65] We have the Flames Mudra (*kaen in* 火焔印) (see FIG. 13), which is close to and sometimes identified with the "Fire-Generating Mudra" (*kaen hasshō* 火炎発生), another name for the "Dharma Realm Generating Mudra" (*hōkaishō* 法界生), or the Flame-Wheel mudra; the "Flame Court Mudra" (*ka'in* 火院印), a term synonymous with the Fire Realm (FIG. 14); and a variation on the Flames Mudra (FIG. 15). This same idea was applied to other instruments, like the prongs as we see in the *shushaku hō* 取杓法 (FIG. 16). The logic is clear: Each of these mudras imitates the shape of a fire, which is to say, a triangle.

This mimetic play of the hands must be understood within a longer history in which the boundaries between hand-gesture and "seal," written with the same character, are parallel, overlapping, resonant. "In Tantric Buddhism, the finger-seal applied to the body of course imprints a 'seed-syllable' (*bīja-mantra*)—a single syllable evocative and emblematic of a diety—on the priest's vital points; the wooden seal, *more sinico*, makes this all perfectly concrete and tangible. A mystic gesture has been frozen into an artifact."[66] But the mudras discussed here clearly grasp more than the deity. The power is more resonant with that of the hearth and, once captured in the hands, by the mimetic technology inherent in the body of the ritualist, becomes portable and viscerally applicable. The citation is powerful, but we should also appreciate the creativity here; it is a reinscription, in the renaming, selecting, and forming.[67]

---

we know at least there were clear differences in mudra shape between Taimitsu and Tōmitsu. For an example of the latter, see Fudō's fourteen root mudras in Inaya, *Inzu, Shuinzu,* 1992: 158–162.

[65] Strickmann (*Chinese Magical Medicine*, 202) highlights the underlying soteriological significance of this act and its relationship to ritual efficacy: "In the fire ritual, the outward sign of this union [between priest and deity] (realized inwardly through meditation) comes when the priest joins the tips of the large and small ladles used to feed the fire. The priest himself thus becomes the base of an isosceles triangle (a triangle is the emblem of the element Fire); the deity, the fire, and the priest himself are One. In this embodied form, he is empowered to accomplish the ritual's ultimate objective." In his earlier study on *homa*, Strickmann ("Homa in East Asia," 440–441) included an image of this act performed by a priest at Shinnyodō 真如堂, in Kyoto.

[66] Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 156–157.

[67] Hands had other purposes as well. A salient example in the esoteric context is the *Book of the Incantations and Dhāraṇī of the Jāṅgulī Woman* (*Foshuo Changjuli dunu tuoluoni zhoujing* 常瞿利毒女陀羅尼呪経, T. 1265), a text that survives only as a 1152 copy from Kajūji 勸修寺 in Japan; discussed in Strickmann 2002: 151–156. In addition to a number of talismans featuring the character for demon (Ch. *gui* 鬼) to be internally consumed, the

Even though we know the Jimon liturgy was compiled with reference to texts in which seals were important, such as those of Ucchusma, the liturgy itself does not prescribe any seals. At this point, we can begin to approach the driving question of this chapter. That is, we can begin to imagine how moxibustion, a fire therapy, is the "artifact" in the equation that Strickmann indicates, which like seals that are to be burned and drunk, mediates a new relationship with the sufferer. But once again, the logic is to replicate fire in the technologies available to the ritualist: the mind, the hands, and also the most important we have skirted around, namely, the hearth.

## BURNING EFFIGIES, BURNING ENEMIES

Before turning to moxibustion, then, there is one other technique to examine: the burning of effigies. Although as we noted previously the timing of the rite's procedures is not completely transparent, these instructions appear in the text some ways after the two earlier main techniques, i.e. first, flogging with tree branches and tossing mustard seeds, and second, applying moxibustion. Recall that the ritualist is to "make images of the three demons, throw them into the oil of a bronze vessel, and recite the Fire Realm mantra of the Venerable Mudō one hundred and eight times while boiling the three demon images." This is to go on for thirty-seven days, and if no efficacious sign appears, it is to be performed again for another thirty-seven days.

---

text features illustrations of the left and right hands with points marked for treating illnesses like red eyes, heavenly-moving disease (*tianxing bing* 天行病, epidemics), warm disease, tiger disease, the ten-thousand diseases, malicious disease (*xie bing* 邪病); for subjugating demons, rats, dogs; for eliminating karmic sins, for making offerings to all venerable worthies, and for seeing buddhas in incense smoke. Thus while these have sometimes been described as acupoints to be pressed to treat ailments it's clear there is a wider spectrum of resonance condensed in the hands than that idea suggests. Hands also organize and index information, and Marta Hanson has recently discussed their critical mnemonic role in Chinese medicine. Especially interesting is how Hanson, while recognizing the likely influence of esoteric Buddhist communities, locates this practice within the history of graphic illustrations (*tu* 圖) central to Chinese medicine; see "Hanson, Hand Mnemonics in Classical Chinese Medicine: Texts, Earliest Images, and Arts of Memory."

Additional details for this method are found in the *Essential Notes*. There, two materials are given as "ingredients for the three shapes" 三類形科, a reference to the three effigies:[68] grain flour (*mugiko* 麺) and Amur cork tree (*kihada* 蘗), perhaps its bark.[69] The *Essential Notes* notes on two occasions that the three effigies are to be based on the Six-Character Rite (*rokuji hō* 六字法), after which we know this part of the Jimon liturgy was modelled.[70] Another commonality with the Six-Character Rite is the fact that the burning effigies appears to be the final sequence. Here, the we are given insight into the underside of the ritual and how it was put together. Ritualists would have known the Six-Character Rite well, so this is used as shorthand for this newer practice. It's clear from the liturgy's description of the effigies that they are derived from the template provided by the Six-Character Rite:

> 運語言三鬼形者、一者人鬼、如死屍設吐嚧形。二者天鬼、作鵄鳥形、一名天狐、亦狂鬼。三者地神、作地狐形、亦名癲病鬼。
>
> As for the three shapes in terms of joining their names,[71] the first is the Human Demon, which resembles the corpse of an enemy. The second is the Celestial Demon, which assumes the shape

[68] These instructions for the preparation of the rite are not found in the liturgy itself, where they would more naturally belong. This suggests that there were perhaps multiple versions of the liturgy. We know that this refers to the three demon effigies because of the following note at the end of the manuscript, mentioned earlier, which notes that this is what you burn and that they resemble the Six-Character Rite: 焼三類形法又准六字法、但以不動火界呪可為催破呪也。This is also the term used throughout descriptions of the Six-Character Rite in the *Kakuzenshō* 覚禅抄, for example, *DNBZ* 46: 345.

[69] *Essential Notes* glosses these ingredients with readings: *mukiko* and *kiwata* (p. 13). I follow the conventional identification of *kihada* as *Phellodendron amurense*, a deciduous tree species of the Rutaceae family (Kinoshita 2017: 455). In the history of Buddhist medical practice in Japan, *kihada* is especially important as the main ingredient of *darani-tsuke* 陀羅尼助. *Kihada* bark is boiled over several days to decoct this bitter stomachic, legendarily associated with En no Gyōja and still connected with *shugendō* practice and sold at mountain sites of ascetic practice.

[70] This is indicated in the *Essential Notes* in a question-and-answer (*mondō* 問答) section (p. 10) and in the section mentioned above (p. 15). For an extensive study of the Six-Character Rite, see Lomi, "Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw Dolls: Ritual Choreographies and Healing Strategies of the Rokujikyōhō in Medieval Japan"; also see Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*, 265–268.

[71] The meaning of 運語言 is not clear. In the Shinpukuji manuscript used throughout this chapter, vertical lines (*tate-ten* 竪点) link the characters, indicating perhaps a compiler or copyist took the three characters to form a compound.

> of an owl; one name for it is Heavenly Fox, another is Madness Demon. The third is the Earth God, which assumes the shape of the Terrestial Fox and is also called Mad-Sickness Demon.

The Six-Character Rite likewise features a human figure and two foxes, both heavenly and earthly. What is important is that the effigies are representations of the disease and/or disease-causing agents. As we discussed in Chapter Two, that there are three effigies which are identified as demons is part of the homologies established throughout the text: the three demons are linked to the three corpse-worms and the three paths, all of which are organized under the larger ailment the rite claims to treat, corpse-vector disease.

First, the materialization of representations of disease is important in healing rites since effigies provide physical forms for the disease or its cause, entities otherwise concealed in the cavities and crevices of the sufferer's body or else unseen, lurking in the other realm. By giving these pathological entities a form external to the sufferer's body, the ritualist is able to manipulate them, to ritually intervene. The scene of efficacious operation here is now familiar to us, from *setsuwa, Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, and so on. Yet no longer are those operations circumscribed to the virtual alone. The effigies are actually and not metaphorically and eidetically burned, in the *goma* hearth for a certain number of days. The materiality crosses a different threshold.

This is significant because it entails literalizing images whose performative power derives to a large extent from their violent nature. The ritualist destroys effigies in the hearth in order to destroy the demonic entities by which they are represented and to which they are mimetically linked. The kind of violence-by-proxy here is, of course, traditional. Throughout esoteric ritual texts, we find all kinds of methods of forceful expulsion, physical coercion, or down-right destruction. Much of this has been described in detail by Strickmann, but it will be

helpful to mention just a couple examples. The first comes from the *Sūtra of Dhāraṇīs for Protecting the Nation and the Ruler* (*Shouhu guojiezhu tuoluoni jing* 守護國界主陀羅尼經):[72]

> If the [patient] is possessed by falling frenzy or demons and spirits, take a willow branch and pomegranate branch, recite the mantra above to empower [the branches] seven times, burn *gum guggul* incense on the ground and there draw the form of the demon-spirit. Have the youth take the willow branch [and pomegranate branch] and whip the form of the demon-spirit drawn [on the ground] on places like the chest and back. Then it will be as if [the youth is] beating the body of the sufferer, who will howl, yell, wail, and cry, lowering their head and seeking relief: "From now until forever I dare not return again"—so the master will make the demon vow.[73]

As is clear by now, this representational violence is justified by the fact that esoteric ritualists understood they were dealing with demons. Thus the entities dealt with were sometimes described as "enemies" (*onke* 怒家). In Amoghavajra's translation of the *Sheng Yanmandejia weinuwang licheng dashen yan niansong fa* 聖閻曼德迦威怒王立成大神驗念誦法 (T. 1214), we read:

> Another method: Take a peg of *khādhira* wood of four fingers in length. Inside a triangle altar, use the ash of a burnt corpse to draw the form of the enemy. Chant the mantra to empower the one-hundred and eight times, and nail it above the enemy's heart. Visualizing one's own body becoming the Wrathful Venerable Yamāntaka (J. Daiitoku), stomp the enemy's heart with your left foot. Chant the mantra one-thousand times, stating that person's name in the phrases of the mantra. The person will thereupon come to ruin.[74]

---

[72] This text was likely part of the Onjōji library, given the inclusion of Prajñā's 般若 ten-volume translation in Enchin's catalogue (*Chishō Daishi shōrai mokuroku* 智證大師請來目録; T. 2173: 1104a08)

[73] 若爲癲癎鬼魅所著、當以楊枝及石榴枝、以上眞言加持七遍、燒安悉香於地畫彼鬼神形像。令前童子執楊枝等、鞭彼圖畫鬼神形像胸背等處。時彼病人如撻其身。嗥叫啼泣叩頭求救。從今永去不敢更來、時阿闍梨令鬼立誓。T 997: 569b18–23; see also translation in Strickmann 2002: 237.

[74] 又法、取佉陀羅木橛長四指、於三角壇中、以燒屍灰、畫捨覩嚧形。誦眞言加持一百八遍、釘捨覩嚧心上。想自身爲大威德忿怒尊、以左脚踏捨覩嚧心上。誦眞言一千遍、眞言句中稱彼人名、其人即滅亡。 T 1214:4a27–b02. This is cited in the *Gyōrin shō* 行林抄, T. 2409: 379b17–21.

The word translated here as "enemies" (more commonly written in Chinese *shedulu* 設吐盧 or 設都嚧; J. *shatoro*) is a transliteration of the Sanskrit *śatru*. Precisely the same term is used in the Jimon liturgy to describe the first human demon, which is said to "look like an/the enemy's corpse," drawing on the defining characteristic of corpse-vector disease. The Jimon liturgy speaks the same language as these earlier esoteric liturgies because the practice is first and foremost a subjugation rite for subduing the demons that cause the affliction. It only makes sense, in traditional terms, that a demonic entity that is a disease-causing enemy should be countered with material violence, whether that be whipping, nailing, stomping, or—recalling again the hearth but moving forward to moxibustion—burning.

This reminds one of a more local example, from the *Heike monogatari*:

> Meanwhile, at the Enryakuji, the monks said, 'When you come down to it, our worst enemies are Saikō and his sons.' They wrote out the names of the three and placed the paper under the left foot of the Konpira image in the Central Hall group of Twelve Divine Commanders. Then they shouted, yelled, and uttered maledictions. 'Ye Twelve Divine Commanders and Seven Thousand Yakshas, take the lives of Saikō and his sons without an instant's delay,' they implored. It was terrifying merely to hear them.[75]

## CAUTERIZING SENTIENT BEINGS

With corpse-vector disease, the compilers of this rite understood they were dealing with a malady both demonic and embodied. This meant that on the one hand, the disease was a distinct entity that thus could (and as an enemy, must) be extracted from the patient, transferred to a substitute body or bodies, and then subjugated, hence the use of effigies above. The same mediated and mimetic logic guided much Jimon healing in the Heian period, which relied on the use of human-mediums. However, because corpse-vector disease was not only an outside and invasive demonic other but rather, as an embodied disease, muddled the agential

[75] *The Tale of the Heike*, 59.

and ontological boundaries between pathogen and patient, it exposed the seams of traditional and mediated methods. To put it crassly, it was not an option for the ritualist to grab hold of the disease-ridden sufferer—the patron of the rite and not to mention probably a family member—and throw them straightaway into the flames of the goma hearth like a doughy doll. Such direct and actual reduction of the body's impurities to ash would have to wait until life's end when the corpse would be transformed by the purifying fires of cremation. By contrast, the ambivalent nature of corpse-vector disease, as it was imagined to be suffered by a living and still breathing patient, seems at this moment in the medieval period to nudge the logic of healing by subjugation into uncharted avenues. As we have seen with mudras, ritualists already possessed the technologies necessary to render efficacious fire mobile. Although not indicated in the instructions, we can imagine that they touched these mudras on the body in order to enact subjugation more directly. However, perhaps along this same spectrum there was still yet another threshold that might be crossed, one which equally participated in this circuit between image and practice but which even more radically shortened the gap between efficacy and body. This is, I argue, precisely the intervention moxibustion brings to ritual healing.

To unpack the multiple layers implicit of this claim, we need to finally acquaint ourselves with the moxibustion method as outlined in the liturgy:

> 若猶不差若応灸其病人。灸有九処。一者頂十字中。二者風門穴中。三者亶鏡。四者心蔵。五者丹田。六者左風市。七者右風市。八者左彭矯穴。九者右彭矯穴。不灸矯穴其（人）趺壞生穴如竹或加亶背肩井仁穴成十三処 先灸頂十字時、誦 𑖀𑖽𑖿 𑖀𑖾𑖿 發吒五七遍、具百光遍照王功徳蘊相。次灸風門時、誦 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾 吽發吒五七遍。次灸亶鏡時、誦 𑖀𑖽𑖿 𑖀𑖾𑖿 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾: 吽發吒五七遍。次灸心蔵時、誦 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾: 吽發吒五七遍。次灸丹田時、誦 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾: 𑖀𑖽𑖿 𑖀𑖾𑖿: 吽發吒五七遍。次灸左右風市、誦 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾: 吽發吒。次灸左右彭矯穴時、誦 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾 𑖀𑖽 𑖀𑖾: 吽發吒五七遍。已上以前根本印加持其灸処。是灸猫鬼兜醯羅鬼障難之処。若灸亶背肩井時、誦前身呪各七反。以庚申日受三歸五戒。応灸此病、必得其驗或加頭背穴
>
> If the patient still is not cured [after the preceding methods], you must apply moxibustion on the patient. There are nine places to moxibustion: 1) in the Character Ten on the crown; 2) in

> the Wind Gate hole; 3) the Platform Mirror; 4) the Heart; 5) the Cinnabar Field; 6) the left Wind Market; 7) the right Wind Market; 8) the left Hōkyō hole; 9) the right Hōkyō hole. If you do not moxibustion the [Hō]kyō holes, a hole will emerge in that person's foot resembling bamboo. Alternatively add the Platform on the Back, Shoulder Well, and Benevolence holes, making thirteen places [total]. When applying moxa on the Character Ten on the crown of the head, recite AṂ KHAṂ HŪṂ *hatta* fifty-seven times [to] endow [the sufferer] with the virtuous marks of the King of the Hundred Lights Universally Shining [i.e. Dainichi Nyorai]. Next, cauterize the Wind Gate when reciting HA HĀ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when cauterizing the Platform Mirror, recite A Ā AṂ AḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the Heart, recite RA RĀ RAṂ RAḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the Cinnabar Field, recite HŪṂ HRĪḤ AḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the left and right Wind Market [points], recite HA HĀ HAṂ HAḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the left and right Hōkyō holes, recite VA VĀ VAṂ VAḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. For the above, you should use the aforementioned root mudra [of Shōmen Kongō] to empower the moxibustion points. These [points] you moxibustion are those places where the Cat Demon and the Tokeira Demon hinder and harm. When applying moxibustion to the Platform on the Back and Shoulder Wells, recite the previous Body Spell seven times. On the *kōshin* day, take refuge in the Three Jewels (Buddha, Dharma, Sangha), uphold the Five Precepts, and apply moxibustion for this sickness; you will certainly obtain efficacy. Some add the Back of the Head hole.

The passage firstly reconfirms the special status that the compilers carved out for moxibustion in this rite. The instructions quoted above follow those concerning flogging with tree branches and the use of mustard seeds. "If the patient is not cured" by such methods, the text reads, the adept "must cauterize the patient." This is a rhetorical move. The compilers exploit the possibility of "ritual failure," which always casts its shadow over any high-stakes ritual act, as a foil by which to introduce moxibustion. The non-Buddhist healing modality is thus consigned a logical position in a sequence of prescriptions for otherwise patently esoteric therapies. At the same time, the phrase may betray a recognition on the part of the compilers that even techniques culled from authoritative esoteric sources might not be sufficient in this case. Perhaps experience had taught them so—they were, after all, performing rituals for healing with some frequency and over multiple generations. In any case, the phrasing here

appears to emphasize this point: corpse-vector disease is a singular problem for which traditional ritual techniques might not be enough.

The moxibustion sequence which follows contains two aspects relevant to the rite's construction of efficacy, one explicit and the other implicit. The first relates to Siddhaṃ syllables. The ritualist is instructed to recite these syllables, each fifty-seven times, while applying moxibustion to seven points on the body. Hence, they function most obviously as short mantras. Indeed, in the Shinpukuji manuscript edition, glosses in *kana* indicating Japanese pronunciation are provided to the right of the graphs in red. It is, however, important that the compilers chose to write out the graphs in the first place. By doing so, the moxibustion technique becomes interwoven with syllabic signs we know functioned pervasively as markers of efficacy. Thus, just as mudras enabled ritualists to literally grasp efficacious imagery, so too mantras would have enabled them to capture efficacious signs by way of the voice. At the same time, we might also want to speculate about whether a more explicit type of visualization would have played a role here as well, even if it was not stated in the instructions. When we recall the Fire Generating Samādhi, in which Siddhaṃ characters A or RAṂ were imagined to emerge from fire or ash, or empowerment practices, in which the character RA was imagined to scorch the person's karmic sins, etc. at the heart, it is hardly a stretch to imagine the practitioner of this rite igniting a moxa cone and then conjuring up these the Siddhaṃ characters in their mind, perhaps picturing their emergence from each point on the body.

One key difference from the instructions here and those other practices, however, is the number and sequence of the Siddhaṃ characters. The strings of Siddhaṃ characters used for each mantra in the moxibustion instructions closely parallels how transformation was more broadly imagined within the pansemiotic episteme of esotericism as rolling phonological sequences. For instance, aside from the first mantra in the instructions above, in each case the ritualist begins the recitation with one character in its most basic form (A, RA, HA, VA). Then, each mantra passes through its phonological sequence: A Ā AṂ AḤ, RA RĀ RAṂ RAḤ, and so on. For example, as Richard Payne shows in his study of the "contemplation of the character A"

(*ajikan* 阿字觀), Kūkai described the "five transformations" of the character: A Ā AṂ AḤ ĀḤ. Rambelli has described a similar set in the case of Kakuban. The phonological transformations used as mantras are slightly different in the Jimon liturgy, but the logic is close enough. These phonological transformations are important because they parallel the animation we have seen to attend moments of efficacy.

Moxibustion's distinctive role in this process comes to the fore when we turn from the surface of the instructions to what would have been implicit in the performance. Any application of *kyū* in early medieval Japan would have invariably involved the material use of fire. This material fact, banal as it might be to those familiar with moxibustion, assumes a different significance altogether when reinscribed in the context of esoteric ritual and this rite in particular. For instance, on the material register of the rite, the fire of moxa inevitably evokes the fire of the *goma* hearth, even if the former slowly smolders into the patient's skin and the latter broadcasts its flames high into the air. Just like the hearth at the center of the rite, the points at which moxibustion is applied on the patient's body can be understood as sites of transformation. This is why it makes some sense to speculate the ritualist imagining Siddhaṃ graphs manifesting out of the freshly burned dermal sites of each moxa point.

As a broader dynamic, moxibustion thus reinscribed renders actual the virtual efficacy of esoteric rituals. Pivoting on an imagination of fire that variously makes effects visible and legible, the images, ideas, and practices we have seen throughout this chapter were deliberately collected, organized, and reworked by Jimon compilers who sought to amplify this particular configuration of efficacy. But by now assimilating moxibustion, it is no longer only "as if" the demon's body will be broken apart by flames. Potent fires are no longer generated only in the imaginary of tales or in eidetic images conjured in the mind. And fire becomes more than a shape imitated by the hands or ritual implements. Moxibustion lends esoteric efficacy a new level of reality because, as a fire therapy, it literalizes the metaphors, images, and practices by which ritualists in medieval Japan envisioned the engines of transformation. It finds new meaning in the webs of those efficacious images, but then crosses a new threshold that

distinguishes it from other ritual practices. But the significance of the difference moxibustion institutes in ritual therapy derives from this fact: how the materialization of efficacy through moxibustion would have enabled the ritual healer to bring those powers to bear directly upon the patient's body.

The instructions above outline a moxibustion program that was unparalleled in the extent in which it implicated the patient's body. It is comprehensive, covering vital points over the entire body. The liturgy gives nine main "places" (*sho* 処) on the body, starting with the crown of the head and ending at the patient's feet. To this, three additional places are added, but here the meaning of "place" changes because two of those points—Shoulder Well and Benevolence—are pairs found on both the left and right sides of the body. This brings the total count of application points to fifteen.

A full account of the body in this ritual will have to await the next chapter, but for now we need to note that we would be hard pressed to find a moxibustion program as involved as this either known or practiced in medieval Japan. Aside from perhaps a couple exceptions—Ge Hong's nine points for "foot qi" or the Four Flowers technique to be discussed in the next chapter—continental medical sources generally did not have this kind of program.[76] Further afield, Tibetan and Dunhuang charts are interesting but they provide groups of symptoms; as far as we can tell they are not necessarily to be carried out as full programs in the sequences we have here.[77] Turning to Japan, it is obvious from our analysis in the previous chapter that this is not the kind of program that either court physicians or *hijiri* were using. While the former relied upon complex and systematic calendrical schemes involving taboos, the documentary evidence we have suggests that court physicians applied moxibustion in a rudimentary way at only at most a few or so points on the body. They were

[76] Ge Hong's method appears in fascicle 3 of the *Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方; see fasc. 3: 32b–34b; see also the discussion in Smith, *The Forgotten Disease*, 39–41.

[77] Lo and Yoeli-Tlalinm, "Travelling Light: Sino-Tibetan Moxa-Cautery from Dunhuang." I thank Vivienne Lo for kindly sharing the draft version of this paper.

certainly not performing anything comparable to the full-body sequence outlined in the Jimon liturgy.

There are also ritual and temporal dimensions that heightened the focus on the body, specifically the length of time the body was the focus. We can only speculate about how long the above moxibustion program would have lasted. But let's think about these details. For each of the nine main points, the ritualist is to recite the accompanying mantra fifty-seven times. Would they have burned multiple cones to fill the time it took to finish the recitation for each point? Or, equally likely given that medical texts often mention as many as one to three hundred cones, would the ritualist have burned fifty-seven cones to match the number of recitations?[78] The mantras here are distinct from those we might associate with court physicians, such as the spell mentioned in fascicle two of the *Ishinpō.* That spell was performed at the beginning of treatment as a request for general protection from the gods during treatment. The liturgy has spells for all the points, thus this would have been considerably longer and more extensive, increasing the focus on the body of the patient undergoing the treatment.

But why does the extent of focus on the body matter? In the abstract, it does not. Some rites in medieval Japan may have involved physical aspects and patron participation. My contention, however, is that the bodily experience of the patient takes on a special meaning in terms of how the efficacy constructed through this rite leans on the particularity of moxibustion. The key here is pain.

---

[78] Certain methods in the *Waitai miyao fang* call for large number of cones. In fascicle 13, which deals with exhaustion disorders, there are four moxibustion methods given for bones-steaming, which originally probably had illustrations 灸骨蒸法図四首. One method attributed to Cui Zhiti 崔知悌 (b. ca. 620), which as we will discuss in the next chapter became known as the Four Flowers technique (Ch. *sihua jiu* 四花灸), calls for a hundred cones if after twenty cones "efficacy is not yet experienced" 未覚効. Another method, "Master Shensu's Moxa Method for Treating Bones-steaming with a Cough" 神素師灸骨蒸咳法, eventually reaches as many as three-hundred (*Waitai miyao fang* [1], 4: 243a–244a [13-9–11]).

As Elaine Scarry has argued, the pain of others is notoriously silent.[79] Even in the discourse of healers, where a sufferer's experience ought to occupy a prominent place, pain tends to be anesthetized. While exceptions exist, prescriptive ritual texts for healing in medieval Japan are not among them: the patient's voice is rarely heard.[80] This does not mean, however, that the patient's experience has no role to play. Pain—and the constellation of effects which attend it—are culturally and historically situated; the hermeneutics of pain depends upon both time and place.[81] Because moxibustion was performed directly on the body as a form of cautery, pain was a constituent feature of this modality. Yet for that modality to become as widespread as it did in early medieval Japan, in the face of prevailing taboos against defilement and harm to the bodies of members of the imperial family, speaks to a collective pain tolerance organized around moxibustion. Hence, when the Jimon compilers created a moxibustion liturgy in the late twelfth century, this transcended the simple adoption of a non-Buddhist healing modality; they also inevitably reeled in the package of pain that went along with it. And the significance of that lies here: By writing moxibustion into an esoteric rite, the Jimon compilers re-encode the experience of the patient in terms of the harm thought necessary to deal with disease-causing demons. If, in the ways we've seen, fire in medieval sources variably rendered transformation visible, so too, when applied on the body as moxibustion, fire could render a certain healing efficacy tangible and tactile. By way of ritualized moxibustion, subjugation of the demon-other/self becomes an experience the patient actually and acutely feels.

While pain is itself absent in the Jimon liturgy, corollary implications can be teased out. The moxibustion liturgy marks a radical divergence from the way healing was conducted by

---

[79] Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 1988.

[80] There are of course other ways to recover such voices from medieval ritual texts, for example, paratextual information concerning sponsors of the rite.

[81] For examples of this, see the essays and conversations in Coakley and Shelemay, eds., *Pain and its Transformations,* 2007.

Jimon monks throughout the Heian period. The divergence hinges on directness and what that implies about the relationship between the patient and the disease. Based on the *āveśa* rites, the more well-established Jimon healing relied upon the use of the body of a medium to whom the offending spirit was transferred. Esoteric sources, which undoubtedly informed the ways Jimon monks performed it, invariably describe appropriate mediums as young boys or girls around the age of seven who explicitly lack blemishes, scars, etc., on the skin. Further procedures prescribe the bathing and purification of the body. Dermatologically transparent enough to receive the spirit, the body of the medium also becomes the site at which that spirit is subjugated. By contrast, moxibustion inevitably mars the body by burning off superficial layers of skin. In turn, rather than problematizing such blemishes, as may have been done in the case of mediums, these objective marks of sores and scars may have contributed to a sense of the rite's efficacy.[82] Although not noted in the Jimon ritual sources, the marking function inherent to direct moxibustion would later become known in Buddhist communities elsewhere in the context of ordination practice. James Benn suggested a link to earlier practices of self-immolation, to which he linked to moxibustion.[83] We know that sores were important

[82] This was certainly one aspect of moxibustion—whether in Buddhist rites or as part of Chinese medicine—that struck Western observers at the cusp of the modern period throughout East Asia. For William Elliot Griffis, its tortue ensured monastic obedience. In *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (1894: 335), he noted, "The ceremony of *pul-tatta*, or 'receiving the fire,' is undergone upon taking the vows of the priesthood. A moxa or cone of burning tinder is laid upon the man's arm, after the hair has been shaved off. The tiny mass is then lighted, and slowly burns into the flesh, leaving a painful sore, the scar of which remains as a mark of holiness. This serves as initiation, but if the vows are broken, the torture is repeated on each occasion. In this manner, ecclesiastical discipline is maintained." In *Curiosities of Medical Experience*, J. G. Millingen (1839: 559) conveys the sense that the torture of medical techniques was universal: "Whatever may be the merits of Chinese practitioners both in medicine and surgery, or their mode of receiving renumeration, it appears that they are as much subject to animadversion as in other countries:—a missionary having observed to a Chinese, that their medical men had constantly recourse to fire in the shape of moxa, redhot iron, and burning needles; he replied, 'Alas! you Europeans are carved with steel, while we are martyrized with hot iron; and I fear that in neither country will the fashion subside, since the operators do not feel the anguish they inflict, and are equally paid to torment us or to cure us!" For more on western perceptions of moxibustion and other East Asian medical technologies in the early modern period, see Barnes, *Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts: China, Healing, and the West to 1848*; Michel, "Japanese Acupuncture and Moxibustion in Europe from the 16th to 18th Centuries"; Vigouroux, "The Surgeon's Acupuncturist: Philipp Franz Von Siebold's Encounter with Ishizaka Sōtetsu and Nineteenth Century Japanese Acupuncture."

[83] Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism."

court physicians.[84] In the context of the healing program set out by Jimon monks, then, such marks may have served as yet another way of making the effects of healing legible, the physical artifacts of subjugation.

In what we can derive from the liturgy, the Jimon compilers appear to have been aware of the iatrogenic damage wrought by moxibustion and, like court physicians, sought to manage it as part of the ritual's therapeutic program. After instructions for applying moxibustion, we find these for tending to the points:

> 以沈香白檀香等、入銅器中、誦前身呪三七遍、加持其香水、入茷草楊柳柘榴湯中、応浴洗其病人灸処、傳屍病止息。
>
> Take agarwood, sandalwood, and [other aromatics] and toss them into the bronze vessel. Recite the previous Body Spell thirty-seven times, perform empowerment on the fragrant water, and then toss in *heisō*, willow branches, and pomegranate branches. You must clean the moxibustion points of the sick one, then the corpse-vector disease will be halted.

The prescribed wash resonates with practices of court physicians. Medicinal washes for moxa sores are commonly described in the medical literature; Koremune Tomotoshi mentions one when he describes the chaotic sores. However, above, the prescription is based on esoteric ingredients. All are ritual materials, starting with agarwood and sandalwood, mainstay aromatics in esoteric rites that are often infused to make "aromatic water"—essentially what we have here. More specific to this rite, the willow and pomegranate branches are presumably those the ritualist used previously to flog the patient. We noted those materials were taken from disparate sections of the *Dhāraṇī Collection Sūtra*, but now they've been repurposed for

[84] Precisely as a technology for marking, moxibustion was used to conceal other indelible marks on the flesh in both China and Japan. As Carrie E. Reed writes in "Tattoo in Early China" (2000: 370), one of the first features coroners would look for during an autopsy in the late nineteenth century were "any signs of tattoo removal by moxibustion." But this was a much older tradition, for already in the *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (d. 863), we learn that when city administrators conduct widescale crack downs on city ruffians, they made sure "[a]ll of the city residents who had tattoos destroyed their tattoos with moxibustion" (Reed 2000: 372). *Nishiki-e* illustrations from Edo-period Japan similarily show that moxibustion was used by female entertainers (*yūjo* 遊女) to burn off the tattooed names of their lovers; see Nagano Hitoshi 2010: 40.

post-moxa application care. *Heisō* is another interesting addition, and it's distinctive to this rite. In the *Essential Notes,* the "Japanese name" for this plant is given in *katakana* as *oni-no-yagara*, with another name being *kishikishi.*[85] There, a quote from the *kōshin* scripture indicates this plant is despised by the three corpse-worms, thus to bathe in it works to dispel them.[86] On the one hand, this cleansing supports Holly Gether's emphasis that fire sequences in *goma* rites are couched between sequences that involve water; thus, the Jimon liturgy falls into something of a traditional structure. On the other hand, we see in these instructions an attempt to negotiate the pain of moxibustion and its bodily damage in manner finalized toward bringing corpse-vector disease to a halt.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have sought to account for the role of moxibustion in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* by situating the modality in a constellation of images and practices that constitute the rite's organizing motif of efficacy. These elements, which the compilers of the rite largely inherited from esoteric liturgical literature, ranged from the ideological to the practical and material; what tied them all together was fire. Metaphors and images derived from fire and its marvelously protean and destructive character had long figured in the ways that the liturgical tradition articulated the workings of transformation. A considerable array of practices, including spells, contemplations, and hand gestures, served as technologies of the body through which a ritualist might replicate those transformative flames. The root analogy of these ideas and actions was grounded in the material facts of esoteric rites, most obviously

[85] Kinoshita Takeshi (*Wakan koten shokubutsumei seikai*, 458–460) identifies the plant as *Gastrodia elata* and provides several early Chinese and Japanese sources which describe it. Drawing from Chinese texts, the *Wamyōshō* 和名抄 notes of *sekisen* 赤箭 (a more common name) that the plant is said to look like an arrow when viewed from afar. The *Wamyōshō* gives five names for the plant, citing from the *Taiqing jing*, in other words, a major source for the *kōshin* scripture that is cited through the Jimon moxibustion ritual sources, particularly the *Essential Notes.*

[86] OT p. 10.

the flames of the *goma* hearth which spatially and temporally occupied the center of ritual performance.

Yet the ways Jimon monks engaged efficacy in assembling this new rite, while deriving meaning from received esoteric ritual knowledge and its broader diffusion in early medieval Japan, were unanticipated by the tradition. The combination, organization, and linking of fire-related practices into this one liturgy, saturating the rite in vibrant associations between efficacy and fire, testifies to the creativity of the rite's compilers. Ritualists work to create efficacy by coordinating particular images, by combining and added up selective elements. It is as a part of this activity that we must understand moxibustion and the work it does in the rite. Its inclusion contributes to actualizing efficacy in terms meaningful to the tradition, terms that were received but could be negotiated in unprecedented ways.

The Jimon moxibustion rite thus illustrates one key dynamic that guided the production of rituals in the early medieval period. Esoteric monks had particular ways of envisioning the very workings of transformation and change produced by ritual acts; fire was the organizing principle for one variation of those ways. Not yet an explicit theory or system—though certainly tethered at certain nodes to the larger esoteric episteme, these notions constituted an inchoate metaphysics made up of visible, tangible, and legible signs. As we have seen, however, these signs, or *shirushi*, to use the gloss on *gen*, the widely used nominalization for "efficacy," were not just favorable marks of success already achieved, past-tense. Rather, these tokens of transformation, like the appearance of Siddham characters or, more directly, fire itself, shaped the very practices that ritualists might use to obtain those signs. I have tried to show that the assimiliation of moxibustion makes sense as part of this circuit between efficacious signs and ritual actions. Moxibustion might have been understood as a non-Buddhist healing modality more associated with classical medicine and court physicians, but reinscribed in the Jimon rite within a configuration of efficacy the compilers would have understood.

But those dynamics of efficacy are only meaningful in light of the rite's pathological focus on corpse-vector disease. Among the many intriguing hypotheses that Michel Strickmann proffered in his posthumously published *Chinese Magical Medicine* was this. "It may turn out, upon analysis," Strickmann wrote, "that the wave of demonomania that swept over the Japanese aristocracy was to a large extent iatrogenic, produced by the monkish physicians themselves." In the ensuing two chapters, Strickmann would go on to unpack the "methods and materials of Tantric Buddhism" he suspected inspired possession in Japan as well as the attempts to treat it, which is to say, in the main, *avesa* rites outlined continental sources. We have already seen the importance of medium-based rites in early medieval Japan, but specified this further by highlighting critical role played by Jimon monks in the local development of those practices. By contrast, our examination here suggests that, when faced with the multidimensional problem posed by corpse-vector disease, Jimon monks may have found themselves in a cul-de-sac. If corpse-vector disease is demonic but essentially identical to the sufferer, substitution and subsequent subjugation—the key sequences of *avesa*—might appear less efficacious. And perhaps ritual failures told them as much.

Here moxibustion's contribution to efficacy becomes clearer. Because it was controlled fire applied directly to the body, moxibustion could collapse the ritualized distance between efficacy and body. Subjugation need no longer be performed in mediated fashion; it was something that could play out on the very surface of the sufferer's skin, something that the patient his or herself could feel. And the meaning of subjugation is here retained. Moxibustion pain was already widely localized, part of its cultural currency; thus, the violence that attends it is already authorized by the collective—this is the logic upon which subjugation methods were performed.

For all of its participation in esoteric dynamics, moxibustion was not subsumed. This humble modality mattered. When we survey subsequent transmissions and later variations of Buddhist moxibustion, the trend is clear: the complex liturgy atrophies almost completely, and while ritual elements persist to some extent, if in altered forms, the core remains moxibustion.

Central to that core moxibustion method were the moxibustion points. In order to grasp that, we need to make another pair of passes through the ritual, this time focused on the body.

# Chapter 5
# Getting the Point

TOWARD THE END of the last chapter, we explored what consequences the ritual adoption of moxibustion might have had on experiential and sensorial aspects of the rite as they pertain to the embodied patient. In this and the next chapter, we delve further into the question of the patient's body, with the goal of understanding how that body is constructed within the written sources for the rite. In general, Buddhist ritual texts are known to promote a diversity of images of the body, productions that overlap to some degree with, but which can be distinguished from, the biological body, what some scholars have called—in reference to its normalizing tendencies—the "body proper."[1] In esoteric Buddhist texts, which can be recognized as especially rich in bodily imaginaries, the focus is very often that of the ritualist whose attainment of union with the deity and accumulation of powers is the premise for ritual action. In contrast, the Jimon moxibustion ritual we explore in this study creates several layers of images of the body of the patient. This is to be expected, given that the rite is a healing practice meant to rid the patient of corpse-vector disease, but it also relates importantly to the fact that the central modality the ritual promotes is moxibustion.

As we already know well at this point, moxibustion is a material therapy applied directly to the body, and this is the reason why its appropriation among Buddhists was

[1] On this question as it pivots on the Japanese Sōtō Zen monk Keizan, see Faure, *Visions of Power*, 198–223. For the breadth and methodological diversity of projects to tackle the body in ways beyond the body narrowly defined by biomedicine of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—i.e. the universal, singular, and un-cultured body, see the excellent anthology in Lock and Farquhar eds., *Beyond the Body Proper,* 2007.

particularly innovative. But in the history of the technique, we see that almost always it was applied not indiscriminately over the body, but on specific regions, sites of concentration. Thus, historically, the efficacy of moxibustion (and acupuncture as well) were often understood to depend upon parallel maps of the body. Understanding how the Jimon monks who compiled the moxibustion ritual worked with that history to create an image of the patient's body to be deployed in the ritual is thus critical to grasping how those monks successfully brought a Chinese medical modality into the ritual horizons of esoteric Buddhist healing. Understanding this ritualized body-map for moxibustion is also important for historical reasons. That's because the earliest extant illustrated body-map for moxibustion appears in *Essential Notes*, the document of secret teachings for performing the Jimon moxibustion ritual. Over the next century, new illustrated body-maps would be created based on the Jimon moxibustion ritual, and these would shape the ways that such illustrations were designed by practitioners of moxibustion and acupuncture through the medieval period.

## MULTIPLICITY, TEXTUALITY, SOMATICITY

At the outset it is important to point out that our focus is not on a single, cohesive, or self-contained body. Instead, the ritual texts construct—to borrow an apt term from the work of Annemarie Mol—"a body multiple."[2] In her ethnography-based study, Mol explores the ways that diseases are "enacted" variably within different departments of a contemporary Dutch university hospital. She details how those various practices used to acquire knowledge in different sectors of the same site about even the same disease produce divergent forms. What interests Mol is how additional practices (coordination, distribution, addition, inclusion, and so on) are required to do the work of transforming the disease in question into a single object, thus creating the sense that there existsa  single disease that can appropriately called by a single

[2] Mol, *The Body Multiple*, 2002.

name and engaged with as if it were indeed a single entity. This allows her to argue that disease is not a singular whole, but is in fact multiple, although not unlimitedly so.

In drawing attention on Mol's insight analysis into the multiplicity of the body as it is created through embodied practices, we do not share the agenda of destabilizing claims to a universal body, which provides the context of Mol's study. Indeed, in the case of medieval Japan, there is no universal body to which we can reliably point, nor emic claims as such.[3] While we might find doctrinal treatises written by scholar-monks that maintain they've found correct understanding with regard to certain Buddhist concepts of the body, we cannot easily point to similar assertions of a universal body. However, it is nevertheless clear that in compiling their healing ritual, Jimon monks had in mind certain images to which they sought to relate the aspects of body they present. In other words, the body is not completely fragmented, either; it "hangs together," to use Mol's terminology. The Jimon monks sought to make the body images of their ritual texts make sense in terms of aspects both within the ritual texts and without, linking those to traditional Buddhist bodies, to the pathology of corpse-vector disease as they understood it, to historical precendents in the way Jimon monks practiced healing, and to the healing technology they chose to co-opt. Thus, we can learn from Mol how to discern the edges of these differential and sometimes fragmentary images, as well as to see where attempts were made to combine such images to create something of a coherent picture that would have proved compelling to aristocratic patients.

The compilers of the moxibustion rite undoubtedly drew upon a wide variety of sources in constructing the ritual body. Although we will discuss possible clinical dimensions, our main focus will be textual. Ritual sources, whether they be liturgies or oral transmission or "notes" documents, are complex textual productions. Reading these sources, one gets the feeling that the compilers made great efforts to cull relevant information from many different

[3] In *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair*, Pandey (2016) uses Japanese literature, in particular, the *Tale of Genji*, to demonstrate that historical variations of the body not only diverge from the body proper, but also are always local, shaped by factors such as genre constraints.

kinds of texts, resulting in a striking hybridity that defining the finalized ritual document. As we study the textual strategies through which these other sources were culled, we need to pay special attention to how Jimon monks drew upon different genres for knowledge and then transformed that information to fit their purposes in creating coherence in the healing rite. Moreover, the textuality of the construction of the ritual body is incredible because this is the body with which they will engage in actual performances. This focus therefore allows us to better understand how patients were not simply "passive" parts of the rite: they were the living sites upon which such ritual textual projects were continued and pursued off the manuscript pages in actual healing scenarios.

It is worth pointing that the very notion that the body is constructed textually would itself not necessarily have been foreign in medieval Japan. In numerous discourses, bodies and texts were frequently related to one another by way of analogy, metaphor, and homology, as well as through practice and performance. Specific examples of this theme will be discussed throughout, but here we need only recall how the "bodies" of physical icons were frequently transformed into veritable archives. Just as we have examples of hand-crafted viscera and bowels being installed in Buddhist icons—most prominently the Shōjin Shaka 生身釈迦 of Seiryōji 清凉寺—so too are there countless cases of the icons of famous patriarchs or masters being loaded up with catalogues, vow texts, relics, ritual implements, smaller icons, treasures, and other objects (this was of course true of the Seiryōji Shaka as well). Still other varieties of criss-crossings between text and body can be observed in literature such as *setsuwa* tales, venues that are unrestricted by physical constraints and which paint vividly the mentalities of medieval Japanese Buddhists.[4]

As we discuss how text and body are employed to configure one another in the Jimon ritual sources, there are two additional points to bear in mind. First, the images that could be incorporated into the ritual body were restricted by the shapes of the archives to which Jimon

[4] On *setsuwa* see Eubanks, *Miracles of Book and Body*; see also Pandey on the *Tale of Genji*, in *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives.*

monks had access. Here we run into considerable difficulty, for as we explained at the outset of this study, the extant sources for the Jimon school are regrettably fewer than desireable. As we have done in previous chapters, we will continue to put the Jimon ritual sources in conversation with relevant texts, paying special attention to any hints given in the ritual texts themselves. But this will also give this study a corollary purpose: to uncover the kinds of sources that were accessible by Jimon monks. The sources for the Jimon moxibustion ritual are some of the earliest extant sources we have, thus we will not only attempt to figure out what textual sources were incorporated into the Jimon text, but also use these texts to increase our still limited understanding of what sources Jimon had access to and through what means.

The second point relates to key differences between the two types of the rite's earliest sources: the liturgical text, i.e. *Ritual for Expelling Demons,* and the "notes" text (*shō* 鈔), *Essential Notes*, which includes oral transmissions (*kuden* 口伝). Although by arguing earlier in the Introduction for the Jimon provenance of both types of sources we showed that both emerged at approximately the same time in the 1170's, it is critical to keep in mind that these texts are of different kinds, they provide different kinds of information. Those differences are especially important when it comes to the issue of the patient's body. Paralleling our earlier distinction between between the larger ritual structure (*shuhō/suhō* 修法) and the portable techniques of empowerment (*kaji* 加持), we should distinguish in this case the rite, represented by *Ritual for Expelling Demons,* on the one hand, from the method or technique, represented by *Essential Notes*.

## OVERVIEW OF THE BODY

How, then, do these two types of sources differ in the ways they contribute to constructing the patient's body? We will answer that question here briefly in order to also provide an overview of the body that this chapter will analyze.

The *Ritual for Expelling Demons* presents a body that is consistent with what we will refer to as "esoteric physiology," and in two senses provides a *surface*, one textual and the other bodily. Originating with Indian religious notions of a "subtle body," esoteric physiology itself took manifold forms and undergirded all kinds of esoteric Buddhist practices in medieval Japan. This was the body ritualists sought to activate in soteriological pursuits and which facilitated yogic union with gods that was a premise for ritual actions. Importantly, it was also the body that ritualists deployed when performing healing activities on patients, and that is the case with the Jimon rite. On the surface, therefore, *Ritual for Expelling Demons* looks almost identical to empowerment programs. Our analysis will show that the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* distributes moxibustion points over the body with this basic framework in as the backdrop. Although the model refers to internal structures, I argue it's usefulness for Jimon monks was in fact more about how it allowed distribution of points over an external surface.

Because of the inclusion of moxibustion points, however, prescriptions in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* are useless to would-be healers who do not know where those points are precisely located. *Ritual for Expelling Demons* includes no information on where those points are located. In turn, concrete instructions for locating those points are included in *Essential Notes*. As far as we can judge from the title, *Essential Notes* constituted the more secret core of the ritual prescriptions. Its content is often referred to as "oral transmissions," which were theoretically only conveyed by masters to disciples to be initiated into the lineage (although we know other lineages would eventually have access to these transmissions), and "essential notes," notes here referring to the text that a student would record while receiving said instructions from the master. *Essential Notes* thus looks quite different from the liturgy, giving us access to the secret core without which a ritualist would not be able to perform the rite. We should note here that this difference might relate to how members of the Jimon lineage wanted these sources to be understood. The liturgy looks like and is called a liturgy, and claims are made in colophons that the text was among those brought back by Enchin, the lineage founder. Thus, it is not surprising that scholars have taken this at face value, reading the surface

to say that the text was indeed a Chinese translation. But the textual histories must be understood together, and it is together that is necessary for performing the actual ritual technique.

In zooming in on the instructions for moxibustion in *Essential Notes,* the reasons for why Jimon monks might have wanted to distinguish these two sources becomes clearer. The points show a hybridity of knowledge that went into formulating them and their instructions. What stands out most obviously as initially "out of place"—although precisely what we'd expect—is the inclusion of knowledge from classical medical literature on moxibustion-acupuncture. These places are of multiple types, each serving a different function and recalling different sources of inspiration. There are also points that can be shown to draw from Buddhist sources, and relate directly to the archival identity of the Jimon lineage. What emerges here are the ways in which practice is agglutinative, much like the stones visitors to pilgrimage sites pile up which slowly grow in number over time.[5] The metaphor is germane because the sources we are dealing with were indeed produced over multiple generations and thus overdetermined with inchoate meanings about the body, disease, and treatment.

However, the purpose in our examination of the moxibustion points is not simply to show multiple sources of influences. As with Mol, we are interested in seeing how the points link back to other images and ideas within the text and without. This will allow us to better appreciate the textual strategies that medieval monks employed when constructing patient bodies for the purposes of healing rituals.

## ESOTERIC PHYSIOLOGY: CAKRAS & SURFACES

The Jimon ritual sources present a map of the patient's body that is meant to guide moxibustion treatment performed during the ritual. While we will see that there were many

[5] This is discussed with reference to art in Thai Buddhist practice inMcDaniel, *The Lovelorn Ghost and the Magical Monk*, 2015.

layers of this body-map, including several distinctive to this ritual, the basic structure corresponded to certain traditional images of the body that were of much significance in early medieval Japan and for the healing activities of the Jimon lineage in particular. This esoteric physiology becomes apparent when we closely examine the locations of the moxibustion points that the ritual texts distribute across the landscape of the patient's body. The following is a list of those points along with explanations, drawn from *Oral Transmissions*, indicating where the performer of the rite was to find them:

1. Character-Ten on the Crown (*chōjūji* 頂十字): one point on the crown of the head
2. Wind Gate (*fūmon* 風門): the first bone of the spinal cord on the nape of the neck
3. Platform Mirror, above and below (*dankyō jōge* 亶鏡上下): one *sun* above the *dan* ("platform," i.e. the space between the breasts) and one *sun* below [two points]
4. Heart (*shinzō* 心臟): less than one sun above the navel
5. Cinnabar Field (*tanden* 丹田): two and a half *sun* below the navel
6. Wind Gathering (*fūji* 風市): the middle of each thigh at the point where the arms reach when hanging down [two points]
7. Hōkyō 彭矯: under the bone that protrudes from the sides of each inner ankle [two points]
8. Back of the Platform (*danhai* 亶背): located behind the *dan* ("platform") loci described in 3 above
9. Shoulder Well (*kensei* 肩井): the hollow spaces of one's shoulders [two points]
10. Benevolence (*jin* 仁): the center of the soles of each foot [two points]
11. Back of the Head (*tōhai* 頭背)

There is a pattern to the distribution of points. First, spatially-speaking, the points are given in descending order, with the moxibustion application starting at the crown of the head and moving down to the Hōkyō points on the ankles. This pattern is broken by points 8

through 11, but these points are noted in the liturgy after the instructions for points 1–7, with the suggestion that they were later additions. Second, the majority of points fall directly along the center line of the body (1–5, 8, 11). Third, the points that do not fall along the center line of the body are nevertheless given in pairs and thus align to that center (6, 7, 9, 10); there are no points that fall only on one side of the body or the other. This pattern of verticality, characterized by a central alignment of the points, is important given that acumoxa points could be, and historically were, variably distributed. Acumoxa channels, such as the predominant body-map of twelve, similiarly run mostly vertically up and down the body and in parallel, each side mirroring the other. As we already noted, however, physicians in Japan did not perform moxibustion in accordance with this system; instead, they applied moxibustion to points on various parts of the body, paying heed to not accidentally apply treatment to the locations of body-gods. Programs defined by the verticality we see in the Jimon ritual might be found in classical medical literature, but this does not appear to have been common. I argue that the compilers of this rite did not have in mind a body of *qi*- and blood-flowing channels, or a rare vertically-aligned program, but rather what has been called the "subtle body."

Deriving from Indian yogic disciplines, the subtle body was known in Japan mainly through esoteric Buddhist literature. In the basic idea, this was a body of channels, known as *nāḍī*, through which substances were imagined in the form of liquid to circulate, and "wheels," or *cakras*, the lively meeting points of those flowing channels.[6] In Japan, the former idea of channels appears to have not been nearly as important as that of the *cakras.*[7] Different forms of yogic practice proposed different numbers, but in Chinese texts and in Japan the number was commonly given as six or five. One practice of considerable importance in Japan was the "contemplation of the five wheels" (*gorinkan* 五輪観). This practice involves visualization at five parts of the body (sometimes written *gotai* 五体). For example, in the *Ritual of the*

[6] Samuel, *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra*, 2008: 271–290. On esoteric physiology in connection with the historical development of Tantric Buddhism, see McEvilley, "Spinal Serpent," 2002.

[7] This may have to do with the historical stage of Tantric texts that Japan received.

*Victorious Buddha-Crown for Cultivating Yoga* (*Zunsheng foding zhenyan xiu yuqiefa guiyi* 尊勝仏頂修瑜伽法軌儀;T. 973), the five *cakras* are given as follows: below the hips, the crown, above the eyebrows, the heart, and the navel;[8] in the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*Darijing shu* 大日経疏): the crown, between the crown and the throat, between throat and the heart, between the heart and the navel, and below the navel;[9] in *Illuminating Secret Commentary on the Five Cakras and Nine Syllables* (*Gorin kuji myō himitsu shaku* 五輪九字明秘密釈), Kakuban gives the following: the crown, the face, the chest, the abdomen, and the knees;[10] finally, the *Collection on Ritual Conduct* (*Sahō shu* 作法集) gives the forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and throat. The contemplation engaging these chakric sites took many forms, but most basically, it involved the use of mudras and mantras while the practitioner envisioned within the five *cakras* the "five elements" (*godai* 五大: earth, water, fire, wind, and space), along with various colors and Siddham charactes and usually animated by transformations.

We have a comparable arrangement in the Jimon liturgy, if with some key differences. The points given for moxibustion application in the Jimon ritual do not match up perfectly to locations given for *cakras* in traditional sources or approximately coeval texts composed in Japan. The most obvious difference is in number. Because as we will see, the Jimon moxibustion ritual draws upon multiple sources in formulating these points, including acumoxa literature and other Buddhist writings, the points included in the ritual are more numerous than common counts of *cakras* given in esoteric Buddhist texts known or written in Japan. However, there are numerous similarities and overlaps to be noted. First, in general, we can highlight the verticality and central alignment indicated above: all of the points are either in the center or else, when in pairs, align to it. Second, we can note the preponderance of points

[8] T. 973: 369b10–14.

[9] Nihonyanagi, *Bukkyō igaku gaiyō*, 1994.

[10] *Shingon Texts*, 2004.

in the upper body above the hips (1–5, 8, 9, 11). Aside from Kakuban's list, which includes the knees, most lists place the lowest *cakra* at the region below the navel. The crown, chest, heart, and navel are both *cakras* in esoteric ritual schemes and moxibustion points in the Jimon liturgy (although we must keep in mind that *Essential Notes* will provide us with more specific locations). One notable difference is that the Jimon ritual does not include the throat, which commonly cited as a *cakra* in esoteric schemes. However, there is a possible similarity with the point known as Wind Gate in the liturgy. As we will see later, "wind" has pathological connotations in the Jimon ritual, ideas that are drawn from medical literature. In Buddhist sources, however, wind was also routinely associated with the throat, the combination of which produces the breath, a process often described in sacralizing terms given the importance of breath for many esoteric pracitces. Although Wind Gate is technically located on the back of the neck, perhaps Jimon monks chose it because they saw this connection between the throat *cakra,* wind, and the breath. Another correspondence pertaining to the upper body can be indicated between the Shoulder Well points of the liturgy and the shoulders indicated in the list given in *Collection on Ritual Conduct*, a text we will soon observe shares with the Jimon ritual a focus on bringing the *cakras* into healing programs. In the lower body, Kakuban's inclusion of both knees corresponds closely to the Wind Gathering points. However, it is clear that many esoteric schemes were indeed focused on the upper body, and these were thus were not in any straightforward way influences on the compilation of the patient's body in the Jimon liturgy.

Closer parallels to the moxibustion rite can be found in other ritual sequences which also derive from the same notion of the subtle body but which extended the scheme to encompass a greater number of locations. One important example is contained in the *Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄. In a Taizō-related practice appearing after an "internal visualization of the five *cakras*," we find a visualization labelled "characters for the twelve body parts" (*jūnishi ku* 十二支句). This practice involves eidetically distributing twelve *siddhaṃ* characters throughout the body, specifically to the following locations: the crown, the two ears, the forehead, the two

shoulders, the throat and heart, the navel and hip or lower back area (*koshi* 腰), and finally, the two feet. The practice in *Asabashō* is numerically close to the Jimon ritual, which, as we will note shortly, prescribes nine to thirteen places on the body upon which to apply moxibustion (the exact number depends on how they are counted). Regions apparently shared between the two sources include the crown, the two shoulders, the heart, the navel, and the two feet. More basically, the *Asabashō* is similar in that it prescribes a comprehensive program that extends over the entire body, from the crown to the feet. Indeed, we will have more to say about this practice from *Asabashō* in the next chapter, as it may have been one model for the Jimon rite. Suffice to say for now that the Jimon liturgy's construction of the basic frame for the patient's body can be located among these examples of how the subtle body was employed in visualization practices that were known by all esoteric lineages in the early medieval period.

## ESOTERIC PHYSIOLOGY: HEALING IN THE JIMON ARCHIVE

Although we can recognize the general importance these practices had across esoteric lineages, including importantly Tendai lineages, it's also possible to narrow our analysis further to explore how these schemes might have held special meaning historically for monks of the Jimon school, both in terms of identity as well as their healing activities. Doing so will allow us more ground for speculating why these schemes were chosen to become a part of the extraordinarily innovative ritual that the Jimon moxibustion ritual represented.

An early example of an esoteric scheme of the body appearing in ritual practice that was likely of much importance for the Jimon tradition is the *Contemplation of Nyoirin [Kannon's] Mind-Within-Mind Mantra* (*Nyoirin shinchūshin shingon kan* 如意輪心中心真言觀; see FIG. 17 on p. 330). The entire text is contained on a single sheet of paper, and it depicts a practice that, in terms of *cakras*, fits somewhere between routine lists of five and the longer list elaborated in the *Asabashō.* In this document, seven places on the body are indicated: crown 頂, forehead 額, two eyes 両目, mouth 口, heart 心, two spleens 二脾, and navel 臍輪.

For each of these places, a mantra is given along with *siddhaṃ* characters, thus making this similar to the Jimon moxibustion liturgy as well as to other esoteric physiological schemes we examined above. The practitioner is instructed to visualize the seven characters turned to gold, emanating from the mouth of Nyoirin Kannon and entering the heart of the practitioner. When that occurs, an illumination pervades broadly without boundary, and soon the body of the practitioner attains the "three illuminations" (*sanmyō* 三明) of the *dharmakaya* and quickly realizes all knowledges (*issaichi* 一切智). The text appears most obviously related to continental sources with esoteric discourses on Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音 (Ch. Ruyilun Guanyin).[11] Certain of these texts, for example *Foshuo Ruyilun lianhuaxin rulai xiuxing guanmen yi* 佛說如意輪蓮華心如來修行觀門儀, mention a similar mantra and mudra named "mind-within-mind" (*shinjūshin;* Ch. *xinzhongxin* 心中心).[12] In that text, we also find empowerment of five chakric regions (the crown, forehead, throat, heart, and two shoulders), conducted by applying the mudra to those regions. *Contemplation of Nyoirin [Kannon's] Mind-Within-Mind Mantra* is idiosyncratic compared to that list and indeed among the others we have seen in that it includes a term for an internal viscera, the spleen.

[11] For a list of these texts and in the relation of the Nyoirin cult to femininity in imperial contexts, see Iyanaga, "Nyoirin Kannon to joseisei," 2001..

[12] This is is Song dynasty but is said to represent the original form of Nyoirin Kannon ritual texts. See Ono, *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten*, v. 8: 370. This text was translated by Maitrībhadra (Cixian 慈賢).

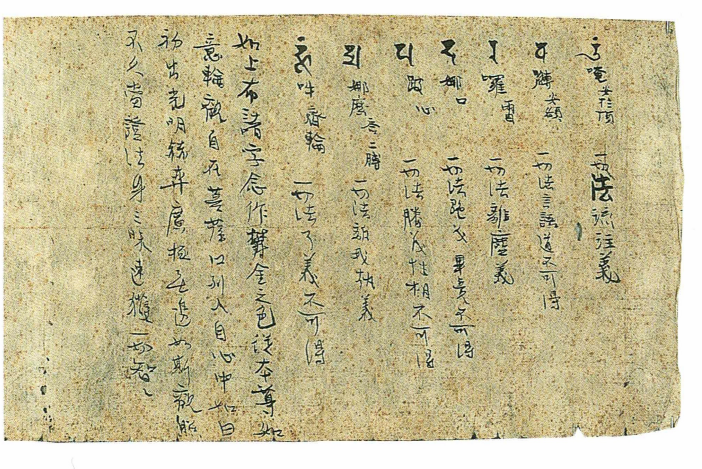


FIG. 17 *Contemplation of Nyoirin [Kannon's] Mind-Within-Mind Mantra (Nyoirin shinchūshin shingon kan* 如意輪心中心真言観). Shōgoin Temple. *Kokuhō Miidera-ten*, p. 35.

Although this does not appear to represent a complex practice by any means, and is certainly too basic to be understood in any respect as an immediate model for the Jimon ritual—the *Asabashō* example is indeed much closer—this one-page sheet was nevertheless of remarkable significance for members of the Jimon lineage. This is suggested initially by the storage of the document. For nearly eight-hundred years, the document remained hidden in the cavity of an icon of the founder of the Jimon lineage, Enchin, which was enshrined at Gedatsuji 解脱寺, a branch temple of Shōgoin 聖護院 located in Iwakura-nagatani 岩倉長谷 in northern Kyoto (see FIG. 18, next page). It was one of several "items installed in the inner cavity of the icon of Chishō Daishi" (*Chishō Daishi-zō zōnai nōnyū hin* 智証大師像像内納入品), discovered when the icon was disassembled for repair in 1920.

FIG. 18 Sitting Image of Chishō Daishi (Chishō Daishi zazō 智証大師坐像). Shōgoin temple. *Kokuhō Miidera-ten*, p. 35.

Abe Yasurō has speculated the document represented something of a conceptual linchpin of the catalogue of works Enchin acquired in China and brought back in Japan.[13] That is because, firstly, the *Contemplation of Nyoirin [Kannon's] Mind-Within-Mind Mantra* is a "sacred writing in Enchin's own hand" (*jihitsu shōgyō* 自筆聖教). It is certainly remarkable to have, in Enchin's own writing, a short ritual text focused on esoteric physiology. Second, it was in fact one of several "items installed in the inner cavity of the icon of Chishō Daishi" (*Chishō Daishi-zō zōnai nōnyū hin* 智証大師像像内納入品), discovered when the icon was disassembled for repair in 1920. the sheet was accompanied in the icon's cavity by another extremely important document for the Jimon school, the *Catalogue of* [*Works Collected by*] *Enchin When Seeking the Dharma in the Tang* (*Enchin nittō guhō mokuroku* 円珍入唐求法目録). Incredibly, this catalogue contains a colophon indicating that this is also in the hand of Enchin and that it was offered to Fujiwara Yoshifusa 藤原良房 (804–872) in the year 858, who was then serving as

[13] On this text and the Jimon library of sacred texts, see Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, 201–204

Prime Minister (*dajō daijin* 太政大臣) (thus it is sometimes called the *Catalogue Offered to Yoshifusa* [*Yoshifusa kenjō mokuroku* 良房献上本目録]). The cavity also contained relics—fitting for the body of the lineage founder—as well as a vow text (*ganmon* 願文).[14] The *Vow Text* [*on the Occasion of*] *Constructing an Icon of Great Master Chishō* (*Chishō Daishi-zō zōryū ganmon* 智証大師像造立願文) was written in the year 1143 by Kakuchū 覚忠, an abbot of Onjōji who was the son of Fujiwara Tadamichi 藤原忠通 (1097–1164) and thus brother of both Jien 慈円 and Kujō Kanezane. Kakuchū's vow text reveals that the icon of Enchin was crafted at Mimurodo 三室戸 temple in Uji 宇治 by the artisan Ryōsei 良成. Importantly, Ryōsei's model was the statue of Enchin created immediately after Enchin's death which was enshrined at Tō'in 唐院, the library of Enchin's imported works and thus the heart of Onjōji.[15] [16]

These facts reveal several things. First, the document in Enchin's own hand describing esoteric physiology was placed on par not only with relics, but also with the entire catalogue of works that he had brought back from China. Although this was no more than a single sheet of paper, it was clearly as significant as the voluminous amount of texts that were condensed in the catalogue. While it is true that these two documents might have derived their importance equally from the fact that they were written in Enchin's own hand, we can also easily imagine that a topic upon which Enchin wrote himself—apparently by extracting the practice from other and more extensive liturgical sources—would have been of great value to members of the Jimon lineage thereafter. Second, we can already see here a textualization of the body, in this

[14] Abe Yasurō reads this as the merging of the Three Jewels—Buddha in the relics, Dharma in the catalogue, and Sangha as the icon of the eminent monk that Enchin was.

[15] For images of and information about the catalogue and *ganmon*, see *Hiezan to Tendai no bijutsu*, 294–295; an image of the Tō'in Enchin icon is reproduced on p. 225. For color images of these materials, see *Kokuhō Miidera-ten,* p. 35

[16] On this text and the Jimon library of sacred texts, see Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei*, 201–204; photographs of the five items along with the icon can be see in *Kokuhō Miidera-ten,* p. 35. These are held at Shōgoin 聖護院, where it arrived in 1839, having originally been transmitted in Gedatsuji 解脱寺 temple in Iwakura-nagatani 岩倉長谷 in Kyoto.

case, the icon of Enchin, in which texts about the body become a part of a new physical body, one whose significance is heightened by that insertion.

What would have been the appeal of esoteric physiology for Enchin and for those who came after him? While the use of the body map enables the practitioner to realize the body as itself a mandala, and thus achieve yogic union with the deity, the scheme is especially useful because of its flexibility and adaptability, allowing for many possibilities in the realm of practice.[17] We can speculate that for Jimon monks, the scheme adopted as the basis of imagining the body in practices of empowerment (*kaji* 加持). It is those practices, which in the Introduction we observed underlined much of the Jimon performance of healing throughout the Heian period, that provide the more immediate context for understanding why the esoteric scheme was adopted in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* as well as how it was adapted to work with the material therapy of moxibustion.

Let us repeat some information from our Introduction. In terms of ritual therapy for treating disease—one field of the practically-oriented endeavors comprising what has been called the "socio-political interface of the Tantric lineages"—monks of Onjōji were not mere contenders among rival factions in the Heian and Kamakura periods.[18] Indeed, when courtiers and members of the imperial family sought ritual forms of healing, they turned to the expertise of Jimon monks more often than members of either the Sanmon or of the Shingon lineages, which is to say, all other major esoteric Buddhist communities of the day. As we have already several occasions to note, however, sources that could tell us exactly what empowerment healing in the Jimon lineage in the Heian period might have looked like are regrettably rare. Still, knowing that Jimon monks were pioneers in this field, and that their teachings were

---

[17] The adaption of yogic disciplines to Sufi yoga is one such example; see Hatley, "Mapping the Esoteric Body in the Islamic Yoga of Bengal," 2007.

[18] Dolce, "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance," 337. Studies emphasizing the particular significance of the Jimon lineage include Tokunaga, "Shugendō seiritsu no shiteki zentei genza no tenkai" and "Kumano sanzan kengyō to shugendō," Sakō, *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku*, and Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi: Heian kizoku no shinkō sekai*.

incorporated into the transmissions of empowerment procedures of other lineages whose texts do survive, we can speculate to some degree what those practices looked like for Jimon monks as well. We will turn to the *Collection on Ritual Conduct*, in particular a section written as instructions for *genza* 験者 (alt. *genja*)—performers of empowerment—for performing empowerment on the sick (*kaji byōnin* 加持病人)[19]:

> When empowering a sick person, one's own body takes on the essence of the main object of worship by imagining, "My body is originally pure, endowed with the essence of the World Honored One," and by visualizing [the following]: "From above the moon-disc of my heart-mind is the seed-syllable of the main deity. The bright light shines universally, and I myself become the deity. And visualize [the following]: "There is the syllable *ra*, which blazes in radiant flames above the moon-disc of the sick person's heart-mind, scorching the sick person's crimes, obstacles, and ailments.'" ... Form the mudra and apply it to five places (forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, throat; chant the mantra once for each). Also, use the Fire Production mudra (*kaen hasshō* 火炎発生), the mudra of the Dharma-Realm Generation (*hōkaishō* 法界生). Recite the mantras and hurl them at the body of the sick person. Next, form the mudra of the deity, place it on the heart [chakra], and with Vajra Eyes (*kongō gen* 金剛眼)[20] contemplate the sick person. (First on the right side, then on the left, then above, then below).[21]

---

[19] While the lack of extant Onjōji sources prevents a direct analysis of how this would have been performed by Jimon monks, the *Collection on Ritual Conduct* likely incorporates Jimon teachings. It is thought that when Seigen 成賢 (1162–1231) was compiling the *Collection on Ritual Conduct*, he received transmissions from Ken'i, compiler of Buddhist materia medica mentioned earlier, and Shinkaku 心覚 (1117–1180). Known for his *Notes on Separate Worthies* (*Besson zakki* 別尊雑記), an anthology of esoteric Buddhist iconography, Shinkaku was a relative of Keihan and is thought to have received Taimitsu lineages at Onjōji prior to his studies under Ken'i on Mt. Kōya (Ueno, *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi*, 113–114). Shinkaku was related to Keihan. Adding to this, as Morimoto ("Tennō no shussan kūkan," 2002: 233) has argued, because there were few Shingon genza before the Kamakura era, the "Procedures for the *genza*" passage discussed here was probably originally a Tendai creation. Another edition of the same text confirms this, because it is attributed to an oral transmission of Ennin 円仁 (794–864; see *Sahō shū*: 241). That these procedures were explicitly based on an *āveśa* rite, however, suggests they were more likely compiled by members of Enchin's lineage at Onjōji. At this point we can only speculate, but at any rate, Jimon monks were widely known in aristocratic society as formidable genza whose healing activities undoubtedly set examples for those of other lineages.

[20] One of the four types of gazes discussed in the *Diamond Peak Sutra* (*Jingangding jing* 金剛頂経; Sk. *Vajraśekhara sūtra*), Vajra Eyes refers to a glaring stare of the eyes when contemplating the radiance of the sun and moon, said to drive away demonic entities; for illustrations of the four types, see *Sahō shū*, 265.

[21] *Sahō shū*, 236–237; punctuation altered by author. Words in parentheses indicate smaller interlinear text.

先加持病人時、我身為本尊性、謂想「我身本来清浄世尊性。」又観、「自心月輪上有本尊種字。光明遍照曜自信成本尊。」又観、「有羅字。於病人心月輪上火焔熾然。焚焼病人罪障病患観畢。」[…] 契相印五処。 額、右肩、左肩、心、喉、各誦真言一辺 又火炎発生印、用法界生印。誦真言投病者身上。次作本尊印当心。以金剛眼而観病人。先右方。次左方。次上。次下。

The above instructs repeat our now familiar theme of esoteric physiology. They commence with a visualization that allows the ritualist to first achieve mystical union with the deity—in the case of empowerment, this is likely to be Fudō—which sets the premise for what follows in that the ritualist's power derives from that source. Then, the ritualist directs the visualization to the body of the sick person. This starts at the heart, but then progresses to a particular configuration of five chakric regions, given as follows: forehead, right shoulder, left shoulder, heart, and throat. Like other engagements with these regions as described in some of the texts we have seen, the ritualist is to chant the mantra for each region, "hurling them at the sick person's body." Mudras also applied to these regions, invigorating the body of the patient by way of magical phrases and gestures channeled through the five vital points.

In observing these points and comparing them with the Jimon moxibustion liturgical text, we cannot help but notice two aspects related to surface. The first concerns the surface of the body. Let us look again at the instructions in the Jimon liturgy:

> When applying moxa on the Character Ten on the crown of the head, recite AṂ KHAṂ HŪṂ *hatta* fifty-seven times [to] endow [the sufferer] with the virtuous marks of the King of the Hundred Lights Universally Shining [i.e. Dainichi Nyorai]. Next, cauterize the Wind Gate when reciting HA HĀ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when cauterizing the Platform Mirror, recite A Ā AṂ AḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the Heart, recite RA RĀ RAṂ RAḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the Cinnabar Field, recite HŪṂ HRĪḤ AḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the left and right Wind Market [points], recite HA HĀ HAṂ HAḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. Next, when you cauterize the left and right Hōkyō holes, recite VA VĀ VAṂ VAḤ *un hatta* fifty-seven times. For the above, you should use the aforementioned root mudra [of Shōmen Kongō] to empower the moxibustion points.

先灸頂十字時、誦 𑖀𑖽𑖿𑖨𑖿𑖮𑖿𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖿𑖮𑖿𑖪𑖿𑖨𑖿𑖮𑖿𑖪

would have been commonly known in early medieval Japan. There is little immediately odd about the instructions in the Jimon moxibustion program, thus it appears seamlessly like a liturgy that would have been imported from China. Indeed, colophons in other versions of the text claim that it was brought back by Enchin. In his colophon from 1220, at the start of what would be an important decade for the Jimon moxibustion literature, Sōkaku 相覚 noted that "this liturgy is a secret text that was imported [from China] and [belongs to] the Mii-lineage" 此軌三井流請來祕本. We cannot know whether Sōkaku knew the text was composed in Japan and among members of his lineage or if, instead, he actually thought what he expressed there in the colophon. But we can imagine that the text's ability to pass off as a *liturgy* which was *imported* depended largely upon the fact that its procedures of healing on the body superficially appeared to be roughly identical to continental liturgies which were acquired from China and brought back to Japan. It is especially interesting that monks insisted on calling this a liturgy, since the text title did not explicitly state as much but rather referred to itself as a "rite" (as in *Shōshiki daikongō byaku kima hō* 青色大金剛藥叉辟鬼魔法).

That this idea is plausible can be seen when we appreciate how even the most widely read of scholar-monks did not bat an eye about the oddity of the Jimon ritual and its incorporation of moxibustion. In his fourteenth-century *Collection of Leaves Gathered by Storms in the Valley* (*Keiranshūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集集; T. 2410), Kōshū 光宗 writes about the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* in two sections. In the earlier of those sections, when it seems that he is not yet completely familiar with the ritual, he refers to it as the "liturgy." Remarkably, he focuses on "consecration" as the key aspect of the text, and does not mention anything about moxibustion, but appears instead to have misunderstood the term as perhaps hot water applied to the body. Thus, the surface of the text as a liturgy is important to understanding how it was used and also how it was received by later authors.

Readers of the liturgy might have thought differently had they also had access to the oral transmission and notes documents for the ritual practice. (Kōshū did, but he chose still

not to focus on it). The material performance of moxibustion makes this a unique rite, one which requires additional layers of the body.

### ABSENT BODIES

On top of esoteric physiology, the ritual texts create an additional layers of the body by the inclusion of specific moxibustion point locations. But in order to better understand this—and also in general the ways that text and body relate in early medieval medical and Buddhist discourses—we will pause here to explore three body images that one might have expected to be represented in the Jimon healing ritual but do not, at least in any major way. The detour will help us to put aspects of the body we have just examined, and more that we will see, into sharper relief.

**The Channels.** First, the moxibustion method outlined in both types of sources for the Jimon ritual do not so much as gesture toward a notion of "channels," including those pathways of *qi* and blood that are known to be a predominant feature of Chinese medicine (also referred to as vessels, meridians, or tracts; J. *myaku,* Ch. *mai/mo* 脈). The roots of this idea stretch back as far as the excavated texts at Mawangdui, where we find texts regarding eleven channels associated with moxibustion. Although the process of development is not clear, this is the predecessor for the twelve channels formulated primarily in texts of the corpus of the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi neijing* 黄帝内経), with aspects found in the *Basic Questions* (*Suwen* 素問) and *Grand Basis* (*Taisu* 太素), and more elaborate and historically influential discourses found in *Divine Pivot* (*Lingshu* 霊枢).[22] However, the oldest specialized text on the channels (*keimyaku* 経脈) and channel points (literally "channel holes," or *keiketsu* 経穴), also of the

[22] The textual history of the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* corpus and the reception of these texts in Japan—histories that are intricately linked—is extremely complex; see e.g. Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon: Shoshi to denshō*, 1995; Mayanagi*, Kotei iseki kenkyu*, 2014; Urayama, *Chūgoku isho no bunkengakuteki kenkyū*, 2014.

*Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* corpus, is *Illuminated Hall* (*Mingtang* 明堂). Along with the *Grand Basis, Illuminated Hall* would be brought by envoys to Tang China (*kentōshi* 遣唐使) back to Japan in the early eighth century. The text appears in Fujiwara Sukeyo's 藤原佐世 *Catalogue of Books Presently Extant in Japan* (*Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku* 日本国見在書目録), composed in 859, and in the legal codes of the *Engishiki* 延喜式 of 927, would be slated as one of the five textbooks to be studied by students in the Medical Bureau (*Ten'yakuryō* 典薬寮), especially important in the education of acupuncture masters (*hari hakase* 針博士) and their students.

Although we should not conflate the historical trajectory of *Illuminated Hall* with the theory of channels itself, there is an important link there in thinking about why the channels do not appear in the Jimon ritual. The above information shows that *Illuminated Hall* was obviously important in ancient Japan. However, just as it would be lost in China from the Song dynasty onward, it would also disappear from Japan at around the Kamakura period. Paralleling this is the fact that the channel theory was never seems to have become important in Japan, both insofar as we know about the situation in the ancient period and definitely in terms of what we know of the early medieval period. We know that for students and masters of the Medical Bureau in the Heian period, the theoretical discourse on the channels was available, but it appears not to have been utilized. As noted elsewhere, as far as we can determine from courtier diaries, court physicians did not apply moxibustion or acupuncture based on channels. Moreover, when we look to the *Ishinpō,* we see in the fascicle on acupuncture and moxibustion that channels are mentioned for each of the acumoxa points, but the fascicle itself is not organized organized by channel, as was the case with *Illuminated Hall;* rather, it is organized by part of the body. The situation in Japan thus parallels what Vivienne Lo and others have pointed out about the Dunhuang materials, namely the absence of the theoretical structure based on the channels.

The absence of channels in the Jimon ritual as well as other forms of Buddhist healing is intriguing because in fact the history of the *Illuminated Hall* in Japan was very much

connected to Buddhist monks and monastery archives. In fact, the oldest record we have for the transmission of medical texts from the continent to Japan already mentions this text. In the entry for what is believed to be Kinmei Tennō's 23rd year (562), the *Shinsen shōjiroku* 新撰姓氏録[23] describes how Chisō 智聡, an immigrant arriving in Japan via Korea and very likely a monastic, offered 164 fascicles of works to the court. Among these documents were Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts, *materia medica*, *Illustrations of the Illuminated Hall* (*Mingtang zu* 明堂図), and one Buddhist icon.[24] The documents were offered to the court, but it is conceivable such knowledge remained in Buddhist circles as well. As Shinmura Taku has noted, one of the only other early mentions of the channels theory appears in *A Collection of Treasures* (*Hōbutsushū* 宝物集), a Buddhist source that was composed for learning. Most remarkable, however, is the late-Edo period discovery of one fascicle of *Illuminated Hall* at the Shingon temple Ninnaji 仁和寺. The two copies of this text, both of which are designated National Treasures, date to the years 1296 and 1383, periods during which it was thought the text was already lost.[25] Despite the presence of the text among Buddhist sources and archives, however, it does not seem to have garnered much use at all, and certainly not in healing practices created by monks.

The fate of the *Illuminated Hall* thus offers an important lesson in thinking about how bodies are shaped by texts and the archives that house (or do not house) them. Two intriguing tales relate these ideas, the first coming from *Kojidan* 古事談 and the second from its sequel, *Zoku Kojidan* 続古事談. The first tale, "Strange Events of the *Illustrations of the Illuminated Hall*, reads: "At the old site on the land of the Medical Dispensary (Seyaku'in 施薬院) in the vicinity of Ninth Street, there exists the *Illustrations of the Illuminated Hall*.

[23] This text, of which only the catalogue is extant, was offered to the emperor by Prince Manda and others in 815.

[24] 内外典藥書明堂図等百六十四巻、仏像一軀. Kosoto, *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon*, 7, 41, 156–7.

[25] Kosoto and Amano, *Shinkyū no rekishi*, 83.

When people see [it], they without fail acquire an ailment of the eyes—so says Masatada."[26] The story reflects the fall of the Medical Dispensary (Seyaku'in 施薬院), an institution established by the Fujiwara clan for the caring for the sick, and thus also the decline of the Medical Bureau as a whole. This is indicated more directly in the second and related tale: "The *Illustrations of the Illuminated Hall* [found at] the Medical Bureau is a miraculous object (*reibutsu* 霊物). When Tadayasu was [Head] of the [Medical] Bureau and the Bureau fell into disrepair, [the work] was left for all to see. Such treasures of successive generations no longer remain [in this world]."[27] The story is hinting at the decline of the Medical Bureau, but also speaks in more mysterious ways to the institutional support required for the containment of powerful knowledge about the body. Although it is neglect that is the case, the *Illuminated Hall* has gone open access, but this is not at all imagined as a positive change for the public now without barriers to see it. Knowledge about the body was understood to be powerful and thus to require housing. When given such protection, the knowledge might become a part of the body; without it, the knowledge might in turn become ghostly forces that afflict the body.

**Body Gods.** In terms of the practice of moxibustion in early medieval Japan, what emerges as clearly important from medical texts and the practice of court physicians are the "human gods" (*jinshin* 人神). Believed to circulate the body according to regular calendrical routines, body gods were crucial in the practice of moxibustion in the early medieval Japanese court. There are important parallels between this fact of practice and texts discussed by Vivienne Lo, including the *Yellow Emperor's Toad Canon* (*Huangdi hama jing* 黄帝蝦蟇経) and similar sources discovered at Dunhuang. What is especially important here, in thinking about how text and body become intertwined, is how the body gods were intricately related to numerous practices of paying attention to the days and to the calendar. Court physicians and their aristocratic

[26] *Zoku Kojidan*, 581.

[27] *Zoku Kojidan*, 608

patients likely shared these practices, including everything from regular duties at court, ceremonies, directional taboos, and other injunctions. The practice of diary-keeping was itself a similar activity, itself originally a means of establishing and recording precedent, which requires above all a constant tracking of days, months, and years. All of these practices were encompassed within and defined by the calendar, thus it is not surprising that court physicians and their patients alike should have understood disease and medical treatment primarily in the terms of certain cultural temporalities that shaped every aspect of life. This is not to say that emergencies called for questioning that system. But the very fact that such questioning occurred, and provoked discussion and debate when it did, despite the urgency of sickness and death, demonstrates without question the hold it had on courtly subjectivities and bodies.

We know that certain early medieval monks were familiar with a similar set of ideas concerning spirits located in the body. For example, we see them in Rengi's *Chōseiryōyōhō.* Edward Drott situates that in a longer history of nurturing/nourishing life practices (Ch. *Yangsheng;* J. *Yōjō*). I mean this is essentially *Ishinpō,* like the other texts that draw from the *Ishinpō.* The emphasis here is that if you have access to that set of knowledge you get access to those ideas. This is also intricately related to the understanding of the composition of body by viscera, in which such spirits were often said to reside.

The body-gods that are familiar from medical literature and which appear in courtier diaries do not appear in the Jimon ritual sources, but the "three corpse-worms" (*sanshi* 三尸), which do, are clearly similar entities. Did the compilers of the ritual sources conceive of the corpse-worms as body-gods of some sort? Was their inclusion of corpse-worms meant to make the pathology more meaningful for courtier patients, an audience that would be familiar with those entities from the practices of physicians? Both possibilities seem likely. In *Essential Notes*, we see that one author of the text sought to clarify the idea of the three corpse-worms by citing

Genshin's 源信 (942–1017) *Essentials of Rebirth* (*Ōjō yōshū* 往生要集) and other body-inhabiting gods known at the time:[28]

> *The Three Corpses*
> Hōkōshi, Hōshichishi, Hōkyōshi
> The preceding are the names of the worms that first emerge within the human body. The corpse[-worms] are obstinate. *Essentials of Rebirth* says, "Seven days after a human is born, the worms come into the world in like fashion." In order to compel people to atone for their vices, these worms report to the god Indra (Tentaishaku 天帝釈). The deities-born-together (*kushōjin* 俱生神) are also like this. One must grasp these matters.

We can examine this passage in terms of four entities: the body-gods (who are not mentioned but might be in the background), the three corpse-worms, the worms commonly cited in Buddhist discourse, and the "deities-born-together." The three corpse-worms have obvious parallels to the body-gods. They are in the body at all times, from the start. The compiler is connecting this idea to the general Buddhist idea about the body being impure because it includes so many worms 蟲. Such worms are not, however, like corpse-worms or body gods, in that they are not especially aligned with calendrical schedules. Yet even here, although these two are similarly linked to the calendar in their movements, corpse-worms are distinct in this regard because they have the ability to leave the body. This is when, on the fifty-seventh night of the sexagenary cycle, they become liberated from their sleeping host to fly up to heaven to report their host's misdeeds—here the judge is given as Indra. The compiler here noted a similarity with our fourth entity, the deities-born-together. The deities-born-together are likewise entities born with humans that keep watch over their host's good and evil activities—mostly the latter—and report on those deeds to a higher order deity in order to shorten their

[28] *Essentials of Rebirth* was a pivotal text in the development of Pure Land Buddhism in early medieval Japan. In order to incite in his readers the desire to achieve rebirth in the Pure Land of Amida after death, Genshin described in graphic detail the "defiled realm" (*edo* 穢土) in which we live. The present citation is extracted from Genshin's discussion of the human realm, specifically the manifold impurities that attend possessing a body. This citation of the *Ōjōyōshū* is significant as an example of how Genshin's text was used in a context distinct from Pure Land doctrine or ritual. It also shows again another example of the inclusion in the ritual text of discourses related to deathbed practices—in this case, one of its foundational and earliest inspirations.

host's lifespan. This connection also shows us that the Jimon compilers may indeed have had "body gods" in the back of their minds, given the similar terminology and behavior of these creatures. We have here an example of a phenomenon we will note frequently throughout this chapter: overlapping ideas that can be culled from different sources, including background ideas that do not necessarily show up. It is likely that Jimon monks knew of the body gods familiar to the practice of court physicians, yet they engaged with them not through the textual practices of the latter (checking interdiction dates to determine their movements, compiling new extracts to ground particular theories about such movements), but drew out parallels to Buddhist notions of worms, other gods that are born together with humans, and the notion of the three corpse-worms, which is one prominent pathological idea throughout the ritual sources.

**The Five Viscera.** From the standpoint of esotericism—and in light of a flurry of recent research—the most glaring absence in the Jimon ritual is that of the "five viscera" (*gozō* 五蔵) and the related "six bowels" (*roppu* 六腑).[29] Esoteric monks seized upon the correspondences that could be drawn between the five viscera, representing the vital components of the body, and the five *cakras*, as well as all other sets of five that were formulated in the esoteric system of correspondences. This enable monks to articulate new connections between body and soteriology, to link esoteric thought to Chinese medicine, and to develop highly elaborate discourses on topics such as embryology. Given the pervasiveness of correlative thinking within Buddhist discourses, these new ways of imagining the body by way of five could be done so with other kinds of texts, including the writings of Tiantai masters like Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597) and Zhanran. One example is the *Dictionary of Wind and String Instruments* (*Kangen ongi* 管弦音義) of 1185, a tract about music and sound which also describes the five viscera, disease, and

[29] The term is usually written with the second character as 蔵 (as above), but more generally today is written 臓.

healing in terms of correlative cosmology.[30] We should also note here, as we did at the beginning of this chapter, cases whereby physical representations of the five viscera and six bowels were created and inserted into icons, the most famous example being that of Shōjin Shaka at Seiryōji. As a physical enactment for "organ-izing" the body, this strategy is identical to similar attempts to do so on the level of discourse through texts, and thus highlights again the important links that were understood to maintain between texts and bodies.

Given the prevalence of this discourse in the early medieval period, as well as the fact that it could be culled from Tiantai sources—writings we know were critical in the compilation of the Jimon moxibustion ritual, it is perhaps surprising that this is not exactly the body we have in the Jimon ritual sources. The one possible exception within those sources is that "Heart" (*shinzō* 心臓) appears as one of the moxibustion points. In the next section, I will argue that the inclusion of the Heart is an artifact of Zhiyi's discourse, and does necessarily not refer to the systematic notion of the five viscera. Still, the choice by the Jimon monks who compiled these ritual texts to use the two characters—*shinzō* 心臓—rather than just one—*shin* 心—might in fact have been a nod to the correlative discourse that was quickly developing among other esoteric lineages in early medieval Japan.

In discussing the five viscera, we should not miss the opportunity to compare the Jimon moxibustion to another Buddhist healing program that was in a number of ways remarkably similar. This comparison will underscore the fact that there were many different possibilities in early medieval Japan for braiding continental forms of medicine to the five-tiered system of correspondence so central to esotericism. I am referencing the well known example of Yōsai's 栄西 (a.k.a. Eisai; 1141–1215) *Record of Nourishing Life by Drinking Tea* (*Kissayōjōki* 喫茶養生記). Yōsai composed this work in 1211, a year which falls between the period when the Jimon ritual texts were first compiled in the 1170's and their transcription and transformation in the 1220's. In his text, Yōsai famously promoted the internal ingestion of tea

[30] See the texts in Abe, *Shūkyōteki shintai tekusuto shiryōshū*; Dolce, "The Embryonic Generation of the Perfect Body: Ritual Embryology from Japanese Tantric Sources," in *Transforming the Void*, 2016: 253–310.

as a means of restoring balance between the five viscera of classical medicine, which he links to the five buddhas and their associated bodhisattvas, mandalic divisions, and seed syllables. Therefore, it shares with the Jimon ritual an incredible similarity, one which has been overlooked in scholarship on Buddhist medicine in Japan. Both programs adopt a particular material substance with recognized medical properties—both moxibustion and tea have long histories in continental medicine—which are then adapted to bodily schemes essentially based on the subtle body model of esoteric physiology we considered above.[31] (There are additional similarities, including the importance of demonic etiology to both programs, but we will not consider them here).

This juxtaposition allows us to also see the important ways in which they are different from one another. Although Yōsai referred to the visualization of deities as "internal treatment" and the ingestion of tea as "external treatment," his argument for the efficacy of the latter clearly hinges upon how tea, once internally ingested, nourishes the heart, thereby setting off transformations in the series of correlative connections. Overall, then, Yōsai's program is primarily focused on effecting change in the body through an internal means, both in terms of the internal consumption of tea and the way it works within the body by resonating with the agencies he refers to as "internal treatment." In contrast, with the Jimon moxibustion rite, we have thus far stressed the opposite in terms of its construction of the body. Although this body derives from esoteric physiology, which is concerned with inner *cakras*, we have seen how the Jimon rite and other programs identify chakric regions by way of areas *on the surface* of the body. Importantly, this is how empowerment programs, including those for healing are performed, since the ritualist uses techniques such as mantras to launch at, or in the case of mudras, perhaps to directly, touch those areas of the patient's body to activate the underlying energies. Healing in this scheme is all about engagement with external sites on the body. Since empowerment healing was such an important part of their ritual activity at court, we can thus

[31] In addition to having been a ritual item, tea was understood as a medicine, and thus appeared in *materia medica* literature; see e.g. Iwama, *Cha no iyakushi: Chugoku to Nihon*, 2009.

imagine why Jimon monks would have been readily drawn more to a technique like moxibustion. Unlike tea or other medicinal substances that require internal consumption, moxibustion is a material therapy that is performed over the surface of the body, on areas that were recognized to influence the vital energies within. In light of the ritual dispositions of Jimon monks, then, we can imagine how the internal consumption of medicine might not be as compelling as moxibustion as a healing modality to be ritualized.

## ANATOMY, VITALITY, AND CORPSE-WORM HOLES

While the body of the patient as configured in the liturgy for the moxibustion ritual is superficially similar to esoteric physiology, when we realize that we are dealing with named points, rather than general regions, the distinctiveness of this practice among other bodies presented in early medieval Japan begins to emerge. As is already evident, the Jimon ritual incorporates moxibustion, but not only the technique of cauterizing the skin; it also prescribes a set of points on the body upon which moxibustion is to be performed. Looking back over the long history of this technique, we can see that the points incorporated into moxibustion programs were rarely arbitrarily chosen. The points themselves have histories intertwined with manifold practices and ideas, including calendrical practices, body maps, sensory experiences, and so on. In other words, every program of moxibustion comes with its own "lore of vital spots," which constitutes, in the words of Lu Gwei-djen and Joseph Needham, "a large body of knowledge (much of which was certainly not illusory) about precise points on the surface of the human body, just as capable of cartography as the stars of the macrocosm above."[32] In addition to the pioneering work of Lu and Needham, Vivienne Lo has done scores in this regard, showing for example how the body's cartographic rendering in early Chinese medicine drew upon bodily experiences acquired in sexual cultivation practices, and unpacking central

[32] Lo and Needham, *Celestial Lancets*, 1980: 302.

aspects of this practice found which the *Yellow Emperor's Toad Canon* and Dunhuang manuscripts which have garnered far less attention than received classical literature. In this section, I follow the lead of these scholars in paying careful attention to specific points, for it is these points that comprise layers of the patient's body that makes this ritual distinctive among coeval healing programs. And at the same time, these locations serve as entry points to the textual and archival engagements that Jimon compilers engaged in to formulate a compelling treatment for corpse-vector disease.

It is important to reiterate a point made above. That is, while the points are listed in both the liturgy (*Ritual for Expelling Demons*) and the notes/oral transmission documents (*Essential Notes*), it is only in the latter that concrete instructions for finding them are given. Moreover, because *Essential Notes* is made up of oral transmissions and notes that were passed down, altered, augmented, and changed over multiple generations of Jimon monks, the text contains different kinds of guidance, for example, with distinct kinds of information represented on the recto and verso sides of the manuscrpts. We can speculate that much of the information contained in *Essential Notes* was necessary for a ritualist to concretely perform the method. Thus, while on the surface, represented by the liturgy, the ritual program would have appeared identical to the kinds of empowerment practices found in imported continental liturgies, in actual practice, the method involved a much more diverse integration of specific knowledge.

The Jimon rite prescribes thirteen loci. We list them here again for the reader's convenience.

1. Character-Ten on the Crown (*chōjūji* 頂十字): one point on the crown of the head
2. Wind Gate (*fūmon* 風門): the first bone of the spinal cord on the nape of the neck
3. Platform Mirror, above and below (*dankyō jōge* 亶鏡上下): one *sun* above the *dan* ("platform," i.e. the space between the breasts) and one *sun* below [two points]
4. Heart (*shinzō* 心臟): less than one sun above the navel

5. Cinnabar Field (*tanden* 丹田): two and a half *sun* below the navel

6. Wind Gathering (*fūji* 風市): the middle of each thigh at the point where the arms reach when hanging down [two points]

7. Hōkyō 彭矯: under the bone that protrudes from the sides of each inner ankle [two points]

8. Back of the Platform (danhai 亶背): located behind the *dan* ("platform") loci described in 3 above

9. Shoulder Well (*kensei* 肩井): the hollow spaces of one's shoulders [two points]

10. Benevolence (*jin* 仁): the center of the sole of each foot [two points]

11. Back of the Head (*tōhai* 頭背)

Scholars have glossed over some of the confusion about the numbers we encounter in reading the ritual texts, but there are some points to be gleaned about ritual transmission here. Both the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and *Essential Notes* mention eleven distinct point names. The sources also give numbers and ennumerate, but it is clear there was some confusion here, especially as it pertains to the transmission reflected in *Essential Notes*. For example, *Ritual for Expelling Demons* notes "nine places" for moxibustion, and this corresponds to 1 through 7 above. The compilers arrive at the number nine by taking Wind Gathering and Hōkyō as pairs, each having two points. This is understandable, except curiously the same logic is not extended to the point Platform Mirror. In the *Essential Notes*, "above and below" is added to the name Platform Mirror, and the instructions clearly describe two points, a pair that, unlike all others in the ritual, are vertically related. It is perhaps the case that the compilers of the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* originally conceived the Platform Mirror as a single point. This understanding seems to have changed at some stage in transmission, when *Essential Notes* was recorded, leading to a reintepretation of Platform Mirror, together with concrete instructions, as a pair of points.

There are additional discrepancies to consider. After the numbered list of the nine, the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* gives a note that says: "Some [adepts] add the Platform-Back, Shoulder Well, and Benevolence holes, making thirteen points." If we count these points as one each and add them to the text's nine, we end up with a total of twelve points; conversely, if we treat Shoulder Well and Benevolence holes as pairs, which is clearly what is suggested by the instructions in *Essential Notes* (and with Shoulder Well, the common consensus in moxibustion-acupuncture literature), we end up with fourteen, or one extra point. The number thirteen thus might derive when we include Back of the Head hole, which appears in a note in *Ritual for Expelling Demons* soon after the previous, again with the indication that "some [ritualists] add" this point. This is odd, however, because the number thirteen is mentioned before we get to the mention of the Back of the Head hole which, moreover, reads like an off-hand addition. Also, this means that the numbering for the first thirteen, in which at least two pair points are counted twice, does not correspond to the numbering for the added points, in which what are clearly pair-points are only counted as one distinct point each.

There are two takeaways from what might seem like banal facts about numbering. First, these discrepancies highlight a variety of understandings within *Ritual for Expelling Demons,* as well as between that text and *Essential Notes.* Such issues are evident in the problem with Platform Mirror just mentioned, but also with the Platform-Back. At the beginning of the *Essential Notes* manuscript, Platform-Back is not listed alongside the other points. Instead, we find a note on the verso that reads, "Is the Platform-Back simply the same as the Platform Mirror?" Indeed, removing Platform-Back from the list is necessary to keep the number at thirteen when Platform Mirror is counted twice. In any case, these discrepancies demonstrate the complications that attended the transmission of very concrete instructions. They suggest, perhaps, that such points were not common knowledge among all the Jimon monks who received these transmissions, and that there was no go-to source by which to resolve these issues. Indeed, we will see, many of these points are unique to this ritual. Second, despite the problems in actual counts, the numbers given in the ritual would later acquire

symbolic meaning, and these meanings would influence future versions of Buddhist moxibustion texts. In particular, the number thirteen is important and we will see in a future chapter how it returns to shape knowledge conveyed in moxibustion texts produced by members of the Anō 穴太 lineage.

It is also important to note that issues related to numbering cannot be explained by way of the diversity of terms the ritual texts give for these points. This is, however, an important characteristic of the ritual texts that distinguish them from medical literature. In that literature, points are usually referred to as "holes" (*ketsu/ana* 穴). The Jimon ritual texts refer to some points with this term (in *Essential Notes*, e.g. Wind Gate, Hōkyō, Benevolence, and Back of the Head). For two points in *Essential Notes,* the character for "within" is added: "within Character-Ten on the Crown," "within the Wind Gathering hole"). Generally, the points are referred to as either "places" (as in, "there are nine places for moxibustion" 灸有九処) or as "moxibustion points" (*kyūten* 灸点).

**Body charts.** One of the ways that *Essential Notes* distinctly contributes to the construction of the patient's body is through addition of visual guides, an inclusion that was at the time largely without precedent. The majority of the above points are depicted visually on the first two pages of the *Essential Notes* manuscript.[33] A significant portion of the right side of the manuscript is dedicated to two illustrations of body-charts (see FIG. 19 on p. 353 and FIG. 20 on p. 354). Drawn horizontally across the scroll, the illustrations depict the front and back sides of an unclothed, adult male figure of the Heian period. Although the figure is sexless, with the sexual organs concealed by a distended abdomen, it is gendered by the presence of the topknot

[33] Tracings of these illustrations can be seen in *Moxibustion Treatments for Corpse-vector Disease* (*Denshibyō kyūji*, T. 2508). Photographic reproductions of the original manuscript were included in my partial translation of the *Essential Notes* manuscript, based on the incomplete Taishō version (T. 2507), in Macomber, "Moxibustion for Demons: Oral Transmission on Corpse-Vector Disease."

hairstyle (*tsukiyaki*).[34] These are the earliest extant moxibustion body-chart illustrations for a male figure, and the earliest to focus on moxibustion specifically. These illustrations are of course predated by those depicting the progression of pregnancy in fascicle twenty-two of the *Ishinpō*, which includes in the textual apparatus instructions for acupuncture as well.

In similar style to those illustrations in the *Ishinpō*, the illustrator of the Jimon ritual text used mainly black ink for lines and for dots, and also added red lines. (The meaning of the red lines in *Ishinpō*, which clearly represent some kind of channels, is not clear to scholars). Black dots have been used to indicate moxibustion loci and for adjacent landmarks that would have assisted finding those points. A vertical series of circles was drawn on the figure's back side to indicate the vertebrae of the spine. Every point or pair of moxa points is accompanied by one textual explanation, often indicated by a red line. They are rather simplistic, and recall the charts of moxibustion manuscripts contained in Dunhuang manuscripts.[35]

[34] This is an example of a body map that is "gendered and sexless." This aspect of body maps for acupuncture is discussed by Lan Li in *Intimate Cartographies: Body Mapping and the Assembly of Medical Imagination* (forthcoming).

[35] See Lo, *Medieval Chinese Medicine.*

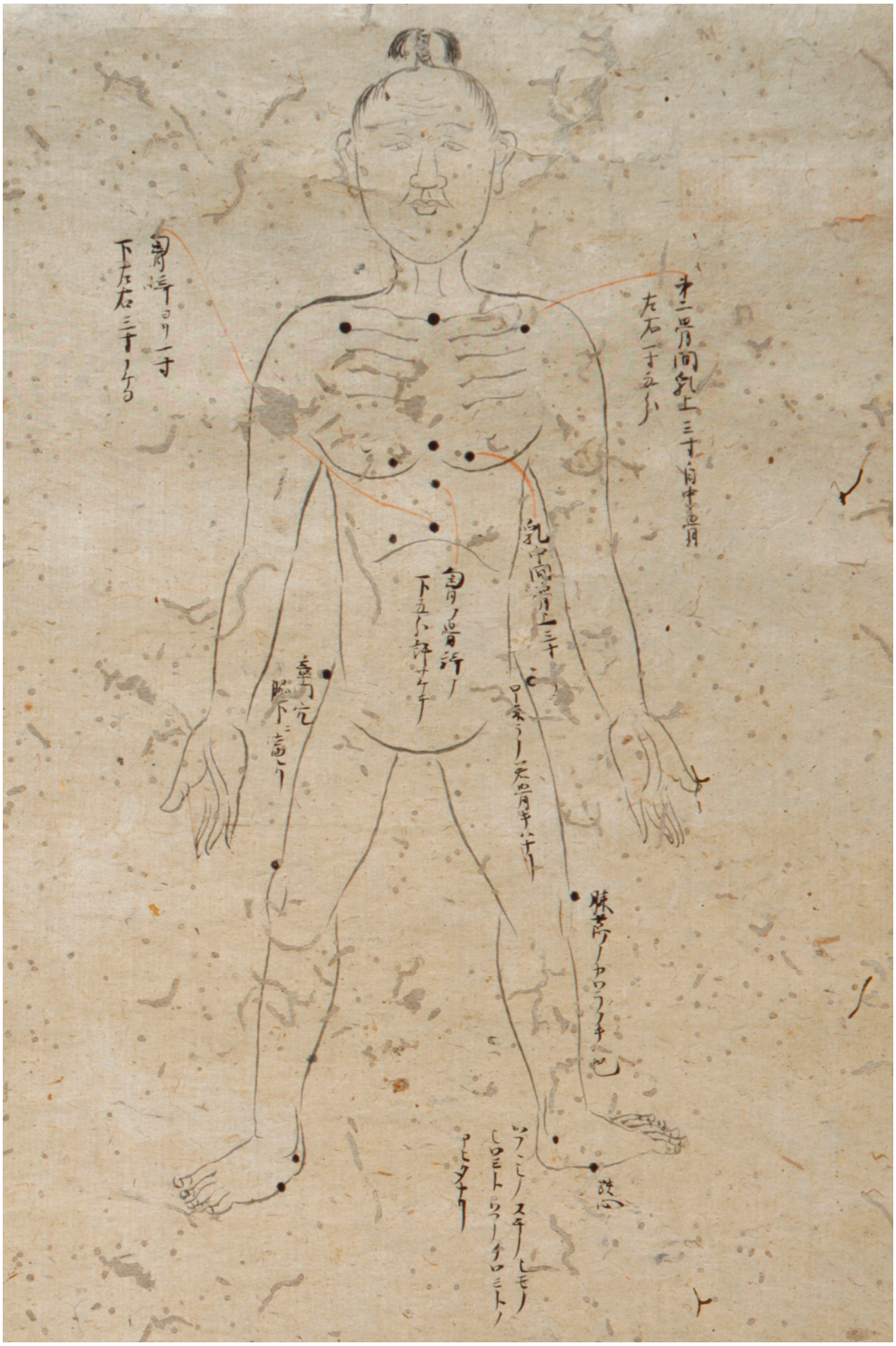


FIG. 19 *Essential Notes* illustration, front side. Source: Courtesy of Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. Image: TNM Images Archives.

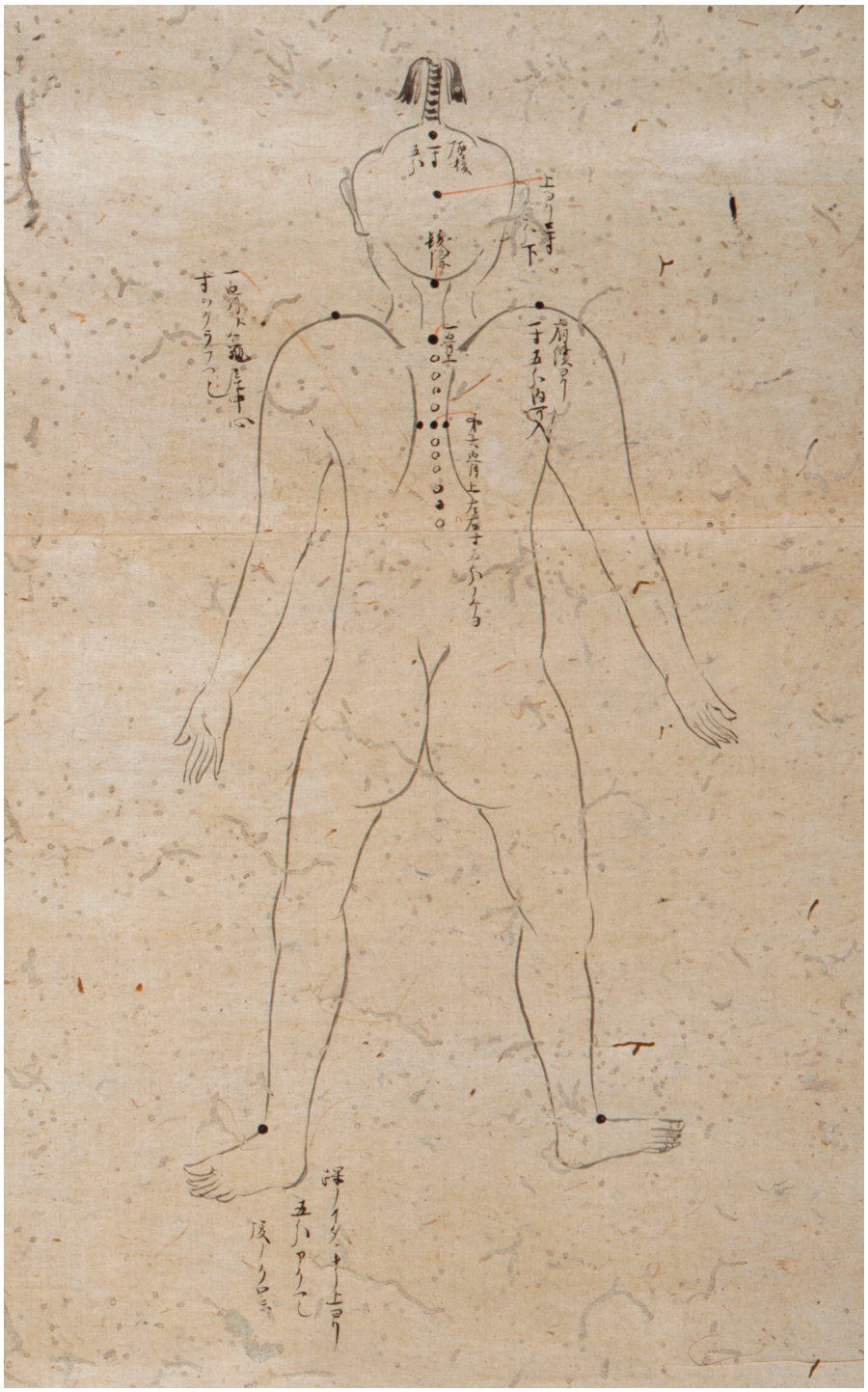


FIG. 20 *Essential Notes* illustration, back side. Source: Courtesy of Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan. Image: TNM Images Archives.

The illustrations seem to include more loci than the number given in textual instructions. Again, these might just be landmarks for finding other points. Conversely, there are two points which appear to have been omitted: Heart and Cinnabar Field. We will return to the possible reasons for why these points were omitted when we zoom into the textual instructions below. Suffice it to say that the existence of these drawings demonstrates that Jimon ritualists grasped the importance of graphics in the practice of externally-applied therapies, and moxibustion in particular, the sources of which frequently used such illustrations. These are the first, but they are also the beginning of a long tradition of acumoxa images in this Buddhist healing tradition focused on moxibustion. We discuss these visual sources in a later chapter.

### ANATOMICAL LANDMARKS & ACUMOXA POINTS

The above points can be divided into three categories, with various degrees of overlap, anatomical landmarks and acumoxa points; pathological points; and points related to Tiantai writings. We will examine these one-by-one.

The list of moxibustion points first reveals that the collector(s) of these points had an understanding of vital points on the body as well as a grasp of specific acumoxa knowledge. Back of the Head (10) is most obviously named after the part of the body. The instructions within the text read: "Apply moxa behind the head, under the bone that sticks out." The instructions provided in the illustration for what is likely this same point are more exact yet simultaneously vaguer: "Three *sun* and three *fun* below the top." "Top" here likely means the crown, and perhaps the Character-Ten on the Crown point. This point generally overlaps with the acumoxa point, "brain door" (*nōko* 脳戸).

Platform Mirror (3) refers to two points, one *sun* above and one *sun* below, relative to what appears commonly in acumoxa literature as "middle of the platform" (*danchū* 亶中). The

character I've translated as "platform," written 亶 in *Essential Notes*, appears elsewhere in acumoxa texts with different radicals: e.g. 壇 or 膻. The character may simply have been abbreviated in the transcription of *Essential Notes.* Thus the ritual differs from acumoxa literature in focusing not on "middle of the platform" itself, but two areas above and below it. I have not found Platform Mirror in any other acumoxa text, so this might have been an original alteration by the ritual compilers.

Wind Gate (2), Wind Gathering (6), and Shoulder Well (8) are common points in acumoxa literature. In such literature, Wind Gate is usually given as a pair of points, the second of them referred to as Heat Repository (*neppu*; Ch. *refu* 熱府).[36] The Jimon ritual technique places Wind Gate essentially between those two points and on top of what is called the *daitsui* 大椎, which the instructions on the verso indicate to be the first bone on the spinal column on the neck, or else the second bone. Instructions in the illustration accord with the first interpretation. On the verso, the Wind Gathering points are said to be those points on the thighs where the fingers reach when the left and right arms are hung alongside the body. The illustration and instructions for this appear on the front side illustration, where it says: "[where] the knee joints protrude on the side."

However, the first set of instructions in *Essential Notes* do not provide exact guidance but rather direct the ritualist to the place where that is to be found: "[you] must use medical books to know [these locations]" 准医書可知. This suggests two things: First, because this is a vague reference to a "medical book," and not to a specific title, it suggests that the writer of this part was confident that information about the Wind Gathering points could be found in any medical text. This makes some sense, given that it was indeed a commonly used point. Second, it also implies that the ritualist will indeed have access to these texts.

At the same time, we can imagine a different kind of scenario. It is just as likely that the compiler who wrote this part did not know where the point was, perhaps owing to not having

[36] See e.g. *Ishinpō* [3] *Shinkyū hen*, 37.

received the teaching yet; this explains to some degree why the only explanation for finding the Wind Gathering points appears later in a note written on the verso, suggesting it was written at a later date. The Anō transmission of these texts, *Essential Notes on Corpse-vector Disease* (*Denshibyō kanjin shō* 伝屍病肝心鈔),[37] includes the same directions about finding a medical book, but also contains an additional note towards the end of the instructions that reads: "As for Wind Gathering, Heart, etc., [you] must know this [based on] medical books." This is identical except adds Heart and "etc." 等, suggesting that other points in the ritual texts can also be determined through medical literature. We will return to this inclusion of Heart as a point that can be known through medical texts shortly—I will argue that the Anō monks were perhaps mistaken if they believed that the creators of the rite culled the point from medical sources. The more recent transcribers who produced the edition contained in the Taishō canon (T. 2507 and T. 2508) mistook "book" 書 for the character 者, thus rendering the instructions misleadingly as: "[you] must know these locations by way of physicians." However, it was not just recent transcribers who read the text in this manner. The Kinzanji 金山寺 temple manuscript of *On the Types of Corpse-vector Disease* (*Denshibyō shu no koto* 伝屍病種事) replaces "medical books" with "physicians" 医士 as well, using slightly different characters. This makes sense in the context of that particular work. It also includes moxibustion body charts and attributes the point locations written in to a physician.

The third pair of points that were also very common in acumoxa literature are the Shoulder Well points. Interestingly, no instructions are given for Shoulder Well. Instead, the text curtly reads: "[Apply] as usual." Such presumed knowledge on the part of the compilers might relate to the fact that it was indeed an extremely common acumoxa point, again suggesting that acumoxa knowledge was in circulation among monks at Onjōji. However, we will circle back to this point in the next section to offer a different possibility.

---

[37] It should be noted that this title is the first part of the longer title of *Essential Notes*, which is *Denshibyō kanjin shō narabi ni sōbyō chihō* 伝屍病肝心抄并瘦病治方.

One might assume that Heart (4) and Cinnabar Field (5) would have derived from medical literature as well. As we noted earlier, Heart most basically refers to one of the five viscera, but the term *shinzō* 心蔵 itself does not appear in acumoxa literature as a loci name. Instead, we find points that maintain some relationship to the heart, such as *koketsu* 巨闕.[38] Moreover, the location for Heart provided in *Essential Notes*—less than one sun above the navel—coincides with a separate named point in acumoxa texts, known as *suibun* 水分. In contrast to *shinzō*, the term Cinnabar Field (5) itself appears in acumoxa literature, but as an alternative name for another named point, *sekimon* 石門. In texts such as *Ishinpō*, however, its location is placed at two sun below the navel, rather than two and a half, as the Jimon ritual instructions have it. These discrepancies suggest that Jimon monks were drawing upon different sources in including the Heart and Cinnabar Field, a possibility we will return to in the next section.

Finally, we should note that Benevolence (9) is a point name referring to the region on the soles of the feet that does not appear in medical literature. However, it may have come from medical literature, given that its instructions are mnemonic and such mnemonic are common to medical literature. We read there that "Benevolence is humanity" (*nin ha nin nari* 仁者人也). This phrase is derived from the *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), one of the Four Books of Confucianism. As A.C. Muller points out in his translation of this text, this line is a pun playing on the identical pronunciations for "humanity" (Ch. *jin*) and "benevolence" (Ch. *jin*). This perhaps served as a mnemonic for memorizing the point, although it is not clear why this was assimilated into the ritual as a moxa location.

In connection with all of this information culled from acumoxa texts, it is important to note that the Jimon compilers also adopted a technique for measuring for locating points that was well known in classical Chinese medical literature. These instructions appear in *Essential Notes* in two places. We find the first after a note about where the "Platform" is located on the

[38] *Koketsu* functions as the heart's "concentration point" (*boketsu* 募穴), that is, the site where heart channel *qi* collects.

body. That description contained the first mention of *sun* in the text, thus a compiler at some stage thought it necessary to clarify what exactly that meant. One *sun* 寸 (Ch. *cun*) is often said to equal approximately one inch, but in *Essential Notes*, this is to be measured relatively to the patient:

> "One *sun*" here refers to one *sun* relative to the sick person. Five *sun* is measured as the length from the tip of the middle finger of the left hand to the base joint of that finger—the joint that protrudes when making a fist. Split this in five parts and each part will equal one *sun*. Or, you can measure the length from the tip of the left pointer finger to its base joint as [three] *sun*. This corresponds to the area of the outer surface of the hand. Five *sun* corresponds to the inner surface of the hand, with an extra two or three *fun*. As the technique for taking the base measurements for the moxibustion points, use the middle finger—for men, this should be their left hand and for women their right—and measure the length from the bottommost joint of that finger to the top of the finger, taking this as four *sun* and five *fun*.

A briefer set of instructions for the same idea appears on the verso of the manuscript, corresponding to where on the recto it says, "there are nine points for moxa application": "As for the method of taking *sun* measurements for the moxa points (*kyūten* 灸点)—men use their left [finger] and women use their right—take the *sun* measurements from the lower joint of the middle finger on the outside to the end of that finger; this is divided into four *sun* and five *fun*; use this." This method of taking *sun* measurements relative to the patient's own body is known as the "method for taking *sun* identical to the body" (*tongshen cunfa* 同身寸法). The method is attributed to the famous physician, Sun Simiao 孫思邈 (581–682).[39]

From whence did Jimon monks acquire knowledge about acupuncture and moxibustion points? We already noted that *Essential Notes* points the disciple to "medical books" for finding the Wind Gathering point, a statement that might be read to imply such books were on hand at Onjōji. That such texts were available, at least to the compilers of these

[39] See Kosoto and Amano, *Shinkyū no rekishi*, 2015: 110.

sources, is already evident in the use of the many points we've noted. The use of Sun Simiao's measurement system also shows a sophisticated knowledge of how to find points, much on par with that we might expect court physicians to hold. It is generally conceivable that Jimon monks had access to such works, perhaps as a result of their influence at court as healers, and also because Onjōji was a major Buddhist institution with many resources, including a large library that undoubtedly included both Buddhist and non-Buddhist sources.

Aside from these speculations, we can also rely on a more specific clue given in *Essential Notes* to think in more concrete terms about how Jimon monks accessed medical texts. Most remarkable is mention of what is presumably a text (rather than a method) cited in *Essential Notes* as *Treatments for the Exterior* (*Waijing zhi* 外境治). This otherwise unknown work, which may have concerned external injury or anatomical knowledge, is quoted in a note written on the verso of the *Essential Notes* manuscript. There, despite instructions earlier in the text to simply apply moxibustion to the Shoulder Well "as usual," we find two concrete locations given, the second cited from the aforementioned work: "Shoulder Well [points] are located within the sunken [spots] on the shoulders. *Treatments for the Exterior* says, '[The points are located] in between the tips of the shoulders and the *daitsui.*'"[40] The first location given corresponds to the explanation in, for example, the *Ishinpō*.[41]

The second, however, is derived from a work appears to be lost; I have not seen it mentioned in any text medical or Buddhist document except for *Essential Notes*. The only text in which a work with a similar title appears is *Fumon'in kyō ron shō goroku jusho ra mokuroku* 普門院經論章疏語録儒書等目録.[42] There, we find a slightly longer title, *Treatment Methods for the Exterior* (*Waijing zhifang* 外境治方), virtually identical to what is quoted on the verso of *Essential Notes.* The text in which it appears is a catalogue for the library of Fumon'in, a hall

[40] In her transcription, Ōta has 推; I take this as a mistake for 椎.

[41] *Ishinpō shinkyū hen*, typeset section, p. 20.

[42] see *Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo* 1954.

belonging to the temple Tōfukuji 東福寺, today a major Rinzai Zen monastery located in eastern Kyoto. The catalogue is primarily composed of writings imported from China by Enni Ben'en 円爾弁円 (also known as Shōichi Kokushi 聖一国師; 1202–1280), the first abbot of Tōfukuji.

What connections might there have been between Onjōji, in whose ritual documents *Treatments for External Injury* appears, and Enni's library, which apparently housed a text of the same name in the thirteenth century? One possible connection relates to the early career of Ennin himself, who although became associated with Rinzai Zen in fact began his training at Onjōji. While still at Onjōji, Enni may have made a copy of this very work. Another possibility relates to his later career and procurement of Tōfukuji. The project to construct this monumental temple, which began in 1235, was that of the regent Kujō Michiie (1193–1252).[43] As Enni's key patron, it is very likely that Michiie supplied Enni with considerable resources in the way of documents, both Buddhist and otherwise, including medical texts. We should recall here that Michiie was the brother of Keisei, a key editor and transmitter of *Essential Notes.* In his *Oracles from the Old Man of Mt. Hira* (*Hirasan kojin reitaku* 比良山古人霊託), Keisei also essentially claims to have successfully treated Michiie through ritual means, exorcising him of a haunting *tengu* spirit. This event transpired and was apparently related to the establishment of Tōfukuji, since the *tengu* was apparently the spirit of the area in which the temple was founded. Therefore, we can imagine two possible scenarios. In the first, *Treatment Methods for External Injury* was a text in the possession of the Kujō family, who supplied it to both Keisei and later to Enni. This would make it likely that the citation of this text on the verso of *Essential Notes* was written by either Keisei or Rishin, which seems more probable in any case because the verso appears to represent the additions of a later author. In the second possibility, the text may have already existed at Onjōji, perhaps even through the Kujō family, since such ties were already established at the time of Keihan, the first compiler indicated on

[43] On the relations between Enni and Michiie, see Collcutt, *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*, 1981: 41–48.

*Essential Notes.* The former seems more likely, given that the verso in which the citation appears seems to be a later transmission.

Parenthetically, *Treatment Methods for External Injury* was far from the only work in the Tōfukuji catalogue that concerned moxibustion and acupuncture. This catalogue also included "two books" of the *Classic of Illustrations of the Illuminated Hall* (*Mingtang tu jing, nisatsu* 明堂図経 二冊), as well as another volume of the *Illustrations of the Illuminated Hall*. It also apparently held texts composed in Japan. For example, there we find a text entitled *Notes on Essential Loci* (*Yōketsu shō* 要穴抄).[44] This work may have been related to *Notes on Moxa Loci* (*Kyū ketsu shō* 灸穴抄), which was possibly the work of Tanba Tomoyasu 丹波知康.

## PATHOLOGICAL PLACES

Moxa loci were selected not simply because they appeared in acumoxa literature. While drawing upon such literature would have probably made their adoption of moxibustion appear more authentic, we need to bear in mind that such literature is replete with hundreds of points—there is a lot to choose from. In thinking about why Jimon monks selected the points they did, we need to remember that the construction of the patient's body in the ritual sources was intertwined with how those sources imagined aspects of pathology. Many of the moxibustion points refer to pathological dimensions discussed in the rite, whether directly or indirectly. In this section we will discuss those points.

We can firstly appreciate how Platform Mirror, moxibustion points located on the chest, relates to descriptions of the symptoms of this disease. Indeed, *Essential Notes* envisions symptoms that the patient feels within the chest as the start and end of this disease. In the opening "Signs of the Disease" section, we read that: "In the beginning, the affliction throbs

[44] For an excellent discussion of Ennin and Tōfukuji's collection of medical texts in the medieval period, see Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan*, 2011: 10–14

under the breast on the left side. When this [throbbing] transfers to the right breast, death is certain." In this way, the feelings the patient has in the chest, in particular, the movement of a pulsing, a throbbing, are depicted as the indicators of approaching death. The Platform Mirror points are located above and below the precise middle point between the two breasts. To perform moxibustion in those spots was thus perhaps seen as a means to create a barrier to prevent the movement of the death-signalling throbbing from one side to the other. At the very least, this suggests that in compiling their list of moxa points, the Jimon monks had in mind clinical dimensions, that is, what the patient reported to feel within and throughout the body, and how those signs were read against the progression of the disease. Here we can appreciate about moxibustion points how, as Lo has noted of other medical ideas, "they map the experience of pain and of associated points for stimulating and relieving that pain."[45]

Other points, while also including clinical dimensions, more directly refer to pathological aspects by way of their name. Such points were in fact very common in acumoxa literature. They are similar to the points that Lo discusses which attest to "an alternative architecture of the internal body designed for the habitation of ghosts."[46] She mentions points such as "ghost heart," "ghost pillow," "ghost market," "ghost hall," and so on. By including such points, the Jimon compilers demonstrate that they were familiar with such traditions. More importantly, they were included in order to better exploit moxibustion for the purpose of expelling this disease and the etiological agents that cause it. In the ritual sources, the following three meet this critera: Wind Gate, Wind Gathering, and Hōkyō.

The first two of these three are clearly related to Wind as a key pathological agent in Chinese medicine.[47] The idea of Wind as a pathological agents appears to have been received and accepted early in Japan, for it appears with great frequency in the pathological idiom of

[45] Lo, "Huangdi Hama jing (Yellow Emperor's Toad Canon)," 91.

[46] Lo, "Huangdi Hama jing (Yellow Emperor's Toad Canon)," 92.

[47] Kuriyama, *Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*, 1999; Leung, *Leprosy in China,* 2009.

courtier diarists. What is especially important for our purposes is that the category of wind appears not only in the point names but also elsewhere in *Essential Notes,* namely in another "sign of the disease": "One text says: Also, this disease arises following Wind-Fever" (*fūnetsu* 風熱). Both Wind Gate and Wind Gathering suggest relation to this pathological agent, the former as the entry point through which it enters the body, and the latter as a site where it maliciously accumulates. Thus, we can imagine that application of moxibustion to these two points were meant to prevent the Wind from entering in the first place and to prevent the Wind they had intruded from accumulating and turning more greatly pathological.

But we might also ask, what specific connections were Jimon compilers imagining between Wind and corpse-vector disease, such that one led to the other? Recalling that worms (in multiple variations) were understood in *Essential Notes* as key to the etiology of corpse-vector disease, we can find an interesting connection made in the *Bag of Rubbish* (*Chiribukuro* 塵袋), an eleven fascicle encyclopedia from the Kamakura period, in particular an entry on "great wind" (*daifū* 大風):

> *Is that which is known as 'great wind' what blows down houses, or does it have a different meaning?*
>
> Sometimes it is referred to as "Great Wind." This is another name for *rai*. This disease occurs when one's body is invaded by Wind and worms are thereby produced. Due to the worms, pustules form. Because snake oil is used as a medicine for this, snake oil is called "great wind oil." It comes from the name of the disease.[48]

This passage repeats what was a common etiology for *rai* 癩 in medical literature, namely the intrusion of Wind. Although about *rai*, there is an important similarity in that worms are produced in the body. Worms were also understood to produce corpse-vector disease, thus Jimon monks might have noted a connection here.

[48] *Chiribukuro,* 54–55.

Indeed, worms, and corpse-worms in particular, were key to the primary thread of etiology in the ritual sources. Here is where we find an incredible moxibustion point: Hōkyō (7). Hōkyō corresponds in name to the third corpse-worm. The two parallel points are located under the bones that protrude from the sides of each inner ankle. There were different theories about where the worms were located, but in general the following passage demonstrates that the third corpse-worm was located somewhere in the lower body:

> *Question*: Where do these three worms dwell inside the body?
> *Answer*: The Scripture of Great Clarity says, "Pengju resides in the head and is thus called the upper corpse. Pengzhi resides in the throat and is therefore called the middle worm. And Pengjiao (i.e. Hōkyō) resides in the legs and is therefore called the lower worm. It is also said that the lower worm resides in the belly."

In the Hōkyō points we find the clearest attempt to relate the moxibustion method to both pathology and etiology. In *Essential Notes*, we read the following additional instructions for applying moxibustion to this point: "When the illness is mild, men should apply moxibustion to the hole on the left side, and the number of times they apply moxibustion should correspond to their age. Women do likewise, except that they must apply moxibustion to the right side." Like the measurements of *sun*, this application is gendered. Moreover, it is to be performed at an early stage of the disease, when it is still moderate. This is perhaps because moxibustion applied to this point at an early stage has a prophylactic effect, which makes sense if we are willing to assume they linked worms to Wind, the pathological agent whose intrusion marks one starting point for progression into the full-blown corpse-vector disease. The prescription here is similar to another that appears earlier in *Ritual for Expelling Demons*, taken from *The Sutra on Mixing Medicines and Healing Illness by the Thousand-Armed, Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara* (*Qianshou qianyan guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合藥経, T. 1059; ca. 650).[49] When one fumigates the patient with *gum*

[49] For a translation of this text, see Unschuld, *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*, 2010: 314–21.

*guggul* (*ansoku kō* 安息香) through the nostrils when the illness is moderate, it is said to stop corpse-vector disease. Additionally, this is the only moxibustion point for which a number for application is given; in this case, that number should correspond to the age of the patient. Therefore, we find here several layers of engagement with the specifity of the patient's body.

*Essential Notes* also adds another piece of clinical information, this time much more vivid. In a small interlineal note in the second set of instructions, we read: "If you do not apply moxibustion to the [Hō]kyō hole, the bottom of the person's foot will collapse, forming a hole that resembles [the hollow stalk of] bamboo." Did Jimon monks actually witness the soles of their patient's feet collapsing to form holes, such that the patient's leg became like piece of bamboo cut from its roots? The idea is an intriguing one, and at this point it seems reasonable to say certain of this information indeed reflects clinical encounters. But perhaps the idea is even more incredible than just this. Recall that corpse-worms make their home within the body but are able to transcend it on the fifty-seventh day of the sexagenary cycle, that is, *kōshin* 庚申, when they ascend to celestial judges to report on the deed's of their host. In the Chinese sources quoted in *Essential Notes*, this is usually envisioned as being possible owing to the ethereal nature of these creatures; not made of flesh and blood like humans, but rather unearthly, they are imagined to basically pass through the sufferer's body, to which they will return in similar fashion. The statement in *Essential Notes*, however, encourages one to imagine how the third corpse-worms graphically bores its way out of the patient's foot, causing the flesh to cave in and creating a gaping hole.

Aside from these named points, the moxa loci are also collectively associated with certain pathological ideas that differ again from those we have just discussed. In the *Ritual for Expelling Demons,* after the instructions for moxibustion, we read the following: "For the above [application of moxibustion], you should use the the aforementioned root mudra [of Shōmen Kongō] to empower the moxibustion points. These [points] to which you apply moxa are those places where the Cat Demon and the Tokeira Demon hinder and harm." In this way, the text associates all of the points with demons, the second type of etiological agent

in this text. The moxibustion points are imagined as the places were the agents of corpse-vector disease actively do harm to the patient. This becomes a comprehensive rationale for all the points selected by Jimon monks for the ritual healing program, redefining even acumoxa points in terms of the etiological imagination specific to this ritual. The points thus become sites where the ritualist engages the instigators of corpse-vector disease in a battle for the patient's body. As we already noted in Chapter Three, these demons were related to the writings of Zhiyi, to which we now turn.

### TAKING A POINT (OR THREE) FROM ZHIYI

The connections to the writings of Zhiyi above encourage us to take a closer look at the points with Zhiyi in mind. As we noted above, Heart and Cinnabar Field do not correspond precisely to any exact acumoxa point. I argue here that the reason for this is that, contrary to what the terms might suggest, the Jimon monks were not drawing on medical texts when including these points. Rather, I suggest that they were drawing on what might at first seem like an unlikely source: the writings of the purported founder of Tiantai, Zhiyi. We will also see how this is true for a point that is mostly known as an acumoxa point, Shoulder Well.

The link between these points and the writings of Zhiyi is made explicit in *Essential Notes* in a note attached to the instructions for Cinnabar Field. The note reads, "the twelve illnesses emerge from the Cinnabar Field." Those twelve illnesses are listed at the end of the moxibustion instructions, where they are cited as coming from Zhiyi's *The Great Cessation and Contemplation* (*Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀), in particular a section concerning a meditation for "contemplating disease" (*guan binghuan jing* 觀病患境).[50]

[50] T. 1911: 106a19–111c21. For an English translation of an abbreviated but related section in the *Essentials of Practicing Cessation and Contemplation Meditation* (*Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要, T. 1915), see Salguero ed., *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, 2017: 382–89. The *Great Cessation and Contemplation* was compiled and edited by Guanding 灌頂 based on lectures by Zhiyi which began in 594 (Satō, *Tendai Daishi no kenkyū: Chigi no chosaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū*, 1961: 399).

This citation makes clear that the Jimon compilers gleaned Cinnabar Field from Zhiyi; that the same holds for the points Heart and Shoulder Well, on the other hand, must be unpacked further by examining the content of the quote itself. We read:

> The *Great Calming and Contemplation* says: "Rising *qi* that fills the chest (1); pain on the left and right flanks [of the body] (2, 3); cramping of the back (4); illness of the left and right Shoulder Well [points] (5, 6); suffering from vexing heat in the heart (7); inability to drink or eat (8); descending cold and ascending heat in the heart (9); chill below the navel (10); imbalance of yin and yang (11); weak and sporadic *qi* (12)."

When we examine the rest of the passage, it seems that Zhiyi is not saying that these "emerge" from the Cinnabar Field, as Jimon monks interpreted it. Rather, in the words of the "master" 有師 from which Zhiyi himself is quoting, the idea is that the illnesses "stop" in the Cinnabar Field, which is to say that they cease when one "stops the mind in the Cinnabar Field" 止心丹田, resulting in the regulation of *qi* and the curing of ailments 則氣息調和故能愈疾. This is because the Cinnabar Field, as the "ocean of *qi*," "locks up and swallows the ten-thousand illnesses" 能鎖吞萬病.

Looking closely at Zhiyi's delineation of the twelve illnesses, we find two disorders that are focused on the heart as the site of pathology, such as "vexing heat in the heart" and "descending cold and ascending heat in the heart." Perhaps this is why the Jimon ritual includes the Heart together with the Cinnabar Field as points. This possibility is supported by another observation. Zhiyi's list of twelve illnesses also includes a disorder known as "pain of the left and right Shoulder Well."[51] It seems likely, then, that the Jimon monks, who were consciously referencing Zhiyi's writings when assembling this part of the ritual method, adopted Heart, Cinnabar Field, and Shoulder Well as loci because this set already figured into Zhiyi's discussion of the twelve illnesses. The ritual compilers appear generally to have been particularly interested in selecting points that were associated with pathological ideas, as we

[51] Watanabe has suggested that this term first appears in Zhiyi's writings. While those writings represent an early and important usage, the term is already attested in acumoxa literature.

have observed with Platform Mirror, Wind Gate, Wind Gathering, and Hōkyō points. That Heart, Cinnabar Field, and Shoulder Well are also locations associated with individual ailments is an idea that Jimon monks would have gathered most immediately from their study of Zhiyi's writings. This is perhaps also the the reason why Cinnabar Field and Heart were omitted from the moxibustion body charts in *Essential Notes:* they were already familiar with them from the important writings of Zhiyi.

That Jimon monks would have drawn from the writings of Zhiyi to imagine and express pathological ideas as well as ideas related to practice for their healing ritual is consistent with the other ways that his writings were incorporated into the texts. In terms of pathological notions, we already noted the inclusion of Cat Demon and Tokeira above and in Chapter Three. Moreover, we need only recall the name of the ritual itself: "ritual of Shōmen Kongō for expelling demons and *mārās*." The two agents called out by name in the ritual title correspond to two of the etiological categories in Zhiyi's famous six-fold list of disease causation, namely, demons and *mārās.* It is thus not surprising that demons Zhiyi specifically mentions show up in the ritual. In terms of ideas related to practice, this is quoted in both the liturgy and *Essential Notes:*

> The [*Great*] *Calming and Contemplation* says, "If an adept is suffering from an illness due either to māra disturbances or to demons, these should be treated through contemplative practices or powerful divine spells, and then the sufferer will improve. If it is a karmic disease, then the adept should use the power of contemplation internally while practicing repentance externally—their condition will then improve. These methods of treatment are not the same. The adept must understand this well. One must not wield a sword by grasping the blade only to bring harm to themselves."

This scenario highlights the unexpected ways medical knowledge was repurposed by monks in different contexts and for different reasons. The writings of Zhiyi, who was undoubtedly versed in medical knowledge, represent cogent assimilations of components of

the classical medical body, including acumoxa loci, into the framework of Buddhist practice.[52] In addition to the points already discussed, for example, Zhiyi's contemplation of disease section mentions *sanli* 三里, a frequently cited classical point to which Zhiyi instructs adepts experiencing sharp pains during practice to direct their mind for alleviation.[53] As this example suggests, in his own writings Zhiyi was drawing the medical body, point-by-point, into the fold of his practice-oriented discourse as a way to assist disciples navigating the obstacles of meditation, and as sites upon which to contemplate the nature of disease for soteriological advancement. Jimon monks comprised one group of heirs to the Chinese Tiantai tradition, but they were also established esoteric Buddhist healers in early medieval Japan, facing the rising prominence of a particular classical technique. These monks extracted body loci highlighted by their patriarch Zhiyi but externalized them as sites for empowerment-invigorated moxibustion. The way Jimon monks engaged Zhiyi's writings reflects their circumstances and dispositions, and they departed from the genre in which Zhiyi wrote even as his writings served to help them navigate the acumoxa body.

[52] For examples of Zhiyi's engagement with medical knowledge, see Salguero, "'Treating Illness': Translation of a Chapter from a Medieval Chinese Buddhist Meditation Manual by Zhiyi (538–597)," 97–105.

[53] T. 1911: 8a27–28.

# Chapter 6
# The King of the Crown, Bodies of Liquid-Light

IN THIS CHAPTER we continue our examination of the construction of the patient's body in the ritual sources, this time focusing both on evidence from *Ritual for Expelling Demons* and more concrete instructions from *Essential Notes*. Our discussion here, however, will pivot on just one moxibustion location, a single point into which the compilers of the rite inscribed an entire cosmos of meaning. The point was located at a precise spot on the crown of the patient's head and was referred to in the sources with a curious name: "Character-Ten on the Crown."

An extended investigation of the crown reveals it to be much more than simply the first point on which ritualists were instructed apply moxibustion. In this chapter we pursue the multi-layered significance of this region to better understand why it was given privileged status as the head of the moxibustion program. To state our conclusions up front, this had much to do with the transregionally ubiquitous practice of Buddhist consecration, a deity born of an epithet for Dainichi Nyorai who came to take on special prominence in early medieval Japan, and rich imaginaries about soteriology and healing involving liquid-like, life-giving light.

## BUDDHIST MOXIBUSTION ON THE CROWN

Moxibustion applied to the pate within a Buddhist context immediately calls to mind an ordination practice referred to as "precept scars" (*jieba* 戒疤) known in China from at least the late nineteenth century and also with a history in Korea. In this practice, moxibustion or incense is used to burn several locations on an initiate's pate, thus marking that initiate as a

nearly ordained member of the Sangha. First introduced by scholars such as J. J. M. de Groot and Johannes Prip-Møller, this intriguing practice has been more recently explored by James Benn in a study on burning the body practices in premodern China.[1] As Benn shows, except for a single, anomalous example of burning the crown at ordination from the Yuan period (1271–1368), textual evidence that could locate this peculiar feature of ordination rites in earlier periods is lacking.[2] Indigenous Chinese texts dating to the Tang period that prescribe burning incense on the body might, as Benn suggests, refer to a practice like moxibustion, if in an indirect manner. Medical history supports this claim by showing that moxibustion was indeed quite popular in the Tang and Song periods.

It is unlikely, however, that the Jimon moxibustion ritual has any direct connections with these earlier examples of self-immolation and does not seem to share a common ancestor with the much more recent adoption (and prohibition, in 1983) of moxibustion to burn the head in Chinese monasteries.[3] The technique of applying moxibustion to the crown that we deal with here is embedded within an esoteric liturgy performed for healing, a context quite different from the meanings associated with self-immolation (idealized acts of offering the body to the Buddha for merit-making purposes). As we already noted, the crown of the head figures into empowerment programs as the first chakric region engaged by the ritualist through techniques such as visualization and mudras. The procedure for moxibustion in the *Ritual for Eliminating Demons* can be understood to extend the body sequences of empowerment, with

---

[1] Prip-Møller, *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries; Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life*, 1937/1967: 317-324; de Groot, *Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine, son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque*, 1893: 217–231; Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism," 1998; and Ikai, "Chūgoku Bukkyō no kaiha to kyū," 2009.

[2] Indigenous Chinese texts dating to the Tang period that prescribe burning incense on the body might, as James Benn suggests, refer to a practice like moxibustion, if in an indirect manner; see Benn, "Where Text Meets Flesh," 1998: 308–309.

[3] Although we tend to imagine influence in premodern East Asia predominantly as currents flowing eastward, another possibility—that late medieval forms of Buddhist moxibustion developed in Japan influenced later Qing period ordination practices in China—cannot be disregarded, but it does lie outside the scope of the present chapter.

administration starting on the crown of the head and moving progressively down the body. However, this chapter will consider a set of meanings that suggest some connection with imaginary that has often been associated with consecration, a practice that overlaps with the purpose of consecration in many ways.

Before returning to the Jimon ritual, we should note that while the practice of burning the head at ordination does not appear to have taken root in Japan, there are nevertheless long traditions of burning or warming the head by way of moxibustion that are still carried out at some temples today. Typically, the practice has members of the lay community put a clay bowl over their crown upon which moxibustion is burned. Rather than a regular service—since for legal reasons temples cannot claim to provide health services—this is usually conducted as an annual ceremony to ensure robust health for the year.[4] In contrast to the ordination practices in China and Korea for which a clear genealogy is difficult to discern, the practices in Japan would appear to derive from the history of Buddhist moxibustion discussed throughout this dissertation. Leaving that history aside for now, suffice to say that our analysis of the bodily imaginations that undergird the technique employed in the Jimon ritual will help us to better understand why such practices have existed, and continue to be conducted, in Japan.

## "CHARACTER-TEN ON THE CROWN"

Once again, the liturgical, *Ritual for Expelling Demons*, does not provide concrete information beyond noting that the first point to which the ritualist must apply moxibustion is called the "character-ten on the crown [of the head]" (*chō jūji* 頂十字中). This is misleading, for the technique is in fact the most elaborate that the ritual texts precribe. Actual guidance for how to carry out the technique is found in *Essential Notes*:

[4] See e.g. a similar example in Imamura, *Nihon no minkan iryō*, 1983.

> The Character-Ten [on the Crown]: take a piece of straw and, starting from the forehead, wrap it around the head, folding it in four and having it touch the crown of the head above the hairline. Apply moxibustion to the place the piece of straw reaches.
>
> 十字ヲハ藁スヘヲ以テ額ヨリ頭ニ廻テ四ニ折テ髪際ヨリ頂ニ充テ彼ノ藁スヘノ至ル所ヲ灸スル也。

As with nitty-gritty instructions for techniques in both medical and ritual literature, this passage presents the reader with reconstructive challenges. The text does not specify how long the piece of straw ought to be, and various interpretations might be suggested for the phrase, "the place the piece of straw reaches," including the possibility that more than one point is to be obtained. It would seem that even direct recipients *Essential Notes*, to say nothing of later interpreters, would require hands-on instruction to properly execute the technique. Fortunately, one aspect can be clarified by way of the body-chart illustrations that accompany the *Essential Notes* manuscript, which depicting the front and back sides of an adult male courtier. On the top of the head in the latter illustration we find a single black dot, thus, we can conclude that the focus of this technique is one point rather than several.

Part of the difficulty in reconstructing the technique stems from the name of the point itself, "character-ten on the crown" (*chōjūji* 頂十字). Like Platform Mirror (3), Back of the Head (10), and Back of the Platform (11), this is an anatomical term, yet it does not derive from classical medical sources, nor is it original to this text. Rather, the term is found throughout esoteric Buddhist ritual texts to indicate the point on the head that corresponds to what today's anatomy calls the bregma, the point where the coronal and sagittal sutures meet at a right angle and form a cross—that is, a shape identical to the Chinese character for "ten" 十—on the skull. Classical medical texts likewise took this point as an anatomical landmark and referred to it with characters pictographically similar to "ten."

For example, the first acumoxa point in the second fascicle of the Ishinpō, the volume concerning acumoxa, is rendered in transcriptions of the text as either *eie* 盈会 or *shin'e* 顚会,

the latter being more widely accepted.[5] But in the manuscript (and copies based on it), the first character appears smudged, as if it was a mistake that had been crossed out, and to the immediate right side of this character is what appears to be a simplified variant of the character shin 囟 which resembles a cross.[6] Furthermore, a note added to the top margin of that page cites *Jade Chapters* (*Yupian* 玉篇) to say that the character depicts "the meeting [point] of a person's head" which is the "cover for the brain," thereafter giving the variant *shin* 顖.[7]

Perhaps to dodge some of the confusion suffered by writers of medical texts, authors of esoteric Buddhist authors such as the compilers of the Jimon ritual text preferred the simpler graph "ten," but usually used the compound, "character-ten on the crown." This term is found in a variety of sources, especially, as we will see those associated with Womb Realm (*taizōkai* 胎蔵界) discourses.

## *The King & Two Crowns*

The use of this term for the crown, character-ten on the crown, points to esoteric discourses. It is to these sources we must explore further to better understand what the crown might have signified to the compilers of the rite and what they sought in incorporating it into the top of the moxibustion program in the rite. In particular, our examination will pivot on a deity referred to in the ritual texts as "King of a Hundred Lights Pervasively Shining" (Hyakkō Henjō Ō 百光遍照王). This is the deity that the Jimon compilers chose to invoke while applying moxibustion to the top of the patient's head, and thus it can serve for us as an appropriate point of entry into the crown. What we will see is that, much more than simply

---

[5] *Eie* is given in *Ishinpō* 1975: 5, the second half of the book; *shin'e* appears, e.g., in Kuwahara, *Keiketsugaku no kodai taieki: Meidō kyō wo fukugen suru*, 2006: 149, 189.

[6] The character, which also looks like a 亞 but without the top line, is related to the aforementioned *shin* 顖. The same character is written again two lines to the left under the second acumoxa point, this time as a gloss on shin 囟; for the manuscript (a reprint of the Edo Igakukan 江戸医学館 edition), see *Ishinpō* 1975: 3, the first half of the book.

[7] This embeds a quote from Xu Shen's *Explanation of Simple and Compound Graphs* (*Shuowen jiezi* 說文解字).

the point where cranial sutures meet, the crown could function as a dynamic intersection of esoteric as well as Tiantai/Tendai discourses about soteriology, vital energies, their flows and dispossession, and reinvigoration, all of which had much to contribute to ritual healing.

The instructions in the *Ritual for Expelling Demons* pertaining to the crown are brief, but they enact an important shift from soteriology to healing. Those instructions read: "First, when applying moxa on the Character-Ten on the crown of the head, recite AṂ KHAṂ HŪṂ PHAṬ fifty-seven times. Endow [the sufferer] with the virtues and attributes of the King of the Hundred Lights Universally Shining." In somewhat idiosyncratic language, the second passage of these instructions replicates a very typical notion in esoteric soteriological discourse, namely, complete identification between practitioner and deity, what the tradition otherwise refers to formulaically as the "[deity] entering self, self entering [deity]" (*nyūga ga'nyū* 入我我入). To become endowed with the "virtues" (*kudoku* 功德) and "attributes" (*unsō* 蘊相) of the King of a Hundred Lights is to become identical to the deity in every respect imaginable, from the deity's accumulated acts of meritorious deeds to its aggregates (or *skandhas*, i.e. the five aggregates [*goun* 五蘊]) and distinctive marks. Earlier Chinese sources already discuss the practitioner's fusion with "King of a Hundred Lights Universally Shining" (hereafter, the King of a Hundred lights) in synonomous terms. For example, in the third fascicle of the *Explanation of the Meanings of the Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*Darijing yishi* 大日経義釈), we read:

> On the top of the platform, visualize the [*siddhaṃ*] character *a* in the vajra color. Place the King of a Hundred Lights Universally Shining in the head, and use the Undefiled Eyes to visualize it. Because you empower yourself with this, you become the body of Vairocana. Take this expedient means to visualize the body of Vairocana now being not two, not separate from one's own body.

此臺上、當觀阿字作金剛色。首中置百光遍照王、而以無垢眼觀之。以此自加持故、即成毗盧遮那身也。以此方便觀毗盧遮那身、今與我身無二無別。[8]

There are two important ways this soteriological act was imagined to relate to healing. First, this identification between practitioner and deity was understood to be revitalizing and health-giving for the former, which is clear from the way that esoteric texts often pair soteriological and bodily benefits in discussing such divine unions. For example, when explaining the tossing of a flower practice, whereby the soteriological path opens by first planting the seed of *bodhicitta* and connection is established with the deity, Kakuban notes that "the underlying causes of pestilence and so on are removed, and one quickly reaches the highest enlightenment."[9] The adept's cultivation of "adamantine subjectivity," to borrow Fabio Rambelli's term for this union, was thus tied to achievement of "adamantine physiology."[10] Second, this act was the necessary premise for the ritualist to conduct healing. Before conducting ritual acts in healing rituals, it was necessary for the practitioner to empower themselves. This is true of any ritual act in estoeric Buddhism. It shows us where the healing power comes from, then channeled through the body of the ritualist.

In light of this, the instructions in the Jimon rite depart from the commonplace formula in an important way: they change the target from adept to patient. "Endow" (*gusu* 具ス) here does not refer to a change in the ritualist, but rather what the ritualist facilitates for the patient. After all, in the context of this rite, Shōmen Kongō is the *honzon*, the primary object of worship. We can thus presume that as a premise for conducting the rite, the ritualist has already carried out the procedures to achieve union with Shōmen Kongō, thus giving him the

[8] X. 23: 438 (CBETA). The same passage is included in the other version of the commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, the *Da Piluzhena chengfo jing shu* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏; see T. 1796: 623a06–a13. As Lucia Dolce ("Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School," 750, fn. 9) notes, both versions were important to Taimitsu.

[9] Translation of Kakuban, in *Shingon Texts*, 2004: 270.

[10] Rambelli, *A Buddhist Theory of Semiotics: Signs, Ontology, and Salvation in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, 166–167.

power to conduct the healing. This is similar to what occurs more generally in ritual healing, especially with Fudō in *kaji* practice, and Shōmen Kongō as we have already noted is essentially replacing Fudō in this rite. Thus, when the ritualist invokes the King of a Hundred Lights, this is an endowment on the patient. This is the second thing. The act here is not performed in order to empower the practitioner, but is an act of transference of healing powers. The soteriological powers are redirected to the patient. This is, after all, the moment in the rite when the ritualist, presumably at this point in direct proximity to the patient, has commenced the application of moxibustion and mantras. The divine endowment, an empowerment on the crown of the head, therefore accompanies these acts.

This is the extent of information we have in terms of instruction. However, we already have here several important threads from which to explore further: the deity, the crown, and the redirection of soteriological and transformation powers upon the patient in the context of a healing practice. By pursuing these associations in contextually relevant sources, we may hope to gain a better understanding of what it means to endow the patient with the powers of this deity at this particular spot on the crown.

## CROWN-BUDDHAS, BUDDHAS OF THE CROWN

Although the information we have regarding the instructions is limited, there is additional information about the King of a Hundred Lights scattered throughout the liturgy that we need to consider. This information suggests that the compilers of the rite sought to reimagine the King of a Hundred Lights as a "buddha-crown deity" (*bucchō-son* 仏頂尊).

Deifications of the Buddha's crown (*uṣṇīṣa*). The main crown deity in medieval Japan was One-character Golden Wheel Buddha (Ichiji Kinrin 一字金輪; Skt. Ekākṣara-uṣṇīṣacakra). One immediately obvious association between the King of a Hundred Lghts and Ichiji Kinrin is the emphasis on a single character. In the case of Ichiji Kinrin, that is *bhrūṃ* (J. *boron*), and with the King of a Hundred Lights, as we will see more of shortly, it is *aṃ* (J. *an* 暗). Ichiji

Kinrin deity is often said to have two forms, Shaka Kinrin and Dainichi Kinrin. The difference between these two deities was a topic for discussion among esoteric monks, including the Jimon monk Keihan.[11] That King of a Hundred Lights might be linked to Dainichi Kinrin is reasonable, since the King of a Hundred Lights is normally taken to be an epithet for Dainichi. While recognizing the logic of their identification, however, we should not be so quick to conflate the two. As we will see, Dainichi and the King of a Hundred Lights had different careers, with the former being clearly much more important. However, the latter plays a special role in the Jimon moxibustion rite in relation to the crown.

Evidence in the Jimon liturgy suggests that this kind of identification was going on. For one thing, instructions meant for the patient state, "Do not despair. Always contemplate the King of a Hundred Lights, Nyoirin Kannon, and Yakushi Nyorai"—the identity is left unspecified. In the recitation section of *Oral Transmissions* (*nenshi* 念次), the three deities are given as Dainichi, Yakushi 薬師, and Nyoirin (Kannon) 如意輪観音. At the same time, the text suggests the distinction between the two forms of Ichiji Kinrin do not hold up. In the illustration for the mandala, we read: "The King of a Hundred Lights Universally Illuminating, Shaka Golden Wheel Buddha" (*Hyakkō henjō ō shaka kinrin butsu* 百光遍照王釈迦金輪仏). Importantly, we do not find such conflations in the writings of others on King of a Hundred Lights (like Saisen discussed below, nor Annen, etc.).

In other places of *Essential for Expelling Demons,* this extends to Dainichi Kinrin more specifically, and mysterious but clearly important connections are made to a consecration practice. Throughout the liturgy, there are several mentions of a mysterious and otherwise unknown ritual, alternatively to as the *Dainichi Kinrin hō* 大日金輪法 and the *Dainichi Kinrin kanjō hō* 大日金輪灌頂法. This ritual text, which I have been unable to find attested in any other work, appears to have been one important source in the construction of the liturgical

[11] See Keihan's *Hōhiki,* p. 135. Also see e.g. "On One-character Wheel Having Two Forms" (*Ichijirin niyō aru koto* 一金輪有二様事) in *Gyōrinshō* 行林抄, T. 2409: 60b18–20. That authors like Keihan and Jōnen 静然 felt the need to explicitly distinguish the two suggests they were commonly conflated, perhaps in ways similar to the Jimon sources.

text, and one that the compilers assumed would be available. We know that based on the way it is cited. For example, when describing how effigies are to be burned together with ritual techniques related to Fudō, the text notes: "the fire realm [*samādhi* should be performed] like [it is in] the *Dainichi Kinrin* [*Consecration*] *Ritual*." In another section, after mentioning fifteen mudras associated with Fudō's fire realm for empowerment, it says: "because [these mudras] are contained in the *Dainichi Kinrin Consecration Ritual*, they are not recorded here." What are the connections between the King of a Hundred Lights, who appears to be how the Jimon monks conceived the identity of Dainichi Kinrin for this rite, and consecration? We will see many links throughout this chapter, here let us note one example from the work of another important Tendai monk. In his *Record in Accordance with the Essentials* (*Zuiyō ki* 随要記), Kōgei 皇慶 (977–1049) discusses the King of a Hundred Lights visualization practice and concludes by saying, "Thus concludes the program text for the *abhiṣeka*" (*ijō gushi kanjō hen shidai bun* 已上具支灌頂編次第文), referring to the consecration practice of sprinkling water on the adept's head.[12]

Rather than sort out these forms, we should allow these threads to remain messy for the moment, while forwarding a few preliminary observations. First, in the Jimon liturgy, the King of a Hundred Lights is much like Shōmen Kongō, the rite's primary object of worship (*honzon* 本尊), in that he was in medieval Japan something of a free agent. We will examine other texts associated with him later, but he was certainly not, at the time the liturgy was compiled in the late twelfth century, a major deity by any respects. Second, he is a free agent that might compete with or be seen on par with other crown deities that were the objects of fervent cults at the time, with significant imperial patronage. In the context of Sanmon-Tendai, I have in mind here Shijōkō Bucchō 熾盛光仏頂. This is yet another deity identified with Ichiji Kinrin—also associated with the one character *bhrūṃ*, and symbolically similar to King of a Hundred Lights, we will see, in the emphasis on light. In Shingon circles, we can note

[12] T. 2407: 815c09.

the national importance of Tenpōrin Ō 転法輪王. Beyond these, the network centering around Ichiji Kinrin exhibited an incredible reach, rooting itself into the earth, mountains, and the autochthonous—as we see with connections to Miwa 三輪 and other local deities—and stretching out into the cosmos via threads to astral deities such as Myōken 妙見.[13]

Being linked to the vast symbolic field concentrated on Ichiji Kinrin thus had many benefits. Such mythological acrobatics applied to the King of a Hundred Lights—who, as an epithet for Dainichi was already ready for such a role—would have enabled Jimon monks to compete on a larger stage. However, for our purposes, what matters in terms of the King of a Hundred Lights's association with crown deities is was his materialized connection to the crown of the patient, which was established by the Jimon moxibustion rite. Making that connection is significant part of the specific work this ritual is doing: bringing the rareified and exalted crown deity down to the crown of the sufferer of corpse-vector disease. In invoking the King of a Hundred Lights when applying moxibustion to the crown, we have something similar to soteriological identification, but one that is anatomically more specific, referring to that part of the crown where the sutures meet and moxibustion is to be applied. The logic behind this, as we will see, is the homology between the crown of buddhas, which are sacred entities that become deified, and the crown of the patient. Consecration was understood exactly as a means of sacralizing the recipient through engagement with the crown, thus it is not surprising that a consecration text associated with Dainichi Kinrin figures into the ritual as a model. The interweaving of buddha-crown and King of a Hundred Lights in the Jimon rite shows that the powerful and expansive network of Ichiji Kinrin could also be tilted toward and tied to the body through a kind of consecration practice.

[13] For Miwa, see Andreeva, *Assembling Shinto*, 2017; for Myōken, see Faure, *The Fluid Pantheon*, 2016.

But where did this deity come from and how did it come to be associated with a specific body part, the crown of the head? A background check into the history of this deity—an investigation that has not yet been done before in previous research—can help us uncover aspects important to this deity that are in turn critical for the Jimon ritual and the way it images the transformation of the patient.

The earliest text in which we can find the beginnings of a "King of a Hundred Lights" is the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, and it is in commentaries on this text that practices around this deity began to take shape. In the Chinese translation, *Dari jing* 大日経 (J. *Dainichi kyō*; T. 848),[14] the King of a Hundred Lights first appears in fascicle six in a section entitled, "The Exposition of the Arising of the Hundred Characters" (*setsu hyakuji-shō hin* 説百字生品).[15] This is the first of five related sections on the theme of the "hundred characters"; the other four are the "Intercorrespondence with the Fruit of a Hundred Characters," "The Accomplishment of the Station of the Hundred Characters," "Recitation of the Accomplishment of the Hundred Characters," and "The Mantra Method for the Hundred Characters." Based on the the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*Darijing shu* 大日経疏), Giebel provides a succinct definition for the hundred characters:

> According to the Chinese commentary, the hundred letters consist of the twenty-five letters making up the five members of each of the five series of consonants in the Sanskrit alphabet, each of which takes four forms, thus resulting in one hundred letters. The five series of consonants are the gutturals or velars (ka, kha, ga, gha, and ṅa), the palatals (ca, cha, ja, jha, and ña), the cerebrals or retroflexes (ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, and ṇa), the dentals (ta, tha, da, dha, and na),

[14] The full title of this text is *Da Piluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (7 fasc.; T 848).

[15] Giebel (*The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra*, 171) translates *ji* as "letters" and this makes sense given the notion of phonological transformation but I prefer to stick with "characters." First, this is the same character as Chinese characters, and they were matched with Chinese characters. Second, much of their usage in esoteric ritual practice relates to their physical form rather than their place in the Sanskrit alphabet. This is not a major distinction.

> and the labials (pa, pha, ba, bha, and ma), and each of these twenty-five letters takes the following four forms: short (-a), long (-ā), aspirated (-aḥ), and nasalized (-aṃ).[16]

What is being described here, in other words, is a mandala (J. *mandara* 曼荼羅). Rather than being comprised of deities, this mandala is made up of characters that, in later visualization practices, took the form of layered and concentric "character discs" (*jirin* 字輪). In Japanese esotericism, such practices were referred to as "contemplating distribution" (*kanfu* 觀布) or "distributing characters" (*fuji* 布字). It was already referred to as a "secret mandala" in the *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra*:

> 此布字之法。是祕密漫荼羅。自非久 習眞明之行。堪傳授者方以意相傳。不可以文載。故師以口相授。經所不說。但云如毘盧遮那輪轉也。復次行者須知諸字之色。
>
> This rite of distributing characters is the secret mandala. If it is not the case that one cultivates the true illuminating practice for a long time and the person who can accept it does so by way of meaning, then it should not be written down in a text. Thus, masters transmit it by way of mouth and it is not expounded in scriptures, except saying that it is the Wheel [i.e. the same character for "disc"] Turning of Vairocana, and that practitioners must know the colors for each character.[17]

[16] Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra*, 258, fn. 117.

[17] T.1796, 724c20–23; also cited in *Mikkyō daijiten* v. 4, p. 1921, but has 術 for 行. This draws from earlier discourse in 大毘盧遮那經阿闍梨眞實智品中阿闍梨住阿字觀門: T 863, 194c23–26: 又此布字之法。即是大悲胎藏三重祕密曼荼羅。自非人集眞明之行。堪傳授者。方以意想傳之。不可文載。故師已口相授

Reference to an illustrated form of this is found in his *Records of the Transmission of the Great Ritual of the Womb Realm* (*Taizōkai taihō taijuki* 胎蔵界大法対受記 T. 2390), Annen says, "In the illustrated mandala of the King of a Hundred Lights imported by Jikaku Daishi, there are six discs within the mandala, and in the middle of the eight petals of the white lotus flower, there is the character *a*. ..." Although I do not know of extant examples, we know that this was graphically reproduced, as for instance how it is recreated here by Horiuchi.[18]

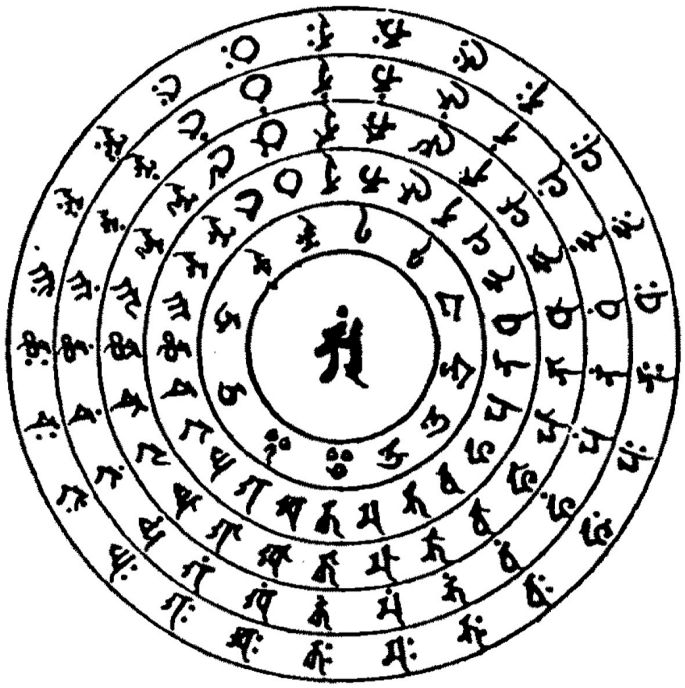


FIG. 21 King of a Hundred Lights mandala of "distributed characters," based on instructions in *Daru jing shu*.

Annen discusses this practice in much detail in a section entitled "Rite of the Hundred-Lights King for Distributing Characters" (*Hyakkō Ō fuji hō* 百光王布字法). This language is repeated by Kōshū much later, who writes:

> All [rites involving] distributing characters are dharma-mandalas (*hō-mandara* 法曼荼羅). These are the so-called "four wheels of distributed characters": Distributing Characters of the

[18] Horiuchi, "Ishiyamadera shozō 'Hyakkō henjō ō gi mondō shō' nitsuite," 1997: 258.

> Hundred-Lights King, Distributing Characters of the Distributing Characters Class, Distributing Characters of the Three Section Master (*ajari* 阿闍梨), and Distributing Characters of the Twelve-Mantra King.[19]

Dharma-mandalas are a special class of mandalas in which deities are represented by their "seed characters" (*shuji* 種字) written in *siddhaṃ.*[20] There are many examples of embroidered versions, made from the hair of devotees.[21] In connection with the King of a Hundred Lights, it seems that esoteric monks were dealing mostly with two types, differing by the medium upon which they were expressed: one eidetic, produced in the mind, and the other graphic, illustrated on paper (as the mandala that Annen claims Ennin brought back). For the Jimon ritual, we will have to imagine another type, in which the medium is the body of the patient and the centerpoint of which is the crown. We will return to this shortly.

Although the sections in the aforementioned *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* are apparently all about the "hundred characters" in title, in fact a single character is key. This is the character at the center of the mandala: *aṃ*. *Aṃ*, which constitutes the center point of the mandala, and thus stands in for Mahāvairocana, appears in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* as the final character in the following mantra: *Namaḥ samantabuddhānāṃ, aṃ* (*nanmo sanmantuo botuonan an* 南麼三曼多勃馱喃暗).[22] The thematic connection, more obvious in the Tibetan edition, gets emphasized in the Chinese commentaries on the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* to be discussed shortly.[23]

First, the character *aṃ* continued to play a role in later practices. As Sakei Shinten 酒井真典 , former president of Kōyasan University and abbot of Henjōkō'in 遍照光院, noted in

---

[19] T. 2410 683a30–b02.

[20] Ten Grotenhuis, *Japanese* Mandalas, 1999: 94–95.

[21] See the catalogue, *Ito no mihotoke, kokuhō tsuzureori Taima mandara to shūbutsu.*

[22] T. 848: 40a27–8

[23] For the Tibetan edition, see Hodge, *The Maha-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra,* 2015.

one of the only studies on the King of a Hundred Lights, (writing in the sixties) there is much fanfare about the character *a*, for Adhidevatā, meaning *honpushō* 阿字本不生 (*anutpāda*), identical to the *dharmakāya* of Dainichi.[24] It is based upon this that we have perhaps the famous esoteric practice, "Contemplation on the Character *A*" (*ajikan* 阿字観).[25] In contrast, Sakei points out that *aṃ* more directly connects with Dainichi since it refers to the King of a Hundred Lights. Rather than emphasize one or the other, however, it is important to keep in mind that these two characters have a special relationship which held much significance for many of the writers of these texts as well as later transmitters in Japan. What connected these two characters was the "emptiness-dot" (J. *kūten* 空点; Sk. *anusvāra*), the extra dot added above *a* that transforms the character into *aṃ*.

Another early idea we must keep in mind in connecting this to later practices is how the one character of *aṃ* connects with the hundred characters. As is clear from the image above (Fig. 1), at the center of the mandala is the character *aṃ*. In the visualization of this practice, it is the *aṃ* that serves as essentially a fountain from which all of the characters radiate. Importantly, this is described as an exudation of light that produces a flowing which is pervasive in its reach. The one produces the hundred, filling the mandala. For example, this was explained in the following way in the The *Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra* (*Darijing shu* 大日経疏):

---

[24] Sakei, *Hyakkō Henjō Ō no kaimei*, 1969. Sakei claims in the preface (1) that although *aji kan* is not explained in the *Dainichikyō*, the contemplation associated with King of a Hundred Lights, *an-ji kan*. This text introduces the Chinese and Tibetan versions (in modern Japanese translation) of the *Dainichikyō* sections associated with the King Lights as well as the commentary. It includes a Japanese modern translation. Therefore it covers only one small aspect of the deity, leaving out even Kūkai's several significant mentions. On these mentions, see Misaki, *Taimitsu kenkyū*, 77–89. Popular audiences are given instructions for the meditation in popular publications, such as *Mikkyō no hon*, pp. 114–123.

[25] See Richard Payne's chapter in *Re-visioning Kamakura Buddhism*, "*Ajikan*: Ritual and Meditation in the Shingon Tradition," 219–248; Kiyota, *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice*, 1978: 71–74; and Yamasaki, *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*, 1988: 190–215. For the application of the syllable *A* on the deathbed, see Stone, "Just Open Your Mouth and Say 'A': A-Syllable Practice for the Time of Death in Early Medieval Japan."

> This character aṃ is the heart-mind of all mantras. Among all mantras it is the most supreme 上首. [...] This is why it is called as such. The King of a Hundred Lights mantra is explained by saying that from this one character emit the lights of one-hundred dharmas that universally flow and come out. [If one were to] translate this character [*aṃ*], [it] would be 'pervasive' 遍.[26]
>
> 此是暗字。一切眞言之心。於一切眞言最爲上首。之智。故以爲名也。百光遍照眞言說者。謂從此一字。而放百法光明遍流而出也。此字若翻爲遍。

## PUTTING THE KING ON THE CROWN

We will focus on inquiry here on the textual traditions through which a connection was made to the crown, which is clearly what the practice of the Jimon moxibustion ritual entails. At what point was the King of a Hundred Lights linked to the crown of the head, the area on which the Jimon moxibustion rite places this deity? Hints of any kind of visualization practice beyond just the mantra appear in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, in a passage that forms the basis for what we already saw in the *Explanation of the Meanings.* This is fascicle seven, often considered a summary of the entire *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* which has been reworked into a ritual itself and a section that only exists in the Chinese edition. There we find mention of visualizing or contemplating the King of a Hundred Lights on or in the head. It is worth emphasizing that the crown does figure into other visualization methods scattered throughout this fascicle. "The letter *ra* is colored pure white and adorned with an emptiness-dot (J. *kūten* 空点; Sk. *anusvāra*)," one reads, "place it on the crown of your head, like a precious stone in a topknot."[27] Still another visualization appearing directly before the contemplation of King of a

[26] T. 1796: 0766c27–b01.

[27] T 848: 47b24–25: 囉字色鮮白、空點以嚴之、如彼髻明珠、置之於頂上. "Precious stone" translates *keimyōju* 髻明珠 (Sk. *cūḍā-maṇi*). My translation is roughly identical to that in Giebel, *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra*, 217.

Hundred Lights reads: "The character *kha* and the emptiness-dot together form all colors; empower and place them on top of the crown, it is therefore called 'the great emptiness.'"[28]

In the *Explanation of the Meanings* passage, no mention is made of the "crown" 頂. In his translation of the same passage, Iyanaga Nobumi reads 臺上 as "on the head of the practitioner" and 首中 as "at its top." But looking earlier in this passage demonstrates that the topic pursued throughout is the "heart" and not the head. Thus in a later summary of the same passage in the *Taizō kongō bodaishin giryaku mondō shō* 胎藏金剛菩提心義略問答鈔 (T. 2397), Annen (to quote Iyanaga) describes the heart as a "mass of flesh whose form is constituted of eight parts" located "in the chest of all sentient beings. The imagination of the heart in the shape of a lotus flower is something we find throughout esoteric Buddhist texts, as well as in medical texts and even in later works conveying Buddhist moxibustion methods. If we were to take the passage of that context, *kubi no naka* 首中, as the two characters might be rendered in a Japanese reading,[29] might refer to an area in or on the head, or perhaps the neck.[30] Even if this were the case, however, we still do not have an unambiguous reference to the crown specifically. While the *Explanation of the Meanings* might be one of the earliest sources on the King of a Hundred Lights, it does not appear to be the one directly used by the compilers of the Jimon ritual in which the divinity is placed on the crown of the patient.

Visualization practices that unambiguously place the King of a Hundred Lights on the crown of the head first appear in early esoteric texts composed in Japan, but it is likely those practices were conveying in writing what were originally oral teachings from Chinese masters with whom the authors had studied. Indeed, already in the *Commentary*, Yixing's exegesis of the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra* composed in China, we read of the King's mandala that "masters

---

[28] T. 848: 52b27–28: 佉字及空點、相成一切色、加持在頂上、故名爲大空

[29] *Kokuyaku issaikyō* 63, *Mikkyō bu* 1: 155: 又首の中に於て、百光遍照天を置くべし. Also, note the mistake here of *ten* 天 for *ō* 王. The correct rendition in fn. 48 on the same page suggests this is only a typo.

[30] Giebel reads the phrase "inside your head" (*The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-sūtra*, 239).

transmit it by way of mouth, [whereas] the scripture does not explain it."[31] The "scripture" to which Yixing refers was probably the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, and much to Yixing's point, we have seen it to lack details on the matter. Certain writings of Japanese masters may have conveyed such oral transmissions. The earliest sources in this regard are those attributed to Kūkai 空海. Among such writings, the name "Hundred Lights Pervasively Shining," as well as mudras and mantras pertaining to it, appear in such works as the *Program of the Indic Characters of the Womb Realm* (*Taizō bonji shidai* 胎蔵梵字次第), *Abbreviated Program of the Womb Realm* (*Taizō ryaku shidai* 胎蔵略次第), and *Program in the Hand of the Great Teacher* (*Daishi onhitsu shidai* 大師御筆次第). Visualization methods that focus on the King of a Hundred Lights are described in the *Recitation Program of the Womb Realm, [Also] Called the Program of Prostrating with the Five Parts [of the Body]* (*Taizōkai nenju shidai* 胎蔵界念誦次第), *Program of Worship by Expedient Means* (*Sarai hōben shidai* 作礼方便次第), and *Program of Universal Worship of the Womb Realm in Five and Three* (*Taizō furai gosan shidai* 胎藏普禮五三次第).[32] In general, the method described in these works is consistent with the distribution of the "hundred characters" we noted previously, with the second and third texts clearly instructing the practitioner to "place" the character *aṃ*, the center of the character discs, on the crown.

Although these three texts have long been associated Kūkai, Ueda Reijō has argued for the possibility that they were in fact composed by Shuei 宗叡 (809–884) or someone in his lineage.[33] Having trained on Mt. Hiei with Gishin 義心 and Enchin before studying at Tōji, where he would later become abbot, Shuei is thought to have introduced Taimitsu elements

---

[31] In the *Commentary* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 it is said that masters transmit this by way of mouth. T. 1796, 724c22: 文載。故師以口相授。經所不說。

[32] The exact meaning of *gosan* in this title is not clear. For an extensive analysis on the reception of the Womb Realm in Japan, and most especially the writings of Kūkai, see Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest Garbha Vidhi of the Shingon Sect," 1986.

[33] Ueda, *Daishi gosaku Taizō shidai no kōsatsu*, 1984; see also Todaro, "A Study of the Earliest Garbha Vidhi of the Shingon Sect," 111–112.

into Tōji. The three aforementioned texts betray the influence of Womb Realm manuals brought back by Tendai monks such as Ennin and Enchin, and draw heavily upon two manuals composed by Faquan 法全 (fl. 800–870), the master with whom Shuei studied Womb Realm practices at Qinglongsi 青竜寺 in Chang'an.[34] It is possible that the move to place the King on the crown began with Fazhuan, or it may have come from Tendai, more about which we will say shortly.

Regardless of whether these sources were composed by Kūkai himself, the transmissions about the King of a Hundred Lights would remain resurface as of interest for members of the Shingon school. For example, this material was later taken up by Saisen 済暹 (1025–1115), a scholar-monk who was both a student of Kūkai's works—and likely believed Kūkai had compiled the aforementioned texts—and recognized by contemporaries as having expertise in the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.[35] Saisen wrote one of the only known works devoted to this deity, *Notes on Questions-and-Answers Regarding the Meanings of the King of a Hundred Lights Universally Illuminating* (*Hyakkō henjō ō gi mondō shō* 百光遍照王義問答抄) to be the work of Saisen.[36] Saisen's decision to write the work, written in the text itself, was because the commentaries of previous masters were insufficient. We again see that ambiguities characterized this practice, but monks nevertheless remained interested. It is a complicated doctrinal response to this issue, based mostly in the *Commentary* and not as much in Saisen's own elaborations. However, it is important as an example that people were showing attention to the King of a Hundred Lights. Here we just want to note how Saisen reaffirms the understanding of the character *aṃ* as "realizing bodhi," by drawing attention to this section of the *Commentary*: "The dot is placed on top of this character *a* has the meaning of great

[34] Ueda, *Daishi gosaku Taizō shidai no kōsatsu,* 1984: 8.

[35] Veere, *Kakuban Shōnin: The Life and Works of Kōgyō Daishi*, 59–61, in which he speculates that Saisen influenced the ideas of Kakuban.

[36] Kitao, *Hyakkō henjō ō gimon shō nitsuite*, 1997; and Horiuchi 1997. Based on a study of the Ishiyamadera manuscript, Horiuchi has argued this was indeed the work of Saisen. Kitao provides a typeset edition of the Ishiyamadera text.

emptiness. From the mind of bodhi all dharmas are separate, that is referred to as all buddhas. This means realizing bodhi."

A similar visualization practice involving the King and the crown also appears in early Taimitsu sources. For example, in Ennin's *Empty Mind Record of the Womb Realm* (*Taizōkai koshinki* 胎藏界虛心記; 2 fascs., T. 2385), we read:

> The text says, "King of a Hundred Lights on the head." The master says, "Place the Hundred-Lights Pervasively-Shining Mudra and the character *an* [Sk. *aṃ*] on the crown of the head. Use the eyes to see all dharmas as pure, and there is nothing which is not seen. This is called setting up the Eye Without Impurities. The Verse of Fulfillment is the so-called Hundred-Lights Pervasively-Shining Mantra, which is said [like this]: *aban ran gan ken* [Sk. *avaṃ raṃ haṃ khaṃ*]. Take these five characters to adorn the body and establish the receptacle world (*kiseken* 器世間). Investigate the texts to know this."[37]
>
> 文云首中百光王者。師云。以百光遍照印及暗子安置頂上也。以眼見諸法清淨無所不見。名安立無垢眼也。滿足句者謂百光 遍照眞言。今謂。阿鑁唅欠以五字嚴身及安立器世間。尋文可知云云

As we can see, the character *aṃ* is already being placed on the crown here. Annen speculated that the "master" mentioned by Ennin in this text was the Indian master Baoyue 宝月, with whom we otherwise know Ennin studied *siddhaṃ*.[38] But we should recall this important detail: the earliest source to mention placing the King on the crown was likely the work of Shuei, who went to China after Ennin, who went in 838. These are then the two earliest sources to place the King on the crown. Thus, either Shuei learned this interpretation from Ennin, or both heard it from a master in China, perhaps Baoyuan.

There is more associated with Ennin to speculate an important connection there. A notable mention of a visualization practice involving the King of a Hundred Lights in the *Collection of Oral Transmissions in the Sanmai Lineage* (*Sanmairyū kudenshū* 三昧流口傳集);

---

[37] T. 2385: 3c27–4a03.

[38] Ono, *Bussho kaisetsu jiten*, 178–179.

hereafter, *Transmissions in the Sanmai Lineage*), which we will explore more fully shortly, cites from the "Rite of Distributing the Characters of the Ten-Character Buddha Crown" (*jūji bucchō fuji hō* 十字佛頂布字法). It is not clear if this is the name of a method, a rite, or the title of a specific text. To the citation is appended this critically important note: "this is contained among the transmissions at Zen-Tōin" (*Zen-Tōin no sōshō chū ni kore ari* 前唐院ノ相承中ニ有之). Safeguarded by an icon of Kangiten, the deity that purportedly protected the pilgrim on his journey by boat back to Japan, Zen-Tōin is the library that contained works Ennin brought back from China.[39] By the time Ryōyū 良祐 compiled *Transmissions in the Sanmai Lineage* (c. 1069–1072), Zen-Tōin would indeed have been associated with the works brought back by Ennin.[40] What Ryōyū might have found there was a text whose title also appears in *Catalogue of Sacred Writings Newly Sought in the Tang* (*Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目録), the last of the three catalogues compiled associated with Ennin's travels.[41] This is a comprehensive catalogue, and includes materials Ennin picked up on his travels in Chang'an, Wutaishan, and Yangzhou. That text is the *Sanskrit Text of the Inner Homa Ten-character Buddha Crown with the Rite for Distributing Characters, One Fascicle* (*Nai-goma jūji butchō bonbon narabini fuji-hō ikkan* 内護摩十字仏頂梵本幷布字法一巻). It is not known whether this text is extant. Importantly, the entry for this text appears only in the Shōren'in Kissuizō 青蓮院吉水蔵 edition of the catalogue. Kominami Satsuki has shown contains as many as 56 items not listed in other editions, which likely descend from different source manuscripts.[42]

---

[39] See Faure, *Gods of Medieval Japan, Volume 1: The Fluid Pantheon*, 2016: 151, and 362, fn. 150

[40] Take, *Hieizan shodō shi no kenkyū*, ch. 4.

[41] "Newly sought" appears in the title because by the time this catalogue was compiled, that is, within three months of Ennin's return to Japan in 847, two other catalogues associated with Ennin's journey had been completed: 1) *Catalogue of a Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of the Dharma in the Fifth Year of the Japanese Jōwa Era* (*Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本国承和五年入唐求法目錄; T. 2165), completed in 839; and 2) *Record of Materials Sent by Jikaku Daishi Residing in the Tang* (*Jikaku daishi zaitō sō shinroku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄; T. 2166), compiled in 840 at Enryakuji based on materials that Ennin sent back to Japan. These two catalogues thus contained texts and materials Ennin acquired in Yangzhou 揚州.

[42] Kominami, "Jikaku Daishi Ennin 'Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku'," 78. Typeset editions based on other manuscripts can be found in the Taishō canon (T. 2167) and the *Dainihon bukkyō zensho*. Based on comparisons between editions, Kominami suggests that all editions other than the Shōren'in-bon, including the typeset

What is intriguing is that *Transmissions in the Sanmairyū Lineage* cites what reads like an abbreviation of the name of the work in Ennin's catalogue, obvious when we collate the titles with the parts from the catalogue entry in parentheses: [*Nai-goma*] *jūji butchō* [*bonbon narabini*] *fuji-hō.* It's clear that the King of a Hundred Lights was a part of a contemplation practice included in a text associated with the "Ten-character Buddha Crown," confirming our suspicions about that. The text is listed among the over five hundred works that Ennin gathered in Chang'an, fitting with his desire to fill out the esoteric canon begun by Saichō. But what's important is that on the list in the catalogue it is #129. Text #125 is a work that might have been translated by Baoyue, supporting Annen's speculation that the master in *Empty Mind Record.* This also means that Ennin was almost definitely at Qinglongsi when he received the text, so he may have received it from Faquan.[43] Parenthetically, the other important aspect of this text title is that it refers to *bucchō*, a buddha crown-deity, further suggesting that the promotion of King of a Hundred Lights to the status already had precedent.

Additional evidence suggesting this transmission was brought back by Ennin comes in Annen's *Records of the Transmission of the Great Ritual of the Womb Realm* (*Taizōkai taihō taijuki* 胎蔵界大法対受記, T. 2390), where he notes that the mandala connected with the King of a Hundred Lights supposedly brought back by Ennin (*Jikaku Daishi shōrai* [*no*] *hyakkō mandara* 慈覺大師將來百光王曼荼羅). Annen's *Records of the Transmission* was itself largely based on Ennin's *Empty Mind Record*, and Annen also talks about the practice of the King of a Hundred Lights extensively, referring to it as the "King of a Hundred Lights Method for

editions, relate back to the Kōsanji 高山寺 edition. The Shōren'in text is thus of much significance in the study of Ennin's catalogues. The possible connections between the sources discussed throughout this section and the *Nai-goma jūji butchō bonbon narabini fuji-hō ikkan* might eventually offer clues as to the large number of extra items listed in the Shōren'in version, thus giving us insight into the fate of certain of Ennin's imported texts.

[43] Kominami, "Jikaku Daishi Ennin shōrai mokuroku no kenkyū: 'Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku' no gaiyō," 14–15.

Distributing Characters" (*Hyakkō Ō fuji hō* 百光王布字法).[44] We will see what that is about shortly. Finally, other early texts to mention placing the King on the crown include Kakuchō's 覺超 (960–1034) *The Arising of the Womb Realm* (*Taizōkai shōki* 胎蔵界生起)[45] and Kōgei's 皇慶 (977–1049) *Record in Accordance with the Essentials* (*Zuiyō ki* 随要記), both of whom are associated with the two predominant branches of Sanmon-Taimitsu in the mid-Heian period.[46][47] What emerges from the above textual information is that the practice of placing the King on the crown was perhaps brought back from Chinese transmissions by Ennin, initually circulated within the orbit of Taimitsu monks (Shuei being the link outward to Shingon lineages), and in either Shingon or Tendai remained squarely a part of Womb Realm orbit.

Importantly, the King of a Hundred Lights is also added to the crown in an "internal contemplation of the five wheels" in *Asabashō*.[48] This is the practice that we mentioned in the last chapter. Here we see how what was probably at first a minor or lesser known visualization practice associated with the King of a Hundred Lights comes to be associated with much more prominent programs such as the contemplation of the five wheels.

Aspects of these practices were known to Jimon monks that were directly involved in compiling the ritual texts. One key example we can give is Keihan 慶範 and his *Record of Treasured Secrets* (*Hōhiki* 宝秘記). Throughout this text we can find many mentions of the "hundred characters."[49] Keihan also mentions an empowerment practice "for the self" involving a recitation of the hundred characters, which was perhaps a soteriological practice

[44] On this point, see Misaki 273.

[45] See T. 2404: 801a. Kakuchō was known to later authors for incantatory efficacy with prayers for childbirth but for also often being too busy to offer those abilities; see *Shasekishū*, 10:8, p. 423, and summary in Morrell, *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū)*, 252. Interestingly, this section is the one that starts with a discussion of Keisei.

[46] For the former, see T. 2404: 801a, and for the latter, T. 2407: 815b26–2407; on their role in lineages, see Dolce, "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School," 747.

[47] The *Koshinki* is quoted also in the *Asabashō*.

[48] *Asabashō*, DNBZ (*Zuzōbu*), 126.

[49] For example, *Hōhiki*, 120, 125, 157,

involving the King of a Hundred Lights that we have already noted.[50] Moreover, he mentions a distributing character practice for realizing the "hundred lights" that derives from Womb Realm texts. He later refers to this directly as the "distributing characters of the King of a Hundred Lights. [51] Finally, he notes a placing of the "hundred-lights character *aṃ*" on the head in a performance for the Womb Realm mandala.[52]

### SOTERIOLOGICAL FUSION

Because practices similar to the above appear in the Jimon moxibustion ritual, it is evident that Jimon monks were drawing on these sources when putting together this practice. We cannot determine exactly which ones they used, but we have more than enough evidence to speculate about what this inclusion might have meant for Jimon monks in the context of their healing ritual. Our approach here will be to juxtapose the moxibustion technique with the ideas described in some of the other texts we have seen. What justifies this juxaposition is that, ultimately, the genealogy we've outlined above is fairly comprehensive. The King of a Hundred Lights was of interest to many monks it seems, yet still fairly rare—again, this is precisely why this deity would have been an attractive adoption for the innovative ritual that Jimon compilers developed. Therefore, there is arguably much room for hypotheses about intertextual influences and relations, the threads between which will become apparent in the pages that follow.

Let us first begin with Annen, whose *Records of the Transmissions* was, as we noted, one of the more extensive discussions on this topic. What makes a connection between Annen's discourse and the Jimon ritual likely is that Annen is the first among the sources mentioned above to not just say the "crown" (*chō* 頂) but to say "character-ten on the crown"

---

[50] *Hōhiki*, 95.

[51] Ibid., 189–190.

[52] 首中百光暗心、胎蔵界供養. Ibid., 232.

(*chō jūji*), or more precisely "the place on the character-ten on the crown" (*chō jūji sho* 頂十字處) in relation to this topic. This is the same precise anatomical term used in the Jimon liturgy. The following passage within Annen's examination is particularly important for thinking about the meanings that Jimon compilers wished to higlight:

> Take the character *aṃ* and set it upon the spot on the character-ten on the crown, visualizing it in the manner of this mandala. Other explanations say: "Take the character *a* as one's own body and, to character-ten spot on the crown, add the emptiness dot. You must visualize your own body using the character *aṃ* as exactly the character discs. The discs distribute [characters] beyond the body, thereby assembling the four-layered mandala.[53]
>
> 以暗字安於頂十字處。觀安如是曼荼羅。 或説云。以阿字爲己體。頂十字處加空點也。當觀己身以暗字即以字輪。輪布身外以成四重曼荼羅也。

We have here all the basic elements of the King of a Hundred Lights: the character *aṃ*, the crown of the head, and the eidetic production of a mandala that emanates from the center point. As we might expect, in the Jimon liturgy, the character *aṃ* appears as the first *siddhaṃ* character in the mantra when evoking the King of a Hundred Lights and applying moxibustion to the patient's crown. This is surely not coincidental.

Perhaps the meaning of this action relates to what Annen, likely drawing on a shared Taimitsu transmission, describes. That is, the body is said to correspond to the character *a* 𑖀. The point on the crown is the "emptiness dot," the dot which when added makes the King's core character, *aṃ* 𑖀𑖾. This corresponds well to the process implied in the Jimon ritual. The spot is indeed also a small point, located at the cross-sections of the skull, upon which moxibustion is applied. It is much like the "emptiness dot." From Annen, we see the possibility of imagining this as a kind of completion of the character by *aṃ* by adding the center point that becomes the axis upon which the entire cosmos, envisioned in characters, is said to emanate. The person is transformed into this single character, and in turn, to be this character

[53] T. 2390: 102b01–04.

is to be soteriologically identified with the King of a Hundred Lights. This fits with the Jimon liturgy's instruction to "endow [the patient] with the virtues and attributes of the King of a Hundred Lights." But there is also a key difference we should not fail to note. The Jimon liturgy can be understood as employing this same idea but instituting a shift, where the focus turns to the patient. It is not "one's own body," as Annen's text describes it; rather, it is now the body of the patient. Although we can only speculate at this point, if Annen had been alive to read the moxibustion liturgy, we can imagine he would have read the technique in just that way, especially given that this was one key way for imagining the transformative work facilitated by the evocation of the King.

## LINKING KING AND CROWN TO HEALING

There is an additional layer with the Jimon ritual that we can explore by juxtaposing here another text. In particular, the relevant passage in *Transmission of the Sanmairyū Lineage* by Ryōyū reveals perhaps why, in Taimitsu transmissions, the King of a Hundred Lights would have been especially suitable for adoption in a *healing* ritual such as the one that Jimon compilers put together. As mentioned before, both *Transmission* and Annen make mention of an archival association with Ennin—they may have been drawing on the same material, which we have suggested above is probably related to the imaginary in which the moxibustion ritual too was created. Let's use this text as a pivot to unpack some of the notions undergirding the application of this deity's visualization practice in the Jimon rite:

> 110. On the King of a Hundred Lights
>
> Chūdō says: "As for the King of a Hundred Lights, place the character *an* (*aṃ*) on top of the crown. This calms the waters [of the mind]. Once you establish the Undefiled Eyes, place the Phrase of the Unsurpassed in the heart-mind.[54] These are the Eyes of Wisdom. Because you

[54] It is not clear whether this means mind or heart, but the term appears later in the passage and there more likely means heart.

[thereby] become equipped with *samādhi* and wisdom, bodhi is realized." In the *Method for Distributing Characters of the Ten-Character Buddha Crown*, it says, <This is contained among the transmissions of the Zen-Tō'in> "When contemplating the King of a Hundred Lights Pervasively Shining, it is the character known as *an* (*aṃ*) [that you use]. It emits light which fills the inside of the crown and, with a color resembling the pure moon, continously flows of sweet dew [into it]. The inside and outside are filled and soaked (with this liquid). <Filled (*kan*) refers to inside [the body]; soaked (*sai*) refers to outside [the body].> Even into the marrow of the bone and the hundred channels, there is no place it does not permeate, reaching down to the toes. Just then, place in each eye the character *ran* (*raṃ*). They will be like the flames of lamps, and those lamp flames will become two streams of light. From inside the head they descend in parallel, pouring right into the heart-moon disc. [The streams of light] meet and become one. Then they revolve to the right and illuminate the heart-moon of the buddha. This disc [of light thus formed continues to revolve] uninterrupted. Within that disc resides the character *a*. The practitioner ought to see this clearly: by way of this character *aṃ*, all [realize they are] the body of Mahāvairocana. At this point, all mantras are realized. This is also called the Phrase of the Undying.

百十百光王ノ事
中道ノ云。百光王ハ暗 𑖀 字、頂上ニ置ク。是レ定水也。無垢眼ヲ安立スルハ、心ニ無上ノ句ヲ置ク。是レ慧眼也。定恵具足スルカ故ニ、菩提ヲ成スル也、ト云云。十字佛頂布字法ニ云、前唐院ノ相承中ニ之有 百光遍照王ヲ心ニ觀スルハ、所謂ル暗字ナリ。光ヲ放チ頂中ニ滿チ、色ロ淨月ノ如ク、甘露ヲ流注ス。内外灌灑ス。内ハ灌外ハ灑 骨髓百脈ニ及フマテ、遍セ不ル所無ク、下足指ニ至ル。即チ兩眼中ニ各藍 𑖁 字ヲ置ク。猶シ燈焰ノ如。其ノ兩燈焰兩條ノ光リト作。頭中從リ並下。直ニ心月輪中ニ注ク。合シテ而一ト爲。便チ右旋シテ佛ノ心月ヲ照ス。其ノ輪斷絶セ不令ム。其ノ輪ノ中ノ光阿字有。行者宜諦觀スヘシ。此ノ暗字ニ因テ、皆ナ是レ毘盧遮那如來ノ身ナリ。令一切眞言ヲシテ皆ナ成就得。亦不死ノ句ト名ク。[55]

Some of the elements at play here are already familiar to us from earlier elaborations on the King of a Hundred Lights. In the works of Annen, for example, we already find the placing of *aṃ* on the crown, the Eyes Without Defilement, the meaning of realizing bodhi, and these

[55] T. 2411 34c19–35a04. The text has been altered to match the Japanese reading provided in the Taishō edition, with number reading marks and extraneous characters removed and *furigana* left the same size.

imaginaries of the light. Like Annen, Ryōyū imaines that the character *a* is in the body, while the character *aṃ* is to be placed on the crown. Thus, both present a reimagination of the King of a Hundred Lights visualization technique. But we can also pull out here special parallels to the Jimon moxibustion ritual, and use these parallels to speculate further as to the meaning that is not elaborate upon to this extent in its liturgical sources.

The most important link concerns the ways in which both the *Transmissions in the Sanmai Lineage* and the Jimon moxibustion ritual bring the crown visualization to the matter of health. Most explicitly, the above passage by calling the collective mantra associated with *aṃ*, which realizes all existing mantras, the "Phrase of the Undying" (*fushi no ku* 不死ノ句). More importantly, the passage is permeated by an imaginary of reinvigoration, a process that clearly awards not only soteriological advances like the attainment of *samādhi*, wisdom, and bodhi, but also transforms the very body of the practitioner in specific ways, both inside and out.

This reinvorigation is told through an imaginary that blurs materialist distinctions between liquid and light. The character *aṃ*, visualized on the crown, becomes a fountain that first fills the head with moon-colored light, which is simultaneously described as a "continuously flowing sweet dew." In describing the flow, the text uses the term *kansai* 灌灑, which means pouring or sprinkling, as the sprinkling of water over an initiate's pate as performed during consecration. The text glosses these two characters, reading the first to mean inside—thus the liquid-light pours in, and the second referring to the outside, thus the light also pours over the external parts of the body and soaks them.

Illuminated liquid was associated with health in a number of medieval esoteric discourses. There is a strange esoteric text mentioned often in Tendai sources and also later Zen texts called in four verses "Great Master [Bodhi]dharma's [Method for] Knowing the Time of Death" (*Daruma daishi chishigo ge* 達磨大師知死期偈).

As soon as you realize that there is no dripping in the Jade Pond,
You proceed to catch the divine light at the bottom of waves.
[To find out about] impermanence, you must listen to the drums of the skull;
If you can count their beats, you will know the number of days that remain before you die.[56]

This was a method for predicting death. There is an imaginary of health as liquidity, one's assets of vital energy measured in terms of liquid substance. Light also figures in here. So too does the skull.

Other discourses likewise suggest that life force was imagined in liquid form. For example, in a discussion on "human yellow" (*ninnō* 人黄), one of the most pervasive notions of life force is esoteric discourses, *Notes by Kakuzen* (*Kakuzenshō* 覚禅鈔; 1143–ca.1218) reports:

> One master says: On the character-ten on the crown there are six drops of human yellow, guarded by the Five Dragons [who are] controlled by the Wisdom Kings. Or, there are ten drops. It is also said: On the crown of the human there are seven drops [to be] licked. When one is exhausted [the person] becomes ill; when seven are exhausted the person dies.[57]
>
> 一師云。頂十字有人黄六粒。五龍守之。明王攝伏之。或十粒。又云。人頂有七舐滴。一盡即病。七盡即死。

Certain ambiguities in the passage notwithstanding, it is evident that the crown was imagined as a midway point between the body and the divine, and thus served as seat of concentrations of human vitality, the dispossession of which was equated with sickness or death. Perhaps this notion refers distantly to the fact that during infancy this area is soft, the sutures of the skull having not yet fused together. At this stage, Western biomedical anatomy refers to this area as

---

[56] Translated in Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 1991: 185; see also the analysis, including Yōsai's criticism, on p. 186–187. Stone discusses this with reference to prognostication and the controversial issue of whether life ought to be extended in the context of deathbed rituals in early medieval Japan; see Stone, *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*, 222–224.

[57] I follow Iyanaga here, who provides a translation of the entire section in an appendix to an outstanding study on human yellow; see "'Human Yellow' and Magical Power in Japanese Medieval Tantrism and Culture," 401, fn. 149, for seven other texts with the same comment, translated by Iyanaga as, "six drops of human yellow at the top of the cross-shaped [seam]."

the anterior fontanelle, which etymologically betrays earlier understandings of the site as a "small fountain," especially an opening for the discharge of humors; this was aptly translated into modern Japanese medical terminology as the "Fountain Gate" (*shinmon* 泉門).[58] A parallel sense of an opening on the body that is directed upward—and overlaid with cosmological nuance—is evoked in the alternative name given to the corresponding point in the *Ishinpō*: "heavenly window" (*tensō* 天窓).

The other thing we cannot fail to overlook here is the cosmological magnetism of this area. Kakuzen notes how the site is "guarded by the five dragons, which are controlled by the wisdom kings": there is a divine ecology playing out just about the crown of the head. And this is critical because, laying in wait are the demonic forces want to take it. Iyanaga discusses elsewhere idea that demons stole life by "licking" the drops. The presence of such demonic forces seeking to steal life should immediately remind us of the Jimon moxibustion ritual, in particular its mythological etiology. As discussed in Chapter Three, corpse-vector disease was imagined as the demon Harita of Cold Mountain who, together with its family of ninety-thousand children, "devour the vital *qi*, blood, and flesh" of innocent victims. We find similar discourse in the section on fox-related illnesses in the *Keiranshūyōshū.* Of the "heavenly-fox *da-da* affliction" (*tenko dada byō* 天狐吒吒病), we read: "Among the so-called heavenly eight attendants, there is a deity called the Soul-Snatching God (Dakkonjin 奪魂神). This deity snatches [your] vital energy (*seiki* 精氣)." The skull, and in particular the crown, is thus apparently often the site of this demonic theft of vital human energy, as well as where you know when you will die; thus, not surprisingly, it is also bound up with practices of restoring health.

Would the Jimon compilers have known about these passages reproduced in the *Notes on Kakuzenshō*? It is interesting to note that these sources, in speaking about concentrations of

[58] OED s.v. "fontanelle." As Barbara Duden (*The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, 1991: 134) explains in her study of eighteenth-century German medicine, the "fontanel" referred also to "an artificial wound that was kept open by a wick made of hair, a seton, to allow the continuous drainage of fluids." In other contexts, cautery was used for this purpose.

health on the skull, use the exact anatomical term, "character-ten on the crown." Also, more concretely, as Iyanaga notes, the section cited in the *Notes of Kakuzen* is also included in the discussion by Annen, which is a part that specifically concerns the King of a Hundred Lights. It thus seems likely that these sources were in circulation and could have come into the possession of the Jimon compilers who formulated the ritual.

Given the emphasis on liquid-like life-forces, we now need to think more about the body and about flow. Let's return to the passage from *Transmissions in the Sanmai Lineage*. It says: "Even into the marrow of the bone and the hundred channels, there is no place it does not permeate, reaching down to the toes." This reminds us of an earlier passage from the *Commentary*, where the liquid-light that emanates and flows is pervasive in its reach. Here, too, Ryōyū's source describes a flowing a liquid-like light substance, and it permeates the entire body, from head to toe. The moxibustion method in the Jimon ritual follows this vertical and descending pattern in the way moxibustion is to be applied, where the first point is the crown of the head and the last (excluding the additional points) are areas on the feet. Thus it is almost as if the moxibustion program follows the flow created by the opening of the first point.

But, what are the "hundred channels" (*hyakumyaku* 百脈) alluded to in this passage? Here is where earlier meanings attached King of a Hundred Lights come back into the picture in a major way. We should recall that the earlier texts describe the "hundred lights" that emerge from the crown. This, in turn, is the very articulation of the deity. There are two interrelated things to take note of here. First, those "hundred lights" are implicitly identified with the "hundred characters" that emerge from the character *aṃ*, that is, all of the characters in Sanskrit. In this process, the entire body becomes a text replete with those characters, which is to say a mandala, the complete text of the universe. This leads to the second point. By being flooded by all the characters—expressed by the notion of a "hundred characters"—the penetration is total: the body becomes the universe, which is to say (as the text does explicitly) that the practitioner has become one with the body of Mahāvairocana, thus realizing all mantras. Thus, bringing this back to Ryōyu's passage, the interpenetration of microcosm and

macrocosm is expressed through a very specific number and imaginary, wherein the hundred lights and/as hundred characters flood through the hundred channels of the body. At this point, esoteric soteriology has become an esoteric physiology, articulated in specific terms.

It is interesting to linger on this focus on flow and channels, since, as we noted earlier, the channels associated with acumoxa practice were not emphasized or used in medieval Japan until much later. In the passages associated with the King of a Hundred Lights that we have been exploring, we find what is a distinctly Buddhist notion of channels and flow, with vital energy envisioned as liquid-light, rather than *qi* or blood. This leads us to wonder: in incorporating the King of a Hundred Lights, invoking the deity on the crown in the context of a healing ritual, were Jimon monks imagining the same kind of processes? Is it possible that their engagement with the King of a Hundred Lights was a way of assimilating this kind of body and attendant notions of health into their ritual? This is not obvious from the ritual texts themselves, which provide no more than a statement of instructions. I would like to nevertheless suggest it is likely.

In addition to the threads of coeval and previous texts that are also woven together in the Jimon ritual, it is possible that Jimon monks encountered the very idea of the "hundred channels" in other sources that we know they were frequently using and which they definitely employed in crafting the sources for the moxibustion rite. These were the Tiantai writings associated with Zhiyi and Zhanran. In previous chapters, we have already established from several perspectives that these sources were critical resources for the Jimon monks and their designing of this healing ritual as a text.

Throughout several of his works, Zhiyi mentions the hundred channels. Although not often noted, it appears to be one of the main organizing principles about ideas of the body, along with the more familiar notions of *qi* and the five viscera and six bowels. In the *Smaller [Treatise] on Cessation and Contemplation* (*Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀), in the section on regulating food, he says that overeating results in "rushed breathing, the body becomes full and the hundred channels becoming impassable, causing the mind to be obstructed and destabilizing

sitted contemplations."[59] Later he uses the term when describing exhalations of impure air: "contemplate the places within the body where the hundred channels are blocked up and release them, having [the blockages] exit with the [impure] air."[60] It is clear that the channels are conduits of flowing. In the *Great Cessation and Contemplation,* in a section on the "marks of disease" (病相, the terminology adopted in the Jimon rite) we read that the "hundred pulses not flowing" 百脈不流 along with a host of other symptoms is a sign that the spleen is harming the kidney, the disease-demon 病鬼 behind which Zhiyi describes as resembling the head- and face-less lord of the hearth, that arrives to "cover" people.[61]

Zhiyi also apparently drew from medical literature, even if he employed the term differently.[62] And that is because the term is likely derived from classical medical literature. The obstruction in Zhiyi's writing sounds much like the obstruction of the channels or vessels described there. In medical texts, "hundred" may likewise refer not to an exact number of vessels or channels, but rather simply indicate "many" or "throughout the body."[63] In the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor, Basic Questions* (*Huangdi neijing suwen* 黃帝內經素問), we read that "the lung invites the one hundred vessels to have an audience with it" (肺朝百脈).[64] We can interpret this to me that the lung motivates the flow of the vessels. An important distinction, however, is that this term might not refer to "all" but "many." With the King of a

---

[59] T. 1915, 465b20–b22. See also Swanson's translation: "If you have too much food and are satiated, then your breath will quicken, your body will be bloated, and your circulation will be sluggish."

[60] I follow the text in Sekiguchi, *Tendai shōshikan*, 43. Put the full title elsewhere, maybe if I mention above. T. 1915. See also T. 1915, 465c22–24. Swanson (*Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 3: 1659–1759) reads this: "… exhaling the breath and discharging the air until you think that there is no corner of the body [where the air is] not discharged [of impure air]." The passage is cited in Zixuan's 子璿 *Qixinlun shou bi xueji* 起信論疏筆削記, written in the Song period; see T. 1848, 398c25–26.

[61] T. 1911, 106c12–16. See translation in Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, vol. 2: 1328.

[62] I have been unable to find the term in any Japanese text except for the *Sanmairyū kudenshū.*

[63] *Kanpō yōgo daijiten* 1065–66. *Hyakumyaku isshū* 百脈一宗 however might mean all of the vessels in the body. A similar example is *hyakukkin* 百筋, Ibid.

[64] See commentary on this in Unschuld and Tessenow, *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen*, 373.

Hundred Lights, however, we can see how that can mean the two things simultaneously, and the character *aṃ* generates the light that flows into these hundred vessels. Again, if we retain the sense of the mandala, and the hundred characters/lights, it is the *complete* body, the universe itself. So here we have flows absent the acumoxa body, although that appears to be in the distance somewhere.

However, there is one final curious connection to medical literature that should be mentioned. The acumoxa point that best corresponds to Character-Ten on the Crown is the point *hyakue* (Ch. *baihe* 百会), that is, "Hundred Meetings." Medical literature thus also imagined the point on the crown to be a meeting point of (perhaps) all things or flows within the body, recalling the "hundred channels" noted in medical literature above. We mentioned at the start of the chapter that it was strange for Jimon monks to replace the acumoxa point name for Character-Ten on the Crown, and that later moxibustion texts in this trajectory of sources appear to have dropped "Character-Ten" altogether in favor of the much more well known Hundred Meetings. It may be that in placing the King of a Hundred Lights on the seams that form the center of the crown, Jimon monks were already making reference to this idea of a hundred meetings, which they understood in terms of the hundred channels activated by the deity.

### HEALING ON THE CROWN THROUGH THE AGES

Writings in the Tiantai tradition, which we know at this point were critical for the compilers of the ritual, foreground important associations between the crown, the visualization of healing, and disease. Zhiyi himself drew extensively upon visualization practices that incorporate eidetic images of consecration (Skt. *abhiseka*; J. *kanjō* 灌頂), a ceremony of transferring teachings, rank, or sacred power by pouring a liquid substance over the crown of an adept's head. One passage that might have been particularly striking to Jimon monks comes in The Great Cessation and Contemplation where Zhiyi briefly alludes to a "method for treating exhaustion-injury (*lao sun* 勞損) using warm butter," said to be found in

the Āgamas.[65] In his study on consecration discourses, Yamabe Nobuyoshi notes that the actual source for this idea was probably the *Zhi chanbing miyao fa* 治禅病秘要法 (T. 620).[66] There, we find mention of a visualization in which Brahmā consecrates the adept's head with butter, thereby "softening the four elements and subduing the ninety-eight afflictions and all manner of disease whether inside or outside the body."[67] (As with the passage from *Transmissions in the Sanmai Lineage*, the method is complete: it effects both the inside and outside). And there is this soft liquid butter aspect. In his commentary on Zhiyi's treatise, Zhanran 湛然 (711–782) elaborates on this method in the following manner:

> Regarding [the line] "like a method in the Āgamas for treating exhaustion-injury with butter," the first text says: "Imagine warm butter on the crown of the head that drips into the brain. It pours into and infuses the five viscera, flowing and moisturizing throughout the body. This method is efficacious for curing those with exhaustion-injury."[68]
>
> 如阿含用酥者。第一本云。想燸酥在頂滴滴入腦。灌注五藏流潤遍身。治人勞損當有驗也。

As Yamabe points out, contemplations drawing on the imagery of consecration often incorporated healing motifs.[69] Thus, in addition to soteriological implications, consecration was imagined to permeate and then transform the recipient's very physiology, even if the act was conjured within the mindspace of an adept.

---

[65] T. 1911: 109a22–23.

[66] Yamabe, "Zenkan kyōten ni mirareru kanjō no imēji nitsuite," 2014: 182–183. For an extensive study on this work with an annotated translation, see Greene, "Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism," 2012; excerpt translated in Greene, "Healing Sicknesses Caused by Meditation: 'The Enveloping Butter Contemplation' from the Secret Essential Methods for Curing Meditation Sickness," 2017.

[67] T. 620: 335a22–23.

[68] *Discussions on Supporting Practice and Broadly Disseminating the [Great] Cessation and Contemplation* (*Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* 止觀輔行傳弘決); T. 1912: 400a03–06.

[69] Yamabe, "Zenkan kyōten ni mirareru kanjō no imēji nitsuite," 2014: 180–184.

The Jimon compilers were undoubtedly aware of these interesting images of efficacy associated with the crown, since they were contained in the "contemplating disease" section the monks drew upon in formulating the moxa loci.[70] What would have caught their attention in particular was the disease that Zhiyi and Zhanran were claiming this virtual consecration could cure: exhaustion-injury. Although this appears to be a combination of two terms referring vaguely to symptoms, perhaps fatigue attending meditation practices, in classical medical writings, exhaustion and injury were discussed as two specific and often conjoined categories.[71] Importantly, exhaustion is the category in which medical texts placed corpse-vector disease, the disease that the Jimon liturgy was crafted to treat. Therefore, regardless of what the term signified in Tiantai and earlier Buddhist writings, Jimon monks would have arguably noted a clear connection between this term and the disorder around which they had framed their liturgy, as well as the significance of the crown of the head for the treatment of such disorders.

The connection to consecration specifically is of great importance for understanding medieval Japanese religiosity and here how it intersected with healing activities. Consecration practices were hugely popular in early medieval Japan and thereafter, and they embodied myriad forms.[72] We would do well at this point to recall that the practice is invoking a mysterious "consecration method" several times throughout the text. And this is in reference to Dainichi Kinrin, who is thus related to the King of a Hundred Lights. Interestingly, when

---

[70] In addition to *Great Cessation and Contemplation*, Zhiyi's *Explanations of the Sequential Path* (*Shichan boluomi cidi famen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門, T. 1916) and Zhanran's commentary informed developing Tendai discourses on the body in twelfth century Japan. One example is the *Dictionary of Wind and String Instruments* (*Kangen ongi* 管弦音義) of 1185, a tract about music and sound which also describes the five viscera, disease, and healing in terms of correlative cosmology; see Abe, *Shūkyōteki shintai tekusuto shiryōshū*, 2014.

[71] For example, in the *Origins and Symptoms of Medical Disorders* (*Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論), injury (*sun* 損) from continuous depletion (*xun* 虛) is described as leading to exhaustion; also, the "five exhaustions" (*wulao*) 五勞 were categorized with the "six extremes" (*liuji* 六極) and the "seven damages" (*qishang* 七傷), with "damages" sometimes written with the character 損; see for example the sections on "depletion-exhaustion" in *Zhubing yuanhou lun* [1], 33–37.

[72] The pervasive religious and cultural significance of consecration practices in early medieval Japan is discussed in Matsumoto, *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō: seikyō no naka no rekishi jojutsu*, 2014.

Kōshū wrote about this practice for the first time, he did not appear to notice moxibustion at all. Rather, what he emphasized is that the core of the practice is consecration.

Parenthetically, we find an interesting situation later because of parallels in the writings of Hakuin. Hakuin suffered from Zen sickness. A later author in Japan who not only related his "malady of meditation" (*zenbyō* 禅病) to corpse-vector disease, among other disorders prominent in the exhaustion category, but also turned to the writings of Zhiyi to promote a new healing technique was the Zen master Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴 (1686–1769). Hakuin's mention of corpse-vector disease and his note about Zhiyi appear, for example, in his *Oradegama* 遠羅天釜.[73] But of the many names he gives to it, one is "corpse-vector disease." This has led many scholars and practitioners to retroactively diagnosis his disease as tuberculosis (*kekkaku* 結核). What is rather more important for us is that he claims to transmit the method but in fact develops his own creative form, much like the moxibustion ritual many centuries earlier. While Hakuin was writing in the Edo period, and was thus at a great distance from the particular ritual we examine here, one can argue that the coincidence of thematic foci is significant. These similar practices revolving around consecration and its materialized forms were being reworked for specific health purposes.

In this way, Buddhist texts constituted a repertoire of such resources, and the Jimon moxibustion liturgy, Zhiyi, Ryōyū, and even Hakuin much later—all of whom are major historical figures in the history of Buddhism and medicine in premodern Japan—came to similar solutions but in their own specific ways. Thus, while I have discussed many concrete textual influences and precedents, we might also find here some structural relationships between the crown, health, and transformation that had shaping power over Buddhists in different periods. What distinguishes the Jimon ritual among these similar practices once again is that it was an external application, from ritual to patient, rather than a visualization that the

[73] See Yoshizawa, *Oradegama*, 2001: 279 and 343, respectively. An excellent study which locates Hakuin's vexations and innovations in anxieties about exhaustion and labor emerging in the Edo period is Ahn, "Zen and the Art of Nourishing Life: Labor, Exhaustion, and the Malady of Meditation," 2008.

practitioner does on their own. Moreover, the Jimon rite is distinctive in this history of consecration applied to healing because its creators made the highly innovative choice to adopt moxibustion, a material and non-Buddhist medical technology, to facilitate this kind of process. This brings us to the final topic of this chapter, where we will consider the actual material performance of the technique involving the crown.

## *Four Flowers and Moxibustion in Early Medieval Japan*

There is still more to say on how the signficance of the crown in the Jimon moxibustion ritual builds upon ideas from Buddhist, and especially esoteric Tendai, sources. In order to better tease out how this rite uniquely intersects Buddhist and Chinese medical knowledge, however, this last section will explore the question of influence as it relates mainly to the latter. Aspects pertaining to Chinese medicine come to the fore when we turn to the rite's practical instructions for applying moxibustion on the crown. As we noted previously, such concrete and logistical details are found only in the oral transmission text. Would-be healers possessing the liturgical text alone would find themselves largely unable to conduct the actual moxibustion method that is the centerpiece of the rite. The instructions for performing moxibustion on the crown show that there is more in this method to be unpacked. We need to revisit the method:

> The Character-Ten [on the Crown]: take a piece of straw and, starting from the forehead, wrap it around the head, folding it in four and having it touch the crown of the head above the hairline. Apply moxibustion to the place the piece of straw reaches.
>
> 十字ヲハ藁スヘヲ以テ額ヨリ頭ニ廻テ四ニ折テ髪際ヨリ頂ニ充テ彼ノ藁スヘノ至ル所ヲ灸スル也。

As with nitty-gritty instructions for techniques in both medical and ritual literature, this passage presents the reader with reconstructive challenges. The text does not specify how

long the piece of straw ought to be, and various interpretations might be suggested for the phrase, "the place the piece of straw reaches," including the possibility that more than one point is to be obtained. It would seem that even direct recipients of the oral transmission texts, to say nothing of later interpreters, would require hands-on instruction to properly execute the technique. Fortunately, one aspect can be clarified by way of the earliest extant oral transmission manuscript, which comes with a pair of illustrations depicting the front and back sides of an adult male courtier. On the crown of the head in the latter illustration we find a single black dot, thus, the focus of this technique is one point rather than several.

With the crown already in place, let us return to the moxibustion method to consider material aspects of its performance. Especially noteworthy is the reliance on a prop to obtain the point. There is a striking similarity here with another method that was being explored in the early medieval period known as the "Four Flowers" (*shika* 四花). Comparing the logistical details of these methods together with textual-historical considerations will enable us to reconsider the issue of influence as it concerns the Buddhist ritualization of moxibustion in this period.

The invention of this method is attributed to Tang period physician and scholar Cui Zhiti 崔知悌 (b. ca. 620), who outlined it in a single-volume monograph thought to have circulated under various titles, including *Moxibustion Method for Bones-steaming Disease* (*Guzhengbing jiu fa* 骨蒸病灸法) and Cui Zhiti's *Moxibustion Method for Exhaustion* (*Cui Zhiti jiulao fa* 崔知悌灸劳法). Although original editions are no longer extant, the method was recorded in a remarkably large number of texts, a fact rare among such specialized methods and which some scholars interpret as evidence of its continual clinical success over the centuries (Ishihara 1986: 176–177). Aside from *Arcane Essentials*, the method survives in Chinese texts such as *Superior Formulae of Su [Shi] and Shen [Kuo] (Su Shen liang fang* 蘇沈良方,1075), *Comprehensive Record of Sagely Benefience* (Shengji zonglu 聖濟總録, 1117), and *New Book [of Caring for] the Young* (*Youyou xinshu* 幼幼新書, 1150).

Perhaps the most commonly cited form of the Four Flowers appears in *Arcane Essentials*, which can be summarized as follows: The healer first measures a piece of string by hanging it around the neck of the patient's body.[74] The two ends of the string are measured and cut where they line up at the dove tail point (*mizoochi/kyūbi*; Ch. *jiuwei* 鳩尾), that is, the xiphoid process.[75] The string is then reversed so that it hangs down the back of the body, and a black ink spot is marked where the two ends meet along the spine. Next, a shorter string is measured by taking the horizontal length of the lips with the mouth closed. The center of that string is then aligned with the center of the black spot on the spine, and four additional spots are marked, corresponding to the two ends of the string when placed horizontally and when placed vertically along the spine. These four dots indicate loci for moxibustion application.[76] About seven or so cones of moxa are to be burned on the first day on each of the loci, and this is to be doubled every day until the number of cones reaches one hundred or even one hundred and fifty cones, depending on the patient's condition and if they can withstand the treatment.[77]

This summary reveals two stark differences between Character-Ten on the Crown and Four Flowers in terms of how and where points are located. First, Four Flowers is a much more involved method, requiring the healer to perform a series of steps of measuring and marking the patient's body before finally applying moxa. Second, the Four Flowers method is used to locate and label points on the patient's back. Our preceding survey, in contrast, has made clear that Character-Ten on the Crown derives much of its significance from a Buddhist perspective precisely because it focuses on a point located on the crown.

---

[74] The complete method usually begins with two separate points later known as *huanmen* 患門 (Affliction Gate). Because early medieval Japanese texts pay special attention to the Four Flowers points, I will not focus on those additional points here.

[75] As Lo notes, this is the "end of a bone structure which, taking in the rib cage and the sternum gives a skeletal impression of a spreading dove's tail" (35).

[76] For the full explanation in *Arcane Essentials*, see the translation in the Appendix to this chapter.

[77] See *Waitai miyao fang* [1], 4: 243

These differences notwithstanding, the use of a prop as a device of measurement is a distinctive commonality between these techniques that would have been appreciated by court physicians in the early medieval period. Indeed, only a small number of moxibustion methods in classical acumoxa literature utilize props like string, straw, or bamboo.[78] Moreover, the difference between the techniques in terms of the actual material used (i.e. string in Four Flowers and straw in Character-Ten on the Crown) can be ascribed to a minor but nevertheless noteworthy alteration made to the classical, textually-transmitted version of Four Flowers as it was localized in Japan. Most Chinese versions follow the method summarized above and accordingly indicate string as the tool for measurement. It is thus not surprising that in the discussion of the Four Flowers in Kajiwara Shōzen's 梶原性全 (1266–1327) *Man'anpō* 万安方 (1313–1327), a synthesis of Song medical knowledge written in Chinese, the material indicated is string. Turning to Shōzen's *Ton'ishō* 頓医抄 (1304), however, a work written in colloquial Sino-Japanese and meant for broader circulation, we find straw as the material for Four Flowers measurements.[79] Before either of these two works, instructions for using straw to find body measurements for moxibustion application had appeared in the *Collection of Oddments* (*Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄), an encyclopedic window into everyday life in the late thirteenth century.[80] None of these sources discuss the rationale behind the local preference, but one can imagine its utility, as it retains the shapes into which it is bent. It was also, like the fuel for moxibustion, mugwort, abundant and likely often on hand, large amounts of it being used for cremation.[81]

[78] There are 15 such methods in *Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold* compared to 24 in *Arcane Essentials*; Hashimoto, "Gedai hiyō hō ni okeru iwayuru keigai kiketsu," 2015.

[79] *Ton'ishō*, 183. Shindō ("Kajiwara Shōzen no igaku shinkō to iryō," 2014: 32–33) notes that Shōzen's desire to widely disseminate the *Ton'ishō* explains its inclusion of elements from folk medicine and other local customs and beliefs. *Man'anpō*, on the other hand, represents a secret transmission Shōzen sought to pass down to his son, a practice consistent with medical lineages; see Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan*, 2011 for further treatment of Shōzen's works.

[80] The text describes a method of measuring *sun* for the purposes of applying moxibustion which departs from the *tongshen cunfa* method attributed to Sun Simiao and adopted in the Jimon rite in using a piece of straw; see *Shūgaishō*, 407.

[81] Katsuda, *Shisha no chūsei*, 109.

Adding to these technical overlaps between the Character-Ten on the Crown and Four Flowers is a parallel between these methods that neither court physicians nor Jimon monks would have failed to observe. The Four Flowers technique was prescribed for disorders of the classical medical category of exhaustion. As Chinese texts detailing the Four Flowers method make explicit, this includes corpse-vector disease, a representative exhaustion ailment that we know well by this point the Jimon moxibustion liturgy had been designed to treat. In Japan, this connection was further solidified. Shōzen, for example, discusses Four Flowers in his section on corpse-vector disease.

As Shōzen's inclusion and localization demonstrates, this method was gaining traction in the late Kamakura period. But, importantly, this process of reception began in earnest well before Shōzen's early fourteenth century works; the technique was already receiving special attention around the time that Jimon monks crafted the moxibustion ritual in the late twelfth century. In 1194, within twenty-five years of the first known appearance of the Jimon rite, court physician Tanba no Nagamoto 丹波長基 (d.u.) compiled the *Moxa Method for the Four Flowers and Suffering Gate* (*Shika kanmon kyūhō* 四花患門灸法).[82] Although the Four Flowers was already in circulation in the pages of larger medical treatises such as Arcane Essentials, as was the case later with Shōzen, Nagamoto's was an extract from those sources devoted solely to the technique. As we noted toward the beginning of this chapter, such extracts served both as compact manuals to therapeutic practice on the ground and as a means of authenticating a physician's treatment decision, a go-to strategy in the context of debates between healers occasioned by actual cases of illness. Given that very few medical texts in general are known from the early medieval period—to say nothing of the shorter extracts born of medical contingencies and debate—the appearance and survival of Nagamoto's extract

[82] This is thought to be the oldest text on the method in Japan. The only surviving edition, held in the Kyōu Shooku 杏雨書屋 archive, dates to a copy from 1801 (乾 3582); the discussion here is based on the reproductions in *Shika kanmon kyūhō* [1] and [2].

confirms the Four Flowers method was of considerable interest to major court physician lineages at the time.

Because the Jimon ritual we have examined in this chapter centers on moxibustion, an originally non-Buddhist modality, one might be inclined at first to approach it with an eye for the ways it was influenced by classical medical knowledge and the court physicians whose practice derived largely from it. However, by putting the rite in juxtaposition with the Four Flowers method, the reverse possibility begins to emerge, namely, that the Jimon ritualization of moxibustion shaped the concerns of court physicians and the ways they related to their own textual tradition and practices. Aside from the fact that the Jimon rite appeared decades before Nagamoto's extract, two additional points encourage further exploration of this fascinating scenario. First, despite its heavy reliance on *Arcane Essentials*, the *Ishinpō* does not mention the Four Flowers method. As a high-ranking member of the Tanba clan, Nagamoto presumably had access to this family treasure, yet he turned instead to other classical Chinese medical texts to produce his extract. Perhaps he was seeking a more elaborate and, we might even say—with all the stages of measuring and patient involvement that it entailed—a more "ritualized" moxibustion method, one that could compete with the ritual that Jimon monks had devised decades before. The second astonishing fact is that Nagamoto produced this extract at a moment when court physicians based their moxibustion treatment largely on those body-gods we discussed earlier, a frequent subject of debates between medical lineages. Nagamoto's Four Flowers extract, just like the souces upon which it is based, makes no mention of such body-gods. This makes the work remarkably similar to the Jimon ritual: a moxibustion method that departs from the dominant paradigm associated with that modality in the early medieval period which is, moreover, a specialized program for exhaustion diseases, foremost of which was corpse-vector disease.

However, rather than concluding, then, that court physicians of major lineages were definitively influenced by the activities of monks—and thereby simply switching the terms of a binary that risks reproducing the unhelpful division between religion and medicine—I prefer

to see both productions along a spectrum of what were probably many and diverse responses to a variably expressed but shared anxiety about a frightening malady imagined to circulate by way of corpses in early medieval Japan. We can appreciate the distinctiveness of each response by examining the creative ways that healers drew both from within the tradition(s) they represented and from without. Although scholarship has tended to sharply distinguish Buddhist therapy from classical medicine in historical study, in the period examined here, overlaps and intersections were common, and it was these areas that often drew the attention of healers, regardless of affiliation. Not surprisingly, Buddhist moxibustion texts written later in the medieval period would directly assimilate the Four Flowers method into aspects of the ritual developed by Jimon monks. Seeking to bolster their own programs against corpse-vector disease, the authors of those texts undoubtedly seized upon some of the same overlaps we've surveyed here and thus attest to the interactive dynamics that these practices embodied.

## CONCLUSION

Traces of ritual prescriptions, once tugged at from the right direction, often reveal veritable worlds lying underneath. That is what I have sought to demonstrate in this chapter by taking a deep dive into the simple instruction, found within the liturgical text for the Jimon healing ritual, to invoke the King of a Hundred Lights Universally Shining when applying moxibustion to the crown of the patient's head. As we saw, there are hints scattered throughout the liturgical text that this practice derives from a more extensive consecration rite focused on Dainichi Kinrin, one of the two major crown deities, and one invoked in the text's reference to the King of a Hundred Lights. Although that mysterious practice and its ritual sources could not be recovered, every individual element of the prescription—the King, the crown of the head, the Siddhaṃ character *aṃ*, the soteriological implications—once pursued, revealed a constellation of practices and imaginary of great interest across esoteric lineages in early medieval Japan.

We already treated the body in the previous chapter, concluding that it was a largely superficial one, the skin between the field common to esoteric physiology as performed through *kaji*, on the one hand, and moxibustion on the other. Yet in digging deep into a single spot on the crown of the head, the analysis here has uncovered the possibility of a second body, implicit in two senses, firstly, because it lies underneath the first and secondly because it is only implied if it is there at all. This implied body is somehow open at the top, by virtue of which it admits the downward of soteriological power through the body. In texts articulating the imaginary of consecration, that flow was imagined sometimes as a kind of liquid and at other times as a kind of light. Moreover, the flow presumed a body made up of one hundred channels. This is remarkable not least because the body of channels is one we usually relate to the circulation tracts, or meridians, of acupuncture practice—but this body was largely nowhere to be found in this period.

## *Appendix to Chapter Six: Translations*

### 1. FOUR FLOWERS IN *ARCANE ESSENTIALS*

#### Translation

Another method:

Have the patient sit up straight with a level body, slightly drawing their shoulder blades back. Take one string and coil it around their neck. Let both [points of the string] fall down in front [of the body], lining them both up to the dove tail (*jiuwei*) [point], and cut [the string]. Jiuwei is the heart juncture bone. For those people that do not have the heart juncture bone, you can follow the two juncture bones downward in front of the stomach and measure one cun, this corresponds to the jiuwei point. Thereupon turn it around so that the string faces the backside, taking the middle bend place and put it exactly on the throat bone. The two heads of

the string are made to both hang down around [the back], touching [the spot] down the backbone (so this brings the strings touching into the backbone). At the ends of the string heads draw dots. Also, take a small string and make the sufferer shut their mouth, and measure horizontally the two lips. Thereupon cut the string. Go around to put it on the spot that was dotted above the spine, and mark spots horizontally like before. The two ends of the small string are where the moxibustion is to be applied. The end of the long string is not a moxa location, it is wiped away completely. [Apply moxibustion above the above four points]. For each day [every day], apply more than seven and less than twenty-seven cones of moxa to those four places. Together they must reach twenty cones. If one does not feel an effect, then you must reach one-hundred cones and then stop, waiting then until the sores will heal. Also take the small string that was used to measure the two lips, have it hang both back, the heads of the string are where they are marked, alongside up and down the spinal cord, the middle separates points at the two ends, like the horizontal marking method. This is called the four flowers. Afterwards mark the two ends, and burn a hundred cones of moxa on each. [...]

Original

> 又法
>
> 使患人平身正坐、稍縮髆、取一繩繞其項、向前雙垂、共鳩尾齊、即截断、鳩尾是心歧骨、人有無心歧骨者、可従胃前両歧骨下量取一寸、即当鳩尾。仍一倍翻繩向後、取中屈処、恰当喉骨、其繩両頭還雙垂、当脊骨向下、盡繩頭点著。又別取一小繩、令患人合口、横度両吻、便割断、還置脊上所点処、横分点如前、其小繩両頭、是灸処、長繩頭非灸処、拭却、以前揔通灸四處、日別各灸七壯以上、二七以下、其四處、並須滿二十壯、未覺効、可至百壯乃停、候瘡欲差、又取度両吻小繩子、當前雙垂、繩頭所點處、逐脊骨上下、中分點両頭、如横點法、謂之四花、此後點両頭、亦各灸百壯、此灸法欲得取离日量度、度訖即下火、唯須三月三日艾為佳、療差百日以來、不用雜食、灸後一月許日、患者若未好差、便須報灸、一如前法、當即永差、出第七/卷中

## Notes

*Shika kyū sho* 四花灸所, in *Ton'ishō* 頓医抄 (v. 9, *Denshibyō*, *tsuki kotsujō* 伝屍病 附骨蒸)

## Translation

For all those with corpse-vector disease, bones-steaming disease, *genpeki* (alt. *kenpeki*), the arising of qi-wind, imbalance of a woman's monthly water, the soldifying of old blood, night sweats while sleeping, and wasting and weakening—there is an immediate effect when you use moxibustion. This moxibustion is simple but people do not know. There are various alternative theories, but I will record the true one.

First, take a man's left foot and a woman's right to make them stand on a piece of straw, [standing on it all the way such that the piece of straw reaches] to the nail at the end of their big toe, having it underneath the bottom of their foot. From the heel [where it comes out] push it against the calf and press it up so it is horizontal to the back of the knee—take that length and cut it. [could be another anatomical word in here but not sure]

First, align the piece of straw with the tip of the nose, going through/separating the hair pressing it backward to press it against the back bone; lightly mark the place it reaches. Then take another straw piece and fold it in this manner (like the shape of a triangle, with peak facing up). Placing the pointed fold at the top at the base of the nose pillar, putting the two ends to the sides of the mouth, and cut them there. Then, place the center fold of this mouth measurement to the mark on the back and make a mark where both [ends] straightly touch. These are moxibustion points.

Then, wipe off the first ink mark on the back. Take a piece of straw and tie it with room to spare, hanging it around the neck. Pull [the ends] so that they align with the jiuwei bone at the tip of the heart, aligning both ends to it and then cut it there. Then, turn it around to the back and pull to align them up; wherever they reach on the middle bone make an ink

mark. Then take another piece of straw to get the measurments of the horizontal length of the mouth, cutting it off there. Put the middle fold to the middle ink mark, putting a mark where the two ends reach, and then wipe away the middle ink mark.

The first two and the two [just explained] now are the moxibustion points. These are called the four flowers. When you burn the moxibustion, you place fire to the four points all at once and moxa them, it resembles flowers blooming all burning at once, therefore it is called the moxibustion of the four flowers. But, when you burn this moxa, on the first day, you should moxa seven cones each. On the next day, you should double that and do fourteen cones each. And then on the next day you should moxa twenty-eight points each. Like this each day doubling the moxa, and for those who do not have strength you should moxa up to 150 cones. For the people who cannot endure the moxa you should moxa one hundred cones. On the final day, even if you do not reach the doubled number, or even if it goes over, you should moxa one hundred or 150 cones.

Then, when the moxa heals, you should take the mouth measurements of the lower moxa through the horizontal [length] and put it to the middle ink spot in a vertical manner, putting a spot on the above end align the spine and on the below end. Like before, everyday do moxa of 100 or 150 cones. As for this moxa, there are those who do this moxibustion once and eventually heal. If you do it three times it will have certain efficacy. This moxa method is to be kept utmost secret [repeats]. This is somewhat different from the conventional four flowers moxa method. It is a secret moxa method. This comes from Yanshi's method.

## Original

唐中書待郎崔知悌四花灸

一切ノ傳屍病、骨蒸病、痃癖、気風発り、女ノ月水不調、古血カタマリ、夜卧テ汗タリ、痩衰ヘタル者ヲ灸スルニ忽チ効アリ。此灸易ク人シラズ。異説マチマチナレ共、今正ク真説ヲシルス。マヅ男ハ左、女ハ右ノ足ノ大指ノ先甲(ツメ)ト同程ニ、藁シベヲフマヘサセテ、足ノ裏ニシカセテ、跟(キビス)ヨリコムラヲ押付

テ、撫上ゲテヒツカカミノヨコサマナル大キタメアテテ切ベシ。先ツワラシベヲ鼻ノ先キヨリクラヘテ、髪ヲ分ケテ後ロヘナテクタシテ、背骨ノ中ニ押アテテ、ワラスベノ及ブ所ニチトシルシヲ付。次ニ別ノワラスヘヲ以テ（　）カヤウニヲリテ、上ノトガリノ折目ヲ鼻柱ノ根ニアテテ、両方ノ端ヲバクチワキニクラヘテ引切ルベシ。扨此ロノ寸法ヲ背ノシルシニ中ノ折目ヲアテテ、スクニ両方ヘソヘテアタル所ノサキニシルシヲスベシ。是灸穴ナリ。

サテ背ノ先ノ墨ヲバノゴヒ捨ツベシ。次ニワラスヘヲアマタムスビツキテ、クビニカケテ、心サキノ鳩尾骨ノサキニ引クラヘテ、両方ノハシヲ揃ヘテ切テ、扨後ロヘヒキマハシテ、サキヲ引ナラヘテスベノ及所ニ中骨ニ又墨ヲ付ヘシ。扨又別ノワラスヘヲ以、ロノヨコサマノ寸法ヲロワキヘスクニクラベテ切テ、此中墨ニ中折ヲ中墨ニアテテ両方ノサキニシルシヲサシテ、中スミヲハノゴラベシ。先ノ二ツ今ノ二是正シキ灸所也。是ハ四花ノ灸ト云也。此灸ヲヤク時ハ一度ニ四所ニ火ヲスヱテ灸ス花ノ咲タル様ニ一度ニモユル故ニ四花ノ灸ト名ク。但シ此灸ヲヤクニハ初ノ日ハ各七壮ヅツ灸ス。次ノ日ハ一倍シテ十四ヅツ灸スベシ。又次ノ日ハ廿八壮ヅツ灸スベシ。如此日々ニ灸スル事一倍シテ力ナラン人ハ百五十壮迄灸スベシ。灸忍ニ堪サラン人ハ百壮迄灸スベシ。終ノ日ハ一倍ノ数ニ満ズトモ又アマルトモ百壮百五十壮数ヲ満テ灸スベシ。扨此灸瘡([イエ])テ後下ノ灸ノロノ寸法ヲ又ヨコサマニ取テ先ノ中墨ヲサシテタテサマニアテテ、中骨ノ中ニ上ノハシニ、一ツ下ノハシニ一ツ二所シルシヲサシテ又先ノ如日々ニ灸シテ百壮百五十壮満ベシ。此灸一度灸シテ軈([ヤガ])テ瘡ユル人アリ。三度灸シテハ必効アリ。此灸尤秘スベシ［ ］尋常ノ四花ノ灸ニ聊カワレリ。秘灸也。以上巌氏方

# Conclusion
# Efficacious History

Before closing this study, it is instructive to briefly consider what happened next. As noted throughout, we possess no historical sources—in the way of a diary entry or a record in a liturgical collection—which indicate explicitly that Jimon monks performed the moxibustion ritual on ailing individuals. The ritual was not for that reason entirely virtual, however, for as we have also observed, the practice not only spoke to contemporaneous anxieties about corpse-vector disease, corpse-worms, and other disease agents known to aristocratic society and monastics in the early medieval period, it was also inclusive of a number of coeval ritual practices (such as the Six-Character Rite and the *kōshin* vigil) as well as popular medical technologies, most prominently moxibustion. Aside from these considerations, there is yet another way to gauge the impact of the Jimon moxibustion ritual, and that is to survey the longer medieval and early modern history of Buddhist styles of moxibustion that can be traced in one way or another back to the Jimon rite. This history, which we shall sketch here in primarily bibliographic terms and as a preview of future directions for the project, demonstrates that the ritual itself (or its derivative forms) proved compelling to various communities of monks, court physicians, acumoxa practitioners, and common people engaged in ritual practices.

The most well-known continuation of the story of this ritual and its historical impact is the vigil of *kōshin* (*kōshin-machi* 庚申待) focused on the three corpse-worms. Taking form in the late medieval period and witnessing incredible popularity in the early modern period, the *kōshin* cult can still be observed today throughout the archipelago as well as at major *kōshin* temples and shrines, such as Yasaka Kōshindō 八坂庚申堂 and Sonshō'in 尊勝院 in Kyoto and

the Kōshindō affiliated with Shitennōji 四天王寺 in Osaka. The Jimon ritual prefigured the development of the *kōshin* cult, even as the latter eventually took on a popular religious character that typically omitted moxibustion and corpse-vector disease. (Certain temples associated with *kōshin* do offer ritualized moxibustion in which *mogusa* is burned on a clay bowl [*suribachi* すり鉢] which recipients wear on the top of the head. At Yasaka Kōshindō, this is performed to eliminate headaches [*zutsū-yoke* 頭痛除け]). While vigils to prevent the evacuation of the worms existed in China and Japan long before the Jimon ritual appeared, Jimon monks in the twelfth century were the first to link the three corpse-worms with a deity who until then had basically no standing in esoteric ritual practice, Shōmen Kongō. It is thus that Shōmen Kongō functions as the *honzon* for the temples noted above, and the reason why icons of this god may be found dotting the landscape throughout Japan whereever *kōshin* vigils entered annual ritual life in the form of stone statuary known as "fifty-seventh [day] pagodas" (*kōshin-tō* 庚申塔).[1] The precise process of evolution from the earliest Jimon moxibustion ritual texts to these later cultic configurations is not well understood, but it is clear from the mediating figure of Shōmen Kongō that they are nevertheless related.

A second contribution of the Jimon moxibustion ritual can be identified in the lasting focus on applying moxibustion for corpse-vector disease in medieval medical history. At the start of this study, we noted that corpse-vector disease as a concept came from the continent to Japan by way of classical medical literature and a handful of esoteric Buddhist scriptures. Yet in both kinds of textual sources, corpse-vector disease was just one of many hundreds of named diseases. These texts provided court physicians and esoteric monks in Japan no special reasons to focus on this disease in particular. And yet diary entries about the activities of *hijiri* such as Iwaya Shōnin make clear that this affliction quickly became a pressing concern and topic of discussion at court in the late twelfth century, when it was then a diagnostic term at minimum, if not yet a disease we can confidently say patients were identifying with and experiencing. It

[1] There are many local publications on this topic; for a recent study focusing on the early modern period, see Ishigami, *Kinsei kōshintō no kōkogaku*, 2013.

was at this precise moment that Jimon monks innovated their ritual to counter this disease specifically, thus creating—so far as I have able to determine—the first esoteric ritual for healing to target a single, named disease.

Over the next four centuries, ritual and therapeutic manuals for the treatment of corpse-vector disease that prescribed moxibustion appeared in significant numbers. The earliest forms of these were modeled directly after the Jimon sources. The *Denshibyō kanjin shō* (Kyōu Shooku library), for example, a work transmitted by Sanmon-Anō lineage monks, references the Jimon oral teachings even as claims are made therein for a unique transmission from the deity of Sannō to members of the Anō lineage. In Chapter 1, we noted that Anō monks received these ritual sources from Rishin, a Jimon monk who in turn received the editions transcribed by Keisei. It must be admitted that Anō monks probably did more than any other group either before or after, including Jimon monks, to circulate and create new versions of Buddhist moxibustion practices focused squarely on treating coprse-vector disease. It is their manuscript, held in Ōsu Bunko at Shinpukuji in Nagoya, that comprises the oldest of extant editions of the complete liturgy. (That said, much of the liturgy as well as the notes and oral teachings are preserved in an older manuscript in the hand of Rishin, the Bunkachō edition of *Denshibyō kanjin shō narabini sōbyō chihō*). Two additional manuscripts written by the same Anō monks are preserved in Shōren'in, while a related identical pair in which the liturgical content is arranged differently are preserved in the Fujikawa Bunko library (Kyoto University) and the National Palace Museum in Taipei.

While these manuscripts closely adhere to the content of the original Jimon moxibustion ritual and its oral teaching and notes documents, a text dating to around the year 1300 demonstrates that Anō monks found new and creative ways to represent corpse-vector disease and its treatment. The *Denshibyō shu no koto* 伝屍病種事 intersperses text (largely taken from the earlier Jimon works) with five individual illustrations of the "five demon types" (*goshu tenmaki* 五種天魔鬼) of corpse vector disease, along with a final illustration of all five together. These illustrations are striking because they depict each of the disease-demons in the

moment of attacking a sufferer who is laying on the ground. The latter illustrations double as prescriptive representations, since the body of the sufferer is depicted with labeled points that correspond to the moxibustion points found in the original Jimon ritual. One edition of this work, originally the property of Kinzanji temple, is held in the Okayama Prefectural Museum, and another fragmented edition is preserved in eight separate sheets in Ōsu Bunko, Shinpukuji, a site we have noted to preserve additional Anō lineage works.

The five types of corpse-vector disease became the basis for another set of related texts. We have noted that Kōshu's *Keiranshūyōshū* includes a section on the Jimon liturgy. Curiously, however, that section largely omits moxibustion and focuses instead on ritual matters (iconography, precepts, differences between lineages, efficacy) and on the nature of corpse-vector disease. Another section of Kōshū's work, likely a later compilation, however, constitutes an extensive treatment method for corpse-vector disease focused on moxibustion. More concretely, the fascicle lays out twenty-five discrete types of corpse-vector disease, a number Kōshū obtains by taking the five types of corpse-vector disease-demons noted above in the *Denshibyō shu no koto* and adding to each an additional four, the "retinue" (*kenzoku* 眷属) for each type. This results in twenty-five types that require twenty-five discrete but related treatment methods, all of which entail primarily the use of moxibustion. An edition of this very fascicle exists as a separate bounded copy at Shinpukuji, suggesting again the involvement of members of the Anō community, a lineage to which Kōshū himself is said to have belonged.[2] But another edition was spawned which has received greater attention from scholars because of its inclusion in the *Zoku gunsho ruijū* among other medieval medical texts: the *Denshibyō nijūgo hō* 伝屍病二十五方.[3] The colophon for this text indicates it was copied in 1334 in Sanuki 讃岐 (today, Kagawa, Shinkoku) by a monk named Gahō 我宝 (b. 1300), who was affiliated with Daidenpō'in 大伝法院 and thus Shingi Shingon 新義真言宗. The Nohara

[2] See e.g. Tanaka, *Keiranshūyōshū no sekai*.

[3] See e.g. the discussion in Goble, *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan*, 81–84; Ueno, "'Denshibyō nijūgo hō' nitsuite."

region in which Gahō copied this text was at that time the site of an estate (*shōen* 荘園) associated with Sanmon-Tendai. However, a Shingon seminary known as Muryōju'in 無量寿院 had also been relocated there in roughly the same period. Shinpukuji in Owari, likewise a Shingon seminary, contains a document mentioning Muryōju'in, thus making it possible that Gahō received the twenty-five methods or its text from the Anō network we have been sketching out here.

These Buddhist moxibustion methods—whose sources saw wide circulation from the Heian capital to Owari and to farther flung places like Sanuki—effectively put corpse-vector disease on the map of medieval medical culture while simultaneously contributing to the popularity of moxibustion. These trends were reflected in medical texts produced by court physicians. In Chapter 6, I suggested the new focus Jimon monks brought to this disease may have spurred the interest of court physicians, as we saw with the Tanba Nagamoto's *Shika kanmon kyūhō*, the production of which lagged behind the compilation of the Jimon ritual texts by over a decade. In his *Idanshō*, Koremune Tomotoshi describes corpse-vector disease as one of two incurable diseases along with *rai*. The place of *rai* in the medieval imaginary has been much discussed by scholars, especially because of its connection with marginalized groups such as the *hinin* and its links to the notion of defilement, a topic discussed at length in Chapter 1. That Tomotoshi paired *rai* with corpse-vector disease reflects the latter's prominence, which likewise was bolstered by its place in the discourse and practice of Buddhist healers. Priest-physicians naturally took note of corpse-vector disease as well. Kajiwara Shōzen's *Man'anpō*, for example, contains a lengthy fascicle on corpse-vector disease, and in another section on *gyakubyō*, we find an illustration of a disease-demon that perfectly matches one of the types of corpse-vector disease in *Denshibyō shu no koto*. Shōzen also devotes an entire fascicle to the topic in his *Ton'ishō*, a text that can be understood to reflect more popular concerns in Japan (as opposed to the *Man'anpō*, which leans more heavily on Song-period medical works).

The impact of Buddhist-style moxibustion with a focus on corpse-vector disease can also be traced to the late medieval production of numerous moxibustion/acupuncture documents, a process that Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁, the foremost expert on this topic, sees as pivotal to the formation of acumoxa lineages leading into the early modern period. The connection between the older tradition and these newer sources is most readily seen in texts such as the *Giba gozōkyō* 耆婆五臓経. Dating from around the fourteenth century, the *Giba gozōkyō* includes a version of the "twenty-five methods for treating corpse-vector disease" noted above. Moreover, these sources also reflect new developments and a divergence from the narrower focus of the earlier sources on moxibustion and corpse-vector disease. That is, both moxibustion and corpse-vector disease typically figure in these sources, but so too does acupuncture as well as many other diseases and types of worms. These sources also draw on a unique epistemology drawing from esoteric Buddhism but not found in earlier Tendai sources. This is best seen in a conventional illustration found in a majority of the texts that is sometimes referred to as the *gorin kudaki*, 五輪砕き, or "dismantling of the five chakras." This is essentially an opening of the physical body facilitated by esoteric visualization practices reminiscent of the distribution of Siddham characters throughout the body and to the chakras in particular. The illustrations depict the five viscera and six bowels and link them (by way of lines drawn across the scroll) to anatomical drawings of connected body parts, worms, acumoxa points, points along the spine, and segments on five-tiered pagodas (*gorintō* 五輪塔), an object understood to be homologous with the human body and its organs. Because of the copious use of illustrations, Nagano calls these sources *gozō emaki* 五臓絵巻.[4] Thus, whereas the Jimon sources are primarily concerned with the surface of the body as a site upon which to apply a ritualized moxibustion, these later texts use esoteric visualization to make visible to readers of the scroll inner vistas of the body that can then inform external treatment.

* * *

[4] Nagano, "Kyōu Shooku no shinkyūsho," 2001.

As I have argued in this dissertation, efficacy is not simply a property inhering within a healing technology that requires only the right spark to fulfill its latent promise of potency. Efficacy, rather, is a configuration, a momentary coherence that healers must conjure at the crossroads of disease, body, and technology, even as the conjurers find their own imagination of these perennial features of the therapeutic process guided by the currents of the historical moment in which they find themselves. For monks of the Jimon lineage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—and indeed for most esoteric monks in medieval Japan who sought audaciously to counter demonic affliction—ritual served as a critical modality by which to capture and constrain the multiplicity of disease into familiar forms for which remedies both traditional and novel could be tested. The extended genealogy of Buddhist styles of moxibustion through the medieval period surveyed above demonstrates that the hybridized configuration of ritual healing Jimon monks struck upon was incredibly compelling, so much so that the near-constant negotiation of what constitutes efficacious ritual action against corpse-vector disease appears suspended across several centuries, at least until more elaborate methods appeared in the fourteenth century. It is the elucidation of this historical juncture—the transition from the Jimon ritual against corpse-vector disease to these derivative and yet curiously modified healing programs, along with the question of how these changes reflect adjacent transformations to notions of efficacy—that will define future directions for this research.

# References

## ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| BKD | *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* |
| DNBZ | *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* |
| GR | *Gunsho ruijū* |
| NKSM | *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* |
| NKBT | *Nihon koten bungaku taikei* |
| KST | *Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* |
| SNKBT | *Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* |
| SNKS | *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* |
| T | *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* |
| TIZS | *Tōyō igaku zenpon sōsho* |
| TZ | *Taishō* |
| ZGR | *Zoku gunsho ruijū* |
| ZST | *Zōho shiryō taisei* |

## COLLECTIONS AND REFERENCE MATERIAL

*Ben cao gang mu Dictionary.* Ed. Zhibin Zhang and Paul U. Unschuld. 3 volumes. Oakland: Univeresity of California Press, 2015–2017.

*Bukkyō daijiten* 仏教大辞典. Ed. Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亨. Kyoto: Sekai Seiten Kankō Kyōkai 世界聖典刊行協会, 1954–1963.

*Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 仏書解説大辞典. Ono Genmyō 小野玄妙. 1932. 13 vols, and Bekkan 別巻, 1 vol. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社.

*Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (DDB). Ed. Charles Muller. http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/.

*Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. 161 vols. Ed. Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai, 1912–1922.

*Dai Nihon shiryō* 大日本史料. Ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryō Hensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所. In Tokyo: Tokyo University, 1901–2000.

*Gunsho ruijū* 群書類従 (GR). *Shinkō gunsho ruijū* 新校群書類従. Ed. Hanawa Hokinoichi 塙保己一 and Kawamata Keiichi 川俣馨一. 24 vols. Meicho Fukyūkai, 1977–1978.

*Ishinpō zokuhen* 医心方続編. Ed. Tanita Shinji 谷田伸治, and Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁. 12 vols. Osaka: Oriento Shuppansha オリエント出版社, 1995–1998.

*Kanpō yōgo daijiten* 漢方用語大辞典. Ed. Sōikai Gakujutsubu 創医会学術部. Tokyo: Ryōgen 燎原, 1984.

*Kokuyaku mikkyō* 国訳密教. Ed. Tsukamoto Kengyō 塚本賢暁. 16 volumes. Tokyo: Kokuyaku Mikkyō Kankōkai 國譯密教刊行會, 1920–1925.

*Mikkyō daijiten* 密教大辞典. Ed. Mikkyō Jiten Hensankai 密教辞典編纂会. 6 vols. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1969–1970.

*Nihon kanpō tenseki jiten* 日本漢方典籍辞典. Kosoto Hiroshi 小曽戸洋. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店, 1999.

*Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 日本古典文学大系 (NKBT). Ed. Takagi Ichinosuke et al. 102 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1957–1968.

*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* 日本古典籍総合目録 (Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books). Ed. Kokubungaku Kenkyū Shiryōkan 国文学研究資料館. https://base1.nijl.ac.jp/~tkoten/.

*Nihon shisō taikei* 日本思想大系. Ed. Ienaga Saburō 家永三郎 et al. 67 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1970–1982.

*Onjōji monjo* 園城寺文書. Vols. 1–4. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1998–2001; vols. 5–7. Ōtsu: Onjōji, 2000–2004.

*Rinshō jissen kaden, hiden, kyūsho shūsei* 臨床実践家伝・秘伝・灸書集成. Oriento Rinshō Bunken Kenkyūjo オリエント臨床文献研究所. Osaka: Oriento Shuppansha オリエント出版社, 1996.

*Shingonshū zensho* 真言宗全書. Ed. Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai 真言宗全書刊行会. 44 vols. Kōyasan: Shingonshū Zensho Kankōkai, 1933–1939.

*Shin Nihon koten bungaku taikei* 新日本古典文学大系 (SNKBT). Ed. Satake Akihiro et al. 100 vols. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989–.

*Shiryō tsūran* 史料通覧. 18 volumes. Tokyo: Nihon Shiseki Hozonkai 日本史籍保存会, 1915–1918.

*Shintei zōho kokushi taikei* 新訂増補国史大系 (KST). 66 vols. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1929–1967.

*Shōren'in Monzeki Kissuizō shōgyō mokuroku* 青蓮院門跡吉水蔵聖教目録. Ed. Kissuizō Shōgyō Chōsadan 吉水蔵聖教調査団. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 1999.

*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 (T). Ed. Takakusu Junjirō, Watanabe Kaigyoku, et al. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1932.

*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō zuzōbu* 大正新修大蔵経続部 (TZ ). Ed. Takakusu Junjirō and Watanabe Kaigyōku. 12 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1935.

*Tōyō igaku zenpon sōsho* 東洋医学善本叢書 Vols. 1–40. Kosoto Hiroshi 小曽戸洋 and Shinohara Kōichi 篠原孝市, eds. 1981. Osaka: Tōyō igaku kenkyūkai 東洋医学研究会.

*Zōho shiryō taisei* 増補史料大成 (ZST). 48 volumes. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1965.

*Zoku gunsho ruijū* 続群書類従. Ed. Hanawa Hokiichi 塙保己一. Revised, Ōta Tōshirō. 33 vols. Tokyo: Zoku Gunsho Ruijū Kanseikai, 1923–1928.

PRIMARY SOURCES

*Asabashō* 阿娑縛抄. By Shōchō 承澄 (1205–1282). [1] *DNBZ* 57–60; [2] *TZ* 8–9, 3190.

*Azhaboju fuzhuzhou* 阿吒薄拘付囑呪. *T*. 1240.

*Azhaboju yuanshuai dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing xiuxing yigui* 阿吒薄俱元帥大將上佛陀羅尼經修行儀軌. Trans. Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735). [1] *T*. 1239; [2] In *Kokuyaku mikkyō*, *Gikibu* 経軌部, vol 5.

*Azhapoju guishen dajiang shangfo tuoluoni jing* 阿吒婆拘鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼經. *T*. 1238.

*Azhapoju guishen dajiang shangfo tuoluoni shen zhou* jing 阿吒婆拘鬼神大將上佛陀羅尼神呪經. T. 1237.

*Besson zakki* 別尊雜記. By Shinkaku 心覚 (1117–1180). In *TZ*, vol. 3, 3007: 57–674.

*Chōsei ryōyōhō* 長生療養方. By Renki 蓮基. [1] In *ZGR*, vol. 31.1: 143–174. [2] In *Ishinpō zokuhen*, vol. 7, 1998.

*Chūyūki* 中右記. By Fujiwara Munetada 藤原宗忠 (1062–1141). In *Shiryō tsūran*, vols. 4–10.

*Denshibyō chihō hiden* 伝屍病治方秘伝. *NKSM:* Copied by Sonchin 尊鎮 (1504–1550). 1522 (Taiei 大永 3) ms. in Manshu'in 曼殊院 collection.

*Denshibyō danzetsu no higen* 傳屍病断絶之秘言. Cited in Ishikawa, "Sabetsu kirigami to sabetsu jishō nitsuite," 1985: 137–42.

*Denshibyō joken sahō* 伝屍病除遣作法. *NKSM*: Copied by Chidō 智道. 1854 (Kaei 嘉永 7) ms. in Kōyasan Shinbessho 高野山真別処.

*Denshibyō kanjin shō* 伝屍病肝心鈔. Cited in Minobe et al., "Denshi 'oni' to 'mushi': Kyōu Shookuzō 'Denshibyō kanjin shō' ryakkai," 40–95.

*Denshibyō kanjin shō narabini sōbyō chihō* 伝屍病肝心抄并瘦病治方. [1] Tokyo National Museum, Bunkachō 文化庁 collection. [2] In Ōta, "Bunkachō zō 'Denshibyō kanjinshō narabini sōbyō chihō' kaidai to honkoku," 2014.

*Denshibyō kuden* 伝屍病口伝. [1] T. 2507. [2] Partial translation in Macomber, "Moxibustion for Demons: Oral Transmission on Corpse-Vector Disease," 2017.

*Denshibyō kyūji* 伝屍病灸治. T. 2508.

*Denshibyō nijūgo hō* 伝屍病廿五方. By Gahō 我方 (b. 1300). [1] Kyōu Shooku 杏雨書屋 collection, 乾 3582; [2] In *ZGR* 31.1: 264–275.

*Denshiki sairaku hō* 伝屍鬼祭落法. *NKSM*: Attributed to Kōjo 公助. 1522 (Taiei 大永 2) ms. in Manshu'in 曼殊院 collection.

*Denshibyō shū no koto* 伝屍病種事. [1] Kinzanji 金山寺 ms. in Okayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 岡山県立博物館. [2] Ms. in Ōsu Bunko collection, Shinpukuji, Nagoya.

*Denshibyō ruhō tetsuden daiji* 伝屍病留法鉄伝大事. *BKD* (8: 167): Muromachi period ms. in collection of Hōki'in on Kōyasan 高野山宝亀院.

*Dilisanmeiye Budong zunshengzhe niansong mimi fa* 底哩三昧耶不動尊聖者念誦祕密法. *T*. 1201.

*Eisei hiyōshō* 衛生秘要抄. [1] In *ZGR*, vol. 31.1. [2] In *Ishinpō zokuhen*, vol. 7, 1998.

*Fukudenhō* 福田方. By Yūrin 有林 (alt. 有隣). *Yūrin Fukudenhō*. Tokyo: Kagaku Shoin 科学書院, 1987

*Fumon'in kyō ron shō goroku jusho ra mokuroku* 普門院経論章疏語録儒書等目録. In *Dai Nihon shiryō*, 6.31: 489–491.

*Genben shuoyiqie youbu pinaiye* 根本説一切有部毘奈耶. *T*. 1442.

*Gukanshō* 愚管抄. By Jien 慈円 (1155–1225). [1] In *NKBT*, vol. 86. [2] Translation in Brown and Ishida, *The Future and the Past*, 1979.

*Gyōrinshō* 行林抄. By Jōnen 静然. *T*. 2409.

*Gyokuyō* 玉葉. By Kujō Kanezane 九条兼実 (1149–1207). Ed. Kunaichō Shōryōbu 宮内庁書陵部. 14 volumes. Tokyo: Meiji Shoin 明治書院, 1994–2013.

*Heike monogatari* 平家物語. In *SNKBT*, vols. 44–45.

*Hirasan kojin reitaku* 比良山古人霊託. By Keisei 慶政 (1189–1268). In *SNKBT*, vol. 40.

*Himitsu giki zuimonki* 秘密儀軌随聞記. In *Shingonshū zensho*, vol. 1.

*Hōgen monogatari, Heiji monogatari, Jōkyūki* 保元物語 平治物語 承久記. [1] In *SNKBT*, vol. 43. [2] Translation in Tyler, *Before Heike and After: Hōgen, Heiji, Jōkyūki*, 2012.

*Honchō seiki* 本朝世紀. By Fujiwara Michinori 藤原通憲 (Shinzei 信西; 1106–1160). In *KST*, vol. 9.

*Hōhiki* 宝秘記. In *Onjōji monjo*, vol. 1.

*Hōjōki* 方丈記. In *Hōjōki, Hosshinshū* 方丈記 発心集. Ed. Miki Sumito 三木紀人. *Shinchō Nihon koten shūsei* 新潮日本古典集成. Tokyo: Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1976.

*Huangdi neijing mingtang* 黄帝内経明堂. Einin-bon 永仁本 and Eitoku-bon 永徳本 (Ninnaji 仁和寺). In *TIZS*, vol. 3: 462–560.

*Huangdi neijing suwen* 黄帝内経素問. [1] In *Huangdi neijing Suwen Lingshu* 黄帝内経素問霊枢. Taibei: Xuanfeng chubanshe, 1973. [2] Paul Unschuld and Hermann Tessenow, with Zheng Jinsheng, trans., *Huang di nei jing su wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic – Basic Questions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

*Huangdi neijing taisu* 黄帝内経太素. By Yang Shangshan 楊上善 (666–683). [1] *Huangdi neijing taisu*. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe, 1981; [2] Ninnaji-bon 仁和寺本. In *TIZS*, vols. 1–3.

*Iryakushō* 医略抄. [1] In *ZGR*, vol. 31.1. [2] In *Ishinpō zokuhen*, vol. 7, 1998.

*Idanshō* 医談抄. By Koremune Tomotoshi 惟宗具俊. Ed. Minobe Shigekatsu 美濃部重克. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店.

*Ike senjimon chū* 医家千字文註. By Koremune Tokitoshi 惟宗時俊. In *ZGR*, vol. 31.1.

*Ishinpō* 医心方. By Tanba Yasuyori 丹波康頼. [1] *Ishinpō*. 8 vols. Osaka: Oriento Shuppansha オリエント出版社, 1991: *Kokuhō Nakaraikebon Ishinpō* 国宝半井家本医心方 ,vols. 1–6; *Nihon igaku sōsho katsujibon* 日本医学叢書活字本, vol. 7; *Ninnajibon eishabon, Takike kyūzōbon* 仁和寺本影写本・多紀家旧蔵本, vol. 8. [2] Maki Sachiko 槇佐知子, *Ishinpō, zen'yaku seikai* 医心方全訳精解. 33 vols. Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 1993–2012. [3] *Ishinpō: gendaigo tsuki Anseiban genbun* 医心方—現代訳付安政版原文, ed. Nihon Koigaku Shiryō Sentā 日本古医学資料センター. Tokyo: Shuppan Kagaku Sōgō Kenkyūjo 出版科学総合研究所, 1975–: *Shinkyū hen* 鍼灸篇; *Yōjō hen* 養生編; *Shokuyō hen* 食養編. [4] Fasc. 13 (Kongōjibon 金剛寺本), in *Ishinpō no kenkyū* 医心方の研究, ed. Yamamoto Shinkichi 山本信吉 et. al. Osaka: Oriento Shuppansha, 1994: 47–62 (transcription) and 123–190 (facsimile). [5] Emil Hsia, Ilza Veith, Robert Geertsma, trans., *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tamba's Ishimpō*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1986 (trans. of fascicles 1, 2, 26, 27, and 28). [6] Howard Levy and Ishihara Akira, trans., *The Tao of Sex: The Essence of Medical Prescriptions (Ishimpō)*. Yokohama: Shibundō, 1968 (trans of fasc. 28).

*Jimon denki horoku* 寺門伝記補録. By Shikō 志晃. In *DNBZ*, vol. 86.

*Jingangding jing* 金剛頂経. *T*. 865.

*Jinggangshou guangming jing zuisheng liyin shengwudongcun daweinuwang songnian yigui fapin* 金剛手光明灌頂經最勝立印聖無動尊大威怒王念誦儀軌法品. T. 1199.

*Jinten ainōshō* 塵添壒嚢鈔. By Gyōyo 行誉. [1] In *DNBZ*, 150. [2] *Jinten ainōshō, Ainōshō* 塵添壒嚢鈔 壒嚢鈔 Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 1971.

*Kakuzenshō* 覚禅抄. By Kakuzen 覚禅 (1143–1213). [1] In *DNBZ*, vols. 44–51. [2] *TZ* 4–5, 3022.

*Kanenyōshō* 遐年要抄. [1] In *ZGR*, vol. 31.1. [2] In *Ishinpō zokuhen*, vol. 7, 1998.

*Kangen ongi* 管弦音義. In Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, ed. 2014. "Ryōgon Kangen ongi 凉金 管弦音義." In *Shūkyōteki shintai tekusuto shiryōshū* 宗教的身体テクスト資料集, 4–13.

*Kankyo no tomo* 閑居友. By Keisei 慶政 (1189–1268). In *SNKBT*, vol. 40.

*Kasuga gongen genki e* 春日権現験記絵. [1] In *Zoku Nihon no emaki* 続日本の絵巻, vol. 13. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha, 1993. [2] *Zoku Nihon emaki taisei* 続日本絵巻大成 vols. 14–15. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōronsha, 1982.

*Keiran shūyōshū* 渓嵐拾葉集. By Kōshū 光宗 (1276–1350). [1] *T*. 2410. [2] *Keiran shūyōshū* (*tsuki Shōmen Kongō ishohō, chihō kore ari, nijūgobyō no shidai ni kore wo akasu mono nari*) 渓嵐拾葉集 (付青面金剛医疏法 有治方是廿五病之次第二是明者也). Ms. in Ōsu Bunko collection, Shinpukuji, Nagoya: 47 合–119 號.

*Kikke denshibyō chijo no gyōji* 橘家伝屍病治除之行事. *NKSD*: Daidō Yakushitsu Bunko 大同薬室文庫, Naitō Kinen Kusuri Hakubutsukan 内藤記念くすり博物館.

*Kikki* 吉記. By Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田経房 (1142–1200). In *ZST*, vols. 29–30.

*Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記. By Yōsai (alt. Eisai) 栄西 (1141–1215). [1] *Kissa yōjōki: Kamakura, Jufukuji-bon* 喫茶養生記 *:* 鎌倉・寿福寺本. Ed. Kamakura Dōjinkai 鎌倉同人会. Kamakura, Kamakura Shunjūsha かまくら春秋社: 1979. [2] Transcription of Jufukuji-bon 寿福寺本 by Yoneda Mariko 米田真理子 in Abe, *Shūkyōteki shintai tekusuto shiryōshū*, 2014. [3] Several editions in Mori, *Honzōgaku kenkyū*, 1999 (originally included in *Sadō koten zenshū* 茶道古典全集, vol. 2., 1958. [4] Furuta, *Kissa yōjōki*, 1993. [5] English translation of *saijibon* 再治本 in Benn, *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History*, 2016.

*Kojidan* 古事談. In *Kojidan, Zoku Kojidan* 古事談 続古事談. *SNKBT*, vol. 41.

*Konjaku monogatari shū* 今昔物語集. [1] In *SNKBT*, 33–37. [2] English translation in Dykstra, *The Konjaku Tales, Japanese Section: From a Medieval Japanese Collection*, 1999.

*Kōyakushō* 香薬抄. In *ZGR*, 31.1.

*Kōyōshō* 香要抄. In *ZGR*, 31.1.

*Kuchizusami* 口遊. By Minamoto Tamenori 源為憲 (d. 1011). [1] In *ZGR*, 32.1. [2] In *Kuchizusami chūkai* 口遊注解. Ed. Yōgaku no Kai 幼学の会編. Tokyo: Benseisha 勉誠社, 1997.

*Man'anpō* 万安方. By Kajiwara Shōzen 梶原性全 (1266–1327). Tokyo: Kagaku Shoin 科学書院, 1986.

*Meigetsuki* 明月記. By Fujiwara no Teika 藤原定家. 3 volumes. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 1911–1912.

*Mii zoku tōki* 三井続燈記. In *DNBZ*, vol. 67.

*Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀. By Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597). [1] *T.* 1911. [2] In Ikeda, *Shōkai Maka shikan*, 1995–1997. [3] English translation in Swanson, *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight*, 2008.

*Ōjōyōshū* 往生要集. By Genshin 源信 (942–1017). In *Ōjōyōshū: genpon kōchū kanwa taishō* 原本校註漢和対照. Ed. Hanayama Shinshō 花山信勝. Reprint. Tokyo: Sankibō, 1976.

*Onjōji denki* 園城寺伝記. [1] In *DNBZ*, vol. 86. [2] In Miura et al., ed. *Miidera hōtōki*, 1985.

*Sahōshū* 作法集. By Seigen 成賢. In Nakanishi Keihō 中西啓寶, Fuse Jōe 布施淨慧, Ōsawa Shōkan 大澤聖寬, Satō Masanobu 佐藤正伸, and Kawasaki Kazuhiro 川崎一洋, eds. *Seigen sahō shū* 成賢作法集. Tokyo: Shikisha 四季社, 2003.

*Sankaiki* 山槐記. By Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親 (1131–1195). In *ZST*, vols. 26–28.

*Shasekishū* 沙石集. By Mujū Ichien 無住一円 (1226–1312). In *NKBT*, vol. 85.

*Shengji zonglu* 聖濟總錄. 2 volumes. Beijing: Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版社, 1962

*Shika kanmon kyūhō* 四花患門灸法. By Tanba Nagamoto 丹波長基. [1] In *Rinshō jissen kaden, hiden, kyūsho shūsei*, vol. 1: 18–34. [2] In *Ishinpō zokuhen*, vol. 12, 1998: 384–402.

*Shōshiki daikongō yasha byaku kima hō* 青色大金剛薬叉辟鬼魔法. [1] Anō-ryū 穴太流 ms. in Ōsu Bunko collection, Shinpukuji, Nagoya: 56 合–157 號. [2] Partial transcription of Kōyasan University (Haruo-bon 春雄本) ms. in Yoshioka, "Shōmen Kongō to kōshin shinkō." [3] In Shōren'in Kissuizō collection: Box 82, #1; see *Shōren'in Monzeki Kissuizō shōgyō mokuroku*, 431. [4] T. 1221.

*Shōyūki* 小右記. By Fujiwara Sanesuke 藤原実資 (954–1046). In *ZST*, vols. 1–3.

*Shozan engi* 諸山縁起 1975. In *Jisha engi* 寺社縁起, eds. Sakurai Tokutarō 桜井徳太郎, Hagiwara Tatsuo 萩原龍夫, and Miyata Noboru 宮田登. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店.

*Shūgaishō* 拾芥抄. Ed. Imaizumi Teisuke 今泉定介. In *Kojitsu sōsho* 故実叢書, vol 2. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1906.

*Taiki* 台記. By Fujiwara Norinaga 藤原頼長 (1120–1156). In *ZST*, vols. 23–25.

*Taiping shenghui fang* 太平聖恵方. Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版社, 1982 reprint.

*Tendai Nanzan Mudōji konryū oshō den* 天台南山無動寺建立和尚伝. In *GR*, vol. 4.

*Tōzan ōrai* 東山往来. In *ZGR*, vol. 13.2.

*Ton'ishō* 頓医抄. By Kajiwara Shōzen 梶原性全 (1266–1327). Tokyo: Kagaku Shoin 科学書院, 1986.

*Tuoluoni ji jing* 陀羅尼集経. *T*. 901.

*Qianjin yaofang* 千金要方. By Sun Simiao 孫思邈. *Beiji qianjin yaofang*. Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版社, 1995 reprint.

*Qianjin yifang* 千金翼方. By Sun Simiao 孫思邈. Renmin weisheng chubanshe 人民衛生出版社, 1982 reprint.

*Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa guangda yuanman wuai dabeixin tuoluoni jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩廣大圓滿無礙大悲心陀羅尼經. *T*. 1060.

*Qianshou qianyan Guanshiyin pusa zhibing heyao jing* 千手千眼觀世音菩薩治病合藥經. *T*. 1059.

*Qing Guanshiyin pusa xiaofu duhai tuoluonizhou jing* 請觀世音菩薩消伏毒害陀羅尼呪經. *T*. 1043.

*Waitai miyao fang* 外台秘要方. By Wang Tao 王燾.[1] *Sōban Gedai hiyō hō* 宋版 外台秘要方. In *TIZS*, vols. 4–5; [2] *Waitai miyao*. Taipei: Guoli Zhongguo yiyao yanjiusuo, 1965.

*Xiuxi zhiguan zuochan fayao* 修習止觀坐禪法要. By Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597). *T*. 1915.

*Yamai no sōshi* 病草紙. Ed. Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠 and Yamamoto Satomi 山本聡美. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 2017.

*Yishuo* 医説. Ed. Fukuda Yasnori 福田安典, ed. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店, 2002.

*Zayūshō* 座右抄. In *Rinshō jissen kaden, hiden, kyūsho shūsei*, vol. 1: 1–16.

*Zhouhou beiji fang* 肘後備急方. Attributed to Ge Hong 葛洪. In *Baopuzi neipian, Zhouhou beiji fang jinyi*, edited by Mei Quanxi et al. Beijing: Zhongguo Zhongyiyao chubanshe, 1997.

*Zoku Kojidan* 続古事談. In *Kojidan, Zoku Kojidan* 古事談 続古事談. *SNKBT*, vol. 41.

*Zoku Tenyōketsu shū* 続添要穴集. In *Rinshō jissen kaden, hiden, kyūsho shūsei*, vol. 1: 35–68.

*Zhubing yuanhou lun* 諸病源候論. In *Sōban Shobyō genkōron* 宋版 諸病源候論. In *TIZS*, vol. 6.

## SECONDARY SOURCES

Abé, Ryūichi. "Mantra, 'Hinin,' and the Feminine: On the Salvational Strategies of Myōe and Eizon." *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 13 (2002): 101–25.

_____. *The Weaving of Mantra: Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎. *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikei* 中世日本の宗教テクスト体系. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2013.

_____. “Girei to shūkyō tekusuto: chūsei mikkyō shōgyō no kennō wo megurite 儀礼と宗教テクスト—中世密教聖教の権能をめぐりて.” In *Girei no chikara: chūsei shūkyō no jissen sekai* 儀礼の力—中世宗教の実践世界, edited by Lucia Dolce and Matsumoto Ikuyo 松本郁代, 307–328. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2010.

_____, ed. *Nihon ni okeru shūkyō tekusuto no shoisō to tōjihō : “tekusuto fuchi no kaishakugakuteki kenkyū to kyōiku” Dai 4-kai Kokusai Kenkyū Shūkai hōkokusho* 日本における宗教テクストの諸位相と統辞法:「テクスト布置の解釈学的研究と教育」第 4 回国際研究集会報告書 Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka 名古屋大学大学院文学研究科, 2008.

_____. *Shūkyōteki shintai tekusuto shiryōshū* 宗教的身体テクスト資料集. Unpublished conference proceedings, 2014.

_____. “The Book of Tengu: Goblins, Devils, and Buddhas in Medieval Japan.” *Cahiers d’Extrême-Asie* 13 (2002): 211–26.

_____. *Yuya no kōgō: chūsei no sei to seinaru mono* 湯屋の皇后—中世の性と聖なるもの. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 1998.

Adolphson, Mikael S. *The Gates of Power: Monks, Courtiers, and Warriors in Premodern Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000.

_____. *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha: Monastic Warriors and Sōhei in Japanese History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007.

Ahn, Juhn. “Worms, Germs, and Technologies of the Self — Religion, Sword Fighting, and Medicine in Early Modern Japan.” *Japanese Religions* 37, no. 1/2 (2012): 93–114.

Ahn, Juhn Y. “Zen and the Art of Nourishing Life: Labor, Exhaustion, and the Malady of Meditation.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 35, no. 2 (January 1, 2008): 177–229.

Akiyama Masami 秋山正美. *Butsuzō no insō wo tazunete: te no katachi to mikata, musubikata* 仏像の印相をたずねて—手のかたちとみかた・結びかた. Osaka: Bunshindō 文進堂, 1973.

Andreeva, Anna. “Childbirth in Aristocratic Households of Heian Japan.” *Dynamis* 34, no. 2 (2014): 357–376.

_____. “Chusei Nihon ni okeru osan to josei no kenkō—*Sansei ruijūshō* no bukkyōteki, igakuteki chishiki o chūshin to shite 中世日本における御産と女性の健康— 『産生

類聚抄』の仏教的・医学的知識を中心として." In *Hikaku shisō kara mita Nihon bukkyō* 比較思想から見た日本仏教, edited by Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士, 13–36. Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorinkan, 2015.

Andreeva, Anna, and Dominic Steavu, eds. *Transforming the Void*. Sir Henry Wellcome Asian Series 6. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Asad, Talal. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.

Baker, Donald L. "Monks, Medicine, and Miracles: Health and Healing in the History of Korean Buddhism." *Korean Studies* 18, no. 1 (1994): 50–75.

Bargen, Doris G. "Spirit Possession in The Context of Dramatic Expressions of Gender Conflict: The Aoi Episode of The Genji Monogatari." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 48, no. 1 (1988): 95–130.

Barnes, Linda L. *Needles, Herbs, Gods, and Ghosts China, Healing, and the West to 1848*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Barnes, Nancy J. "Lady Rokujō's Ghost: Spirit Possession, Buddhism, and Healing in Japanese Literature." *Literature and Medicine* 8, no. 1 (1989): 106–21.

Bates, Donald G., ed. *Knowledge and the Scholarly Medical Traditions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Bedini, Silvio A. *The Scent of Time: A Study of the Use of Fire and Incense for Time Measurement in Oriental Countries*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1963.

_____. *The Trail of Time: Time Measurement with Incense in East Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Benjamin, Walter. *The Arcades Project*. Edited by Howard Eiland. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Benn, James A. *Burning for the Buddha: Self-Immolation in Chinese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.

_____. *Tea in China: A Religious and Cultural History*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

_____. "Where Text Meets Flesh: Burning the Body as an Apocryphal Practice in Chinese Buddhism." *History of Religions* 37, no. 4 (1998): 295–322.

Bialock, David T. *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from the Chronicles of Japan to The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Birnbaum, Raoul. *The Healing Buddha*. Boulder: Shambhala, 1979.

Blacker, Carmen. *The Catalpa Bow: A Study of Shamanistic Practices in Japan*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1975.

Bloss, Lowell W. "The Taming of Māra: Witnessing to the Buddha's Virtues." *History of Religions* 18, no. 2 (1978): 156–76.

Bogel, Cynthea J. *With a Single Glance: Buddhist Icons and Early Mikkyō Vision*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2010.

Bonnefoy, Yves, ed. *Asian Mythologies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Borgen, Robert. "Jōjin's Travels from Center to Center (with Some Periphery in Between)." In *Heian Japan: Centers and Peripheries*, edited by Mikael Adolphson, Edward Kamens, and Stacie Matsumoto, 385–413. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Brinker, Helmut. *Secrets of the Sacred: Empowering Buddhist Images in Clear, in Code, and in Cache*. Seattle: Spencer Museum of Art/University of Washington Press, 2011.

Brown, Delmer Myers, and Ichirō Ishida. *The Future and the Past: A Translation and Study of the Gukanshō, an Interpretative History of Japan Written in 1219*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Butler, Lee. "'Washing off the Dust': Baths and Bathing in Late Medieval Japan." *Monumenta Nipponica* 60, no. 1 (2005): 1–41.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion*. New York: Zone Books, 2012.

Caciola, Nancy. *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015.

Capitanio, Joshua. "Religious Ritual." In *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Chinese Religions*, edited by Randall L. Nadeau, 309–334. Blackwell Publishing, 2012.

Casal, U. A. "The Saintly Kôbô Daishi in Popular Lore (A. D. 774-835)." *Folklore Studies* 18 (1959): 95–144.

_____. "Acupuncture, Cautery and Massage in Japan." *Folklore Studies* 21 (1962): 221–35.

Cerulli, Anthony. *Somatic Lessons: Narrating Patienthood and Illness in Indian Medical Literature.* Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012.

Collcutt, Martin. *Five Mountains: The Rinzai Zen Monastic Institution in Medieval Japan*. Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981.

Como, Michael. *Shōtoku: Ethnicity, Ritual, and Violence in the Japanese Buddhist Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

_____. "Horses, Dragons, and Disease in Nara Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 34, no. 2 (2007): 393–415.

_____. *Weaving and Binding : Immigrant Gods and Female Immortals in Ancient Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009.

Conze, Edward. *Buddhism: Its Essence and Development*. New York: Harper & Row, 1959.

Copp, Paul. *The Body Incantatory: Spells and the Ritual Imagination in Medieval Chinese Buddhism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2018.

Copp, Paul F. "Voice, Dust, Shadow, Stone: The Makings of Spells in Medieval Chinese Buddhism." Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 2005.

Crozier, Ivan Dalley. "Social Construction in a Cold Climate: A Response to David Harley, 'Rhetoric and the Social Construction of Sickness and Healing' and to Paolo Palladino's Comment on Harley." Social History of Medicine 13, no. 3 (December 1, 2000): 535–46.

Csordas, Thomas J. *Embodiment and Experience: The Existential Ground of Culture and Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

_____. *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Charismatic Healing*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Dalton, Jacob Paul. *The Taming of the Demons: Violence and Liberation in Tibetan Buddhism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Davis, Edward L. *Society and the Supernatural in Song China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001.

Deal, William E, and Brian Douglas Ruppert. *A Cultural History of Japanese Buddhism*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

DeCaroli, Robert. *Haunting the Buddha: Indian Popular Religions and the Formation of Buddhism*. New York: Oxford University, 2004.

De Groot, J. J. M. *Le code du Mahâyâna en Chine, son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque.* Amsterdam: J. Müller, 1893.

Demiéville, Paul. *Buddhism and Healing: Demiéville's Article 'Byō' from Hōbōgirin*. Translated by Mark Tatz. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985.

Derrida, Jacques. *Dissemination*. Translated by Barbara Johnson. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1981.

Deshpande, Vijaya. *Restoring the Dragon's Vision: Nagarjuna and Medieval Chinese Ophthalmology*. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong, 2012.

Despeux, Catherine. "Buddhist Healing Practices at Dunhuang in the Medieval Period." In *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*, edited by C. Pierce Salguero and Andrew Macomber. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Forthcoming.

_____, ed. *Médecine, religion, et société dans la Chine médiévale: Étude de manuscrits chinois de Dunhuang et de Turfan*. Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2010.

Devi, Gauri. *Esoteric Mudras of Japan*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1999.

Dobbins, James C. "Editor's Introduction: Kuroda Toshio and His Scholarship." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 23, no. 3/4 (1996): 217–232.

Dolce, Lucia. "Taimitsu Rituals in Medieval Japan: Sectarian Competition and the Dynamics of Tantric Performance." In *Transformations and Transfer of Tantra in Asia and Beyond*, edited by István Keul. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012.

_____. "Taimitsu: The Esoteric Buddhism of the Tendai School." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sørensen, and Richard Karl Payne, 744–67. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Dolce, Lucia, and Matsumoto Ikuyo 松本郁代, eds. *Girei no chikara: chūsei shūkyō no jissen sekai* 儀礼の力—中世宗教の実践世界. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2010.

Doran, Rebecca. "The Cat Demon, Gender, and Religious Practice: Towards Reconstructing a Medieval Chinese Cultural Pattern." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 135, no. 4 (2015): 689.

Drott, Edward R. "'Care Must Be Taken': Defilement, Disgust and the Aged Body in Early Japan." *Journal of Religion in Japan* 4, no. 1 (2015): 1–31.

_____. "Gods, Buddhas, and Organs: Buddhist Physicians and Theories of Longevity in Early Medieval Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 37, no. 2 (2010): 247–73.

Duden, Barbara. *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.

Dumit, Joseph. *Drugs for Life: How Pharmaceutical Companies Define Our Health*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012.

Duquenne, Robert. "Atabakukōya Yakusha to Daigensui Mishihō 阿吒婆倶曠野薬叉と大元帥御修法." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 23, no. 2 (1975): 701–708.

Dykstra, Yoshiko Kurata. *The Konjaku Tales, Japanese Section: From a Medieval Japanese Collection*. 3 vols. Osaka: Kansai Gaidai University, 1999.

Eric M. Greene. "Meditation, Repentance, and Visionary Experience in Early Medieval Chinese Buddhism." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of California, Berkeley, 2012.

Eubanks, Charlotte D. *Miracles of Book and Body: Buddhist Textual Culture and Medieval Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Fan Ka-wai 范家偉. "Han Tang shiji nüebing yu nüegui 漢唐時期瘧病與瘧鬼." In *Jibing de lishi* 疾病的歷史, edited by Lin Fu-shih 林富士, 201–244. Taipei: Lianjing Chuban Gongsi 聯經出版公司, 2011.

Farris, W. Wayne. "Diseases of the Premodern Period in Japan." In *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, edited by Kenneth Kiple, 376–85. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Farris, William Wayne. *Japan's Medieval Population: Famine, Fertility, and Warfare in a Transformative Age*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006.

_____. *Population, Disease, and Land in Early Japan, 645-900*. Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, and the Harvard Yenching Institute, and distributed by the Harvard University Press, 1985.

Faure, Bernard. "Buddhism and Symbolic Violence." In *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*, edited by Andrew R Murphy, 211–226. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

_____. "Buddhism's Black Holes." *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 27, no. 2 (2017): 89–121.

_____. *Gods of Medieval Japan, Volume 1: The Fluid Pantheon*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

_____. *Gods of Medieval Japan, Volume 2: Protectors and Predators*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016.

_____. "The Buddhist Icon and the Modern Gaze." *Critical Inquiry* 24, no. 3 (1998): 768–813.

_____. *The Rhetoric of Immediacy: A Cultural Critique of Chan/Zen Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.

_____. *Visions of Power: Imagining Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.

Firth, Raymond. *Tikopia Rituals and Beliefs*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1967.

Fister, Patricia. "From Sacred Leaves to Sacred Images: The Buddhist Nun Gen'yō's Practice of Making and Distributing Miniature Kannons." In *Figures and Places of the Sacred*, edited by Yoritomo Motohiro, 75–98. International Symposium 18. Kyoto: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentā, 2003.

Foxwell, Chelsea. "The Pulled Back View: The Illustrated Life of Ippen and the Visibility of Karma in Medieval Japan." *Archives of Asian Art* 65, no. 1–2 (2015): 25–56.

Frank, Bernard. *Kataimi to katatagae: Heian jidai no hōgaku kinki ni kansuru kenkyū* 方忌みと方違え—平安時代の方角禁忌に関する研究. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1989.

Fujikawa Yū. *Japanese Medicine*. New York: P.B. Hoeber, 1934.

Fujikawa Yū 富士川游. *Bukkyō no shinzui* 仏教の神髄. Tokyo: Hōjisha 法爾社, 1923.

_____. *Ijutsu to shūkyō* 医術と宗教. Tokyo: Shoshishinsui 書肆心水, 2010.

_____. *Isha no fūzoku* 医者の風俗, 1925.

_____. *Meishin no kenkyū* 迷信の研究. Tokyo: Yōsei Shoin 養正書院, 1932.

_____. *Nihon igakushi kōyō* 日本医学史綱要. Tokyo: Kokuseidō Shoten 克誠堂書店, 1933.

_____. *Nihon igakushi* 日本醫學史. Tokyo: Shōkabō 裳華房, 1904.

_____. *Shinkō to meishin* 信仰と迷信. Tokyo: Isobe Kōyōdō 磯部甲陽堂, 1928.

_____. *Shinsen myōkō den* 新選妙好人伝. Tokyo: Kōtoku Shoin 厚徳書院, 1937.

_____. *Shinshū* 真宗. Tokyo: Shishin Shobō 至心書房, 1919.

Fujikawa Yū 富士川游, and Fujikawa Hideo 富士川英郎. *Fujikawa Yū chosakushū* 富士川游著作集. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1980.

Fukunaga Katsumi 福永勝美. *Bukkyō igaku shōsetsu* 仏教医学詳說. Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣, 1972.

_____. *Bukkyō igaku jiten, ho yōga* 仏教医学事典・補ヨーガ. Tokyo: Yūzankaku Shuppan 雄山閣出版, 1990.

Furuta Shōkin 古田紹欽. *Kissa yōjōki* 喫茶養生記. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1994.

Garrett, Frances. *Religion, Medicine and the Human Embryo in Tibet*. Routledge Critical Studies in Buddhism. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.

_____. "The Alchemy of Accomplishing Medicine (Sman Sgrub): Situating the Yuthok Heart Essence (G.Yu Thog Snying Thig) in Literature and History." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 37 (2009): 207–30.

Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Gerhart, Karen M., ed. *Women, Rites and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Gether, Charles D. "The Ritual Interplay of Fire and Water in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras." In *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change Across the Longue Durée*, edited by Richard Karl Payne and Michael Witzel, 47–66. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Giebel, Rolf W. *The Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-Sūtra*. Numata Center for Buddhist Translation and Research, 2005.

Goble, Andrew Edmund. *Confluences of Medicine in Medieval Japan: Buddhist Healing, Chinese Knowledge, Islamic Formulas, and Wounds of War*. Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2011.

Gorai Shigeru 五来重. *Bukkyō to minzoku: Bukkyō minzokugaku nyūmon* 仏教と民俗—仏教民俗学入門. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1976.

_____. *Kōya hijiri* 高野聖. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1965.

_____, ed. *Yakushi shinkō* 薬師信仰. Tokyo: Yūzankaku 雄山閣, 1986.

_____. "Seika, hijiri to shūkyō minzoku 聖火・聖と宗教民俗." In *Shugendō no shugyō to shūkyō minzoku* 修験道の修行と宗教民俗, edited by Akata Mitsuo 赤田光男, Itō Yuishin 伊藤唯真, and Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦, 343–470. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2008.

Granoff, Phyllis. "Cures and Karma II: Some Miraculous Healings in the Indian Buddhist Story Tradition." *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 85* (1998): 285–304.

_____. "The Buddha as the Greatest Healer: The Complexities of a Comparison." *Journal Asiatique* 299, no. 1 (2011): 5–22.

Gray, David B. "The Rhetoric of Violence in the Buddhist Tantras." *Journal of Religion and Violence* 6, no. 1 (2018): 32–51.

Greene, Eric M. "Healing Breaths and Rotting Bones: On the Relationship between Buddhist and Chinese Meditation Practices during the Eastern Han and Three Kingdoms Period." *Journal of Chinese Religions* 42, no. 2 (November 1, 2014): 145–84.

_____. "Healing Sicknesses Caused by Meditation: 'The Enveloping Butter Contemplation' from the Secret Essential Methods for Curing Meditation Sickness." In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, 373–81. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

_____. "Visions and Visualizations: In Fifth-Century Chinese Buddhism and Nineteenth-Century Experimental Psychology." *History of Religions* 55, no. 3 (2016): 289–328.

Griffis, William Elliot. *Corea, the Hermit Nation*. New York: Scribner's Sons, 1894.

Groner, Paul. "Extreme Asceticism, Medicine, and Pure Land Faith in the Life of Shuichi Munō (1683–1719)." *Japanese Religions* 37, no. 1/2 (2012): 39–62.

_____. *Ryōgen and Mount Hiei: Japanese Tendai in the Tenth Century*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.

_____. *Saichō: The Establishment of the Japanese Tendai School*. Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of California at Berkeley, 1984.

Gunji, Naoko. "Taira No Tokushi's Birth of Emperor Antoku." In *Women, Rites and Ritual Objects in Premodern Japan*, edited by Karen M. Gerhart, 89–140. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Gyatso, Janet. *Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

_____. "The Authority of Empiricism and the Empiricism of Authority: Medicine and Buddhism in Tibet on the Eve of Modernity." *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 24, no. 2 (2004): 83–96.

Hacking, Ian. *Historical Ontology*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Hanson, Marta E. "Hand Mnemonics in Classical Chinese Medicine: Texts, Earliest Images, and Arts of Memory." *Asia Major* 21, no. 1 (2008): 325–47.

_____. *Speaking of Epidemics in Chinese Medicine: Disease and the Geographic Imagination in Late Imperial China*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Harley, David. "Rhetoric and the Social Construction of Sickness and Healing." *Social History of Medicine* 12, no. 3 (1999): 407–435.

Harrington, Anne. *The Cure Within: A History of Mind-Body Medicine*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2009.

Hasegawa Masao 長谷川雅雄, Tsujimoto Hiroshige 辻本裕成, Peter Knecht ペトロ・クネヒト, and Minobe Shigekatsu 美濃部重克. *'Hara no mushi' no kenkyū: Nihon no shinjinkan wo saguru*「腹の虫」の研究: 日本の心身観をさぐる. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2012.

Hashimoto, Akira. "Psychiatry and Religion in Modern Japan: Traditional Temple and Shrine Therapies." In *Religion and Psychotherapy in Modern Japan*, edited by Christopher Harding, Iwata Fumiaki, and Yoshinaga Shin'ichi, 51–75. London: Routledge, 2016.

Hashimoto Fumiyo 橋本史代. "Gedai hiyōhō ni okeru iwayuru keigai kiketsu 外台秘要方におけるいわゆる経外奇穴." presented at the Nihon Ishi Gakkai Gakujutsu Taikai 日本医史学会学術大会, Osaka, April 2015.

Hashimoto Shinkichi 橋本進吉. *Hashimoto Shinkichi hakushi chosakushū* 橋本進吉博士著作集. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1949.

_____. "Keisei Shōnin denkō 慶政上人伝考." In *Dainihon Bukkyō zensho, yūhōden sōsho dai 3* 大日本仏教全書、遊方伝叢書 第三, 565–82. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会, 1917.

_____. "Keisei Shōnin no jiseki 慶政上人の事蹟." In *Hashimoto Shinkichi hakushi chosaku shū* 橋本進吉博士著作集. 12. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1972.

Hatley, Shaman. "Mapping the Esoteric Body in the Islamic Yoga of Bengal." *History of Religions* 46, no. 4 (2007): 351–68.

Hattori Toshirō 服部敏良. *Bukkyō kyōten wo chūshin toshita Shaka no igaku* 仏教教典を中心とした釈迦の医学. Nagoya: Reimei Shobō 黎明書房, 1968.

_____. *Edo jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 江戸時代医学史の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1978.

_____. *Heian jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 平安時代医学の研究. Tokyo: Kuwana Bunseidō 桑名文星堂, 1955.

_____. *Igakushi kenkyū yoroku* 医学史研究余錄. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1987.

_____. *Kamakura jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 鎌倉時代医学史の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1964.

_____. *Muromachi Azuchi Momoyama jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 室町安土桃山時代医学史の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1971.

_____. *Nara jidai igakushi no kenkyū* 奈良時代医学史の研究. Tokyo: Tōkyōdō 東京堂, 1945.

_____. *Nihon igakushi kenkyū yowa* 日本医学史研究余話. Tokyo: Kagaku Shoin 科学書院, 1981.

_____. *Ōchō kizoku no byōjō shindan* 王朝貴族の病状診断. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1975.

_____. *Yamashita byōin hachijūnen no ayumi* 山下病院八十年の歩み. Ichinomiya: Yamashita Byōin 山下病院, 1981.

Hayami Tasuku 速水侑. *Heian kizoku shakai to Bukkyō* 平安貴族社会と仏教. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1975.

_____. *Jujutsu shūkyō no sekai: mikkyō shuhō no rekishi* 呪術宗教の世界 : 密教修法の歴史. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, 1987.

_____. *Kannon shinkō* 観音信仰. *Minshū shūkyōshi sōsho* 民衆宗教史叢書 7. Tokyo: Yuzankaku 雄山閣, 2007.

Heirman, Ann, and Mathieu Torck. *A Pure Mind in a Clean Body: Bodily Care in the Buddhist Monasteries of Ancient India and China*. Gent: Ginkgo Academia Press, 2012.

Hewitt, J. T. *Primitive Traditional History. The Primitive History and Chronology of India, South-Eastern and South-Western Asia, Egypt, and Europe, and the Colonies Thence Sent Forth*. London: J. Parker and Co., 1907.

Hinrichs, T. J. "New Geographies of Chinese Medicine." *Osiris* 13 (1998): 287–325.

Hinrichs, TJ. Shamans, *Witchcraft, and Quarantine: The Medical Transformation of Governance and Southern Customs in Mid-Imperial China*. Harvard University Press, Forthcoming.

_____. "The Catchy Epidemic: Theorization and Its Limits in Han to Song Period Medicine." *East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine*, no. 41 (2015): 19–62.

Hinrichs, TJ, and Linda L Barnes. *Chinese Medicine and Healing: An Illustrated History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Hirabayashi Moritoku 平林盛得. "Keisei Shōnin den kō hoi 慶政上人伝考補遺." *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 国語と国文学 47, no. 6 (1970): 35–46.

Hofer, Theresia, and Barbara Gerke, eds. *Bodies in Balance: The Art of Tibetan Medicine*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014.

Horton, Sarah. "The Influence of the Ōjōyōshū in Late Tenth- and Early Eleventh-Century Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 31, no. 1 (2004): 29–54.

Horton, Sarah J. *Living Buddhist Statues in Early Medieval and Modern Japan*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Hosokawa Ryōichi 細川涼一. *Itsudatsu no Nihon chūsei: kyōki. tōsaku, ma no sekai* 逸脫の日本中世: 狂気・倒錯・魔の世界. Tokyo: JICC Shuppankyoku, 1993.

Hsia, Emil C. H, Ilza Veith, and Robert H Geertsma, trans. *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tamba's Ishimpō*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1986.

Huang, Shih-shan Susan. "Imagining Efficacy: The Common Ground between Buddhist and Daoist Pictorial Art in Song China." *Orientations* 36, no. 3 (2005): 63–69.

Hurvitz, Leon. *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Ikai Yoshio 猪飼祥夫. "Chūgoku Bukkyō no kaiha to kyū 中国仏教の戒疤と灸." *Itan* 医譚 80 (2009): 40–49.

Ikeda Rosan 池田魯参. *Maka shikan kenkyū josetsu* 摩訶止観研究序說. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1986.

_____. *Makashikan wo yomu*『摩訶止観』を読む. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 2017.

_____. *Shōkai Maka shikan* 詳解摩訶止観. 3 vols. Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha 大東出版社, 1995.

Ikemi Chōryū 池見澄隆. *Myōkenron: Nihonjin no seishinshi* 冥顕論：日本人の精神史. Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2012.

Illich, Ivan. Limits to Medicine: *Medical Nemesis: The Expropriation of Health*. London: M. Boyars, 1995.

Inaya Yūsen 稲谷祐宣. *Inzu, Shuinzu* 印図・手印図. Osaka: Seizansha 青山社, 1992.

Ishida Hidemi 石田秀実. *Chūgoku igaku shisōshi: mou hitotsu no igaku* 中国医学思想史—もう一つの医学. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1992.

_____. *Kokoro to karada: Chūgoku kodai ni okeru shintai no shisō* こころとからだ—中国古代における身体の思想. Fukuoka: Chūgoku Shoten 中国書店, 1995.

Ishigami Hiroyuki 石神裕之. *Kinsei kōshintō no kōkogaku* 近世庚申塔の考古学. Tokoy: Keiōjuku Daigaku Shuppankai 慶應義塾大学出版会, 2013.

Ishikawa Rikizen 石川力山. "Chūsei Sōtō shū kirigami no bunrui shiron (11) – tsuizen, sōsō kuyō kankei wo chūshin toshite (ho) 中世曹洞宗の切紙の分類試論（十一）一追善・葬送供養関係を中心として（補）一." Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō-gakubu kenkyū kiyō 駒澤大学仏教学部研究紀要 46 (1988): 128–55.

_____. "Sabetsu kirigami to sabetsu jishō nitsuite 差別切紙と差別事象について." Shūgaku kenkyū 宗学研究, no. 27 (1985): 137–42.

Ishinpō Issennen Kinenkai 医心方一千年記念会. *Ishinpō: senshin issennen kinen* 醫心方—撰進一千年記念. Ishinpō Issennen Kinenkai 医心方一千年記念会, 1986.

Isomae Jun'ichi 磯前順一. "Deconstructing 'Japanese Religion': A Historical Survey." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no. 2 (2005): 235–48.

Iyanaga Nobumi 彌永信美. *Daikokuten hensō* 大黒天変相. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2002.

_____. "'Human Yellow' and Magical Power in Japanese Medieval Tantrism and Culture." In *Transforming the Void: Embryological Discourse and Reproductive Imagery in East Asian Religions*, edited by Dominic Steavu and Anna Andreeva. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

_____. *Kannon hen'yōtan* 観音変容譚. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2002.

_____. "Nyoirin Kannon to Joseisei 如意輪観音と女性性." *Indo tetsugaku Bukkyō kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 8, no. 3 (2001): 3–17.

Jašarević, Larisa. Health and Wealth on the Bosnian Market: Intimate Debt. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017.

_____. "Pouring out Postsocialist Fears: Practical Metaphysics of a Therapy at a Distance." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 4 (2012): 914–41.

Jerryson, Michael K, and Mark Juergensmeyer, eds. *Buddhist Warfare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Johnston, William. *The Modern Epidemic: A History of Tuberculosis in Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Jordanova, Ludmilla. "The Social Construction of Medical Knowledge." *Social History of Medicine* 8, no. 3 (December 1, 1995): 361–81.

Josephson, Jason Ānanda. "An Empowered World: Buddhist Medicine and the Potency of Prayer in Meiji Japan." In *Deus in Machina: Religion, Technology, and the Things in Between*, edited by Jeremy Stolow, 117–41. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010.

_____. *The Invention of Religion in Japan*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012.

Kajikawa Toshio 梶川敏夫. "Nyoiji-seki: Heian jidai sōken no sangaku jiin 如意寺跡—平安時代創建の山岳寺院." *Cultura Antiqua* 43, no. 6 (1991): 13–33.

Kamikawa Michio 上川通夫. *Heian-kyō to chūsei Bukkyō: ōchō kenryoku to toshi minshū* 平安京と中世仏教: 王朝権力と都市民衆. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2015.

Karetzky, Patricia Eichenbaum. "Māra, Buddhist Deity of Death and Desire." *East and West* 32, no. 1/4 (1982): 75–92.

Karube Tadashi 苅部直, Kurozumi Makoto 黒住真, Hiroo Satō 佐藤弘夫, Sueki Fumihiko 末木文美士, and Tajiri Yūichirō 田尻祐一郎, eds. *Nihon shisō shi kōza: chūsei* 日本思想史講座—中世. Tokyo: Perikansha ぺりかん社, 2012.

Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠. *Shōrōbyōshi no zuzōgaku: Bukkyō setsuwaga wo yomu* 生老病死の図像学—仏教說話画を読む. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 2012.

Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠, and Yamamoto Satomi 山本聡美, eds. *Yamai no sōshi* 病草紙. Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中央公論美術出版, 2017.

Katsuda Itaru 勝田至. *Shisha no chūsei* 死者たちの中世. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2003.

Keene, Donald. *Anthology of Japanese Literature from the Earliest Era to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Grove Press, 1955.

Keisokuin Kanshitsu 鶏足院潅室, ed. *Anō-shōryū: Shidogyō ki wakai* 穴太正流―四度行記和解. Kyoto: Shibakinseidō 芝金聲堂, 2006.

Keyworth, George A. "Jōjin on the Spot: Some Remarkable Evidence of Eleventh-Century Chinese Buddhism from the San Tendai Godaisan Ki." *Studies in Chinese Religions* 2, no. 4 (2016): 366–382.

Kichijō Hisatomo 吉條久友. "Shugendō no kaiso 'En'no Gyōja' to Yamato no meiyaku 'daranisuke' 修験道の開祖「役行者」と大和の名薬「陀羅尼助」." *Itan* 医譚, no. 101 (2015): 7661–63.

Kiechle, Melanie A. *Smell Detectives: An Olfactory History of Nineteenth-Century Urban America*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2017.

Kikuchi Hiroki 菊地大樹. *Kamakura Bukkyō e no michi: jissen to shūgaku shinjin no keifu* 鎌倉仏教への道―実践と修学・信心の系譜. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2011.

Kim, Su Jung. "Transcending Locality, Creating Identity: Shinra Myōjin, a Korean Deity in Japan." Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 2014.

Kim, Youn-mi. "Buddhist Ontology and Miniaturization: Enacting Ritual with Nonhuman Agency." *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 27, no. 2 (2017): 39–69.

Kinoshita Takeshi 木下武司. *Man'yō shokubutsu shi* 万葉植物文化誌. Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō 八坂書房, 2010.

_____. *Wakan koten shokubutsumei seikai* 和漢古典植物名精解. Osaka: Izumi Shoin 和泉書院, 2017.

Kiyota, Minoru. *Shingon Buddhism: Theory and Practice*. Los Angeles: Buddhist Books International, 1978.

Kleine, Christoph. "Buddhist Monks as Healers in Early and Medieval Japan." *Japanese Religions* 37, no. 1 & 2 (2012): 13–38.

Kobanawa Heiroku 小花波平六. "Kōshin kyō to Byaku-ki shuhō no senjutsu ni kansuru isetsu to shiken 庚申経と辟鬼珠法の撰述に関する異説と私見." In *Kōshin: minkan shinkō no kenkyū* 庚申: 民間信仰の研究, edited by Kōshin konwakai 庚申懇話会. Kyoto: Dōhōsha 同朋舎, 1978.

_____, ed. Koshin shinkō 庚申信仰. Tokyo: Yuzankaku 雄山閣, 1988.

Kohn, Livia. "Kōshin: A Taoist Cult in Japan" (Parts I, II, III). Vol. 18, 20. *Japanese Religions*, 1993.

Koizumi Enjun 古泉圓順. "Mikkyō to Honzō 密教と本草." *Kyōu* 杏雨 1 (1998): 21–54.

Kojima Takayuki 小島孝之. "Mujū denki shōkō: ijutsu to shisō wo megutte 無住伝記小考—医術と思想とをめぐって." *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 国語と国文学 52, no. 12 (1975): 41–54.

Komatsu Shigemi 小松茂美, ed. *Shigisan engi* 信貴山縁起. *Nihon emaki taisei* 日本絵巻大成 4. Tokyo: Chūō Kōronsha 中央公論社, 1977.

Kominami Satsuki 小南沙月. "Jikaku Daishi Ennin 'Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku' 慈覚大師円仁『入唐新求聖教目録』." *Shisō* 史窓, no. 74 (2017): 67–111.

_____. Kominami Satsuki 小南沙月. "Jikaku Daishi Ennin shōrai mokuroku no kenkyū: 'Nittō shin gu shōgyō mokuroku' no gaiyō 慈覚大師円仁将来目録の研究：『入唐新求聖教目録』の概要." *Kyōto Joshi Daigaku Daigakuin Bungakukenkyūka kenkyū kiyō* 京都女子大学大学院文学研究科研究紀要, no. 16 (2017): 1–34.

Kosoto Hiroshi 小曽戸洋, Shinohara Kōichi 篠原孝市, and Ishino Shōgo 石野尚吾. "Koremune Tokitoshi no 'Zokuten yōketsu shū' 惟宗時俊の『続添要穴集』." *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 46, no. 3 (2000): 356–57.

Kosoto Hiroshi 小曽戸洋. *Chūgoku igaku koten to Nihon: Shoshi to denshō* 中国医学古典と日本—書誌と伝承. Tokyo: Hanawa Shobō 塙書房, 1996.

_____. *Kanpō no rekishi: Nihon no dentō igaku* 漢方の歴史—中国・日本の伝統医学. Taishūkan shoten 大修館書店: Tokyo, 1999.

_____. *Nihon kanpō tenseki jiten* 日本漢方典籍辞典. Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten 大修館書店, 1999.

Kosoto Hiroshi 小曽戸洋, and Amano Yōsuke 天野陽介. *Shinkyū no rekishi: yūkyū no tōyō ijutsu* 針灸の歴史—悠久の東洋医術. Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten 大修館書店, 2015.

Koyama Satoko 小山聡子. “Chūsei zenki no byōki chiryō ni okeru kami to mononoke 中世前期の病気治療における神とモノノケ.” *Rekishi hyōron* 歴史評論, no. 816 (2018): 19–30.

_____. “Kakunyo ga ikita jidai no ekibyō chiryō 覚如が生きた時代の疫病治療.” *Shinran no suimyaku* 親鸞の水脈, no. 19 (2016): 35–42.

_____. “Sekkanki no ekibyō chiryō: kinki to saretekita kaji to shuhō wo megutte 摂関期の疫病治療：禁忌とされてきた加持と修法をめぐって.” *Nihon Bukkyō sōgō kenkyū* 日本仏教綜合研究, no. 14 (2015): 81–103.

_____. *Shinran no shinkō to jujutsu: byōki chiryō to rinjū gyōgi* 親鸞の信仰と呪術—病気治療と臨終行儀. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2013.

Kripal, Jeffrey J. *Authors of the Impossible: The Paranormal and the Sacred*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011.

Kubo Noritada 窪德忠. “Introduction of Taoism to Japan.” In *Religious Studies in Japan*, 389–412. Tokyo: Maruzen, 1959.

_____. “Kōshi shu kōshin gu chōsei kyō nitsuite 孝子守庚申求長生経について.” In *Kōshin: minkan shinkō no kenkyū* 庚申: 民間信仰の研究, edited by Kōshin konwakai 庚申懇話会. Kyoto: Dōhōsha 同朋舎, 1978.

_____. *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū: Nicchū shūkyō bunka kōshōshi* 庚申信仰の研究—日中宗教文化交涉史. Tokyo: Nihon gakujutsu shinkō kai 日本學術振興会, 1961.

_____. *Kōshin shinkō no kenkyū* 庚申信仰の研究. Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō 第一書房, 1998.

Kure Shūzō 呉秀三. *Kure Shūzō chosakushū* 呉秀三著作集. Edited by Okada Yasuo 岡田靖雄. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1982.

Kuriyama, Shigehisa. “Moxibustion.” In *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, edited by Helaine Selin. Dordrecht; Boston: Kluwer Academic, 1997.

_____. *The Expressiveness of the Body and the Divergence of Greek and Chinese Medicine*. New York: Zone Books, 1999.

_____. “The Historical Origins of ‘Katakori.’” *Japan Review*, no. 9 (1997): 127–49.

Kuroda Hideo 黒田日出男. *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* 境界の中世・象徴の中世. Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1986.

Kuroda Toshio 黒田俊雄. *Kuroda Toshio chosakushū* 黒田俊雄著作集. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1994.

Kyōto Tachibana Daigaku Josei Rekishi Bunka Kenkyūjo 京都橘大学女性歴史文化研究所, ed. *Iryō no shakaishi: Sei, rō, byō, shi* 医療の社会史: 生・老・病・死. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 2013.

Laderman, Carol. "The Ambiguity of Symbols in the Structure of Healing." *Social Science & Medicine* 24, no. 4 (1987): 293–301.

Lamarre, Thomas. "DIAGRAM, INSCRIPTION, SENSATION." In *A Shock to Thought : Expression After Deleuze and Guattari*, edited by Brian Massumi, 124–138. London: Routledge, 2002.

Latour, Bruno. *On the Modern Cult of the Factish Gods*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011.

_____. *We Have Never Been Modern*. Translated by Catherine Porter. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993.

Law, John, and Annemarie Mol. *Complexities: Social Studies of Knowledge Practices*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Leung, Angela Ki-che. *Leprosy in China: A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009.

Levack, Brian P. *The Devil Within: Possession and Exorcism in the Christian West*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

Li Jianmin. "Contagion and Its Consequences: The Problem of Death Pollution in Ancient China." In *Medicine and the History of the Body. Proceedings of the 20th, 21st and 22nd International Symposium on the Comparative History of Medicine—East and West—*, edited by Yasuo Otsuka, Shizu Sakai, and Shigehisa Kuriyama, 201–222. Ishiyaku EuroAmerica, Inc. Publishers, 1999.

Li Jianmin 李建民, ed. *Cong yiliao kan Zhongguo shi* 從醫療看中國史. Taipei: Lianjing Chuban gongsi 聯經出版公司, 2008.

Lin Fu-shih 林富士. *Ji bing zhong jie zhe: Zhongguo zao qi de dao jiao yi xue* 疾病終結者: 中國早期的道教醫學. Taipei: Sanmin shuju gufen youxian gongsi 三民書局股份有限公司, 2001.

_____, ed. *Jibing de lishi* 疾病的歷史. Taipei: Lianjing Chuban Gongsi 聯經出版公司, 2011.

_____. *Zhongguo zhonggu shiqi de zongjiao yu yiliao* 中國中古時期的宗教與醫療. Taipei: Lianjing Chuban Gongsi 聯經出版公司, 2008.

_____. *Zong jiao yu yi liao* 宗教與醫療. Taipei: Lian jing chu ban shi ye gu fen you xian gong si 聯經出版事業股份有限公司, 2011.

Liu Shufen 劉淑芬. "Cong Yaofangtong dao Huiminju: Tang, Song shiqi Sengren, guojiao he yiliao de guanxi." 從藥方洞到惠民局——唐、宋時期僧人、國家和醫療的關係.In *Cong yiliao kan Zhongguo shi* 從醫療看中國史, edited by Li Jianmin 李建民, 145–202. Taipei: Lianjing Chuban Gongsi 聯經出版公司, 2008.

Liu, Yan. "Poisonous Medicine in Ancient China." In *Toxicology in Antiquity Vol. 2*., edited by Philip Wexler, 89–97. Amsterdam: Academic Press, 2015.

Lo, Vivienne. "Huangdi Hama Jing (Yellow Emperor's Toad Canon)." *Asia Major*, *THIRD SERIES*, 14, no. 2 (January 1, 2001): 61–99.

Lo, Vivienne, and Penelope Barrett, eds. *Imagining Chinese Medicine*. Leiden: Brill, 2018.

Lo, Vivienne, and Christopher Cullen, eds. *Medieval Chinese Medicine: The Dunhuang Medical Manuscripts*. London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005.

Lock, Margaret M., and Judith Farquhar, eds. *Beyond the Body Proper: Reading the Anthropology of Material Life*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Lomi, Benedetta. "Dharanis, Talismans, and Straw Dolls: Ritual Choreographies and Healing Strategies of the Rokujikyōhō in Medieval Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 41, no. 2 (2014): 255–304.

_____. "Ox Bezoars and the Materiality of Heian-Period Therapeutics." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 45, no. 2 (2018).

Lowe, Bryan D. *Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.

Lu, Gwei-Djen, and Joseph Needham. *Celestial Lancets : A History and Rationale of Acupuncture and Moxa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

Macomber, Andrew. "Moxibustion for Demons: Oral Transmission on Corpse-Vector Disease." In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, edited by C. Pierce Salguero, 514–530. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

Makino Kazuo 牧野和夫. "Engyōbon 'Heike monogatari' ni okeru Higashiyamawashio no chūshakuteki kenkyū: jiin nettowāku toiukoto 延慶本『平家物語』における「東山鷲尾」の注釈的研究—寺院ネットワークということ." In *Setsuwa to shūkyō* 説話と宗教, 221–243. *Setsuwa sonshū* 説話論集 11. Osaka: Seibundō 清文堂, 2002.

Maruyama Yumiko 丸山裕美子. "Kodai no tennō to byōsha 古代の天皇と病者." In Kosumorojī to shintai コスモロジーと身体, edited by Amano Yoshihiko 網野善彦, 203–226. *Tennō to ōken wo kangaeru* 天皇と王権を考える 8. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2002.

_____. *Nihon kodai no iryō seido* 日本古代の医療制度. Tokyo: Meicho Kankōkai 名著刊行会, 1998.

Matsumoto Ikuyo 松本郁代. "Chūgū gosan to mikkyō: 'Hōhiki' Sonjōō hō goshuhō wo megutte 中宮御産と密教—『宝秘記』尊星王法御修法をめぐって—." In *Nihon ni okeru shūkyō tekusuto no shoisō to tōjihō : "tekusuto fuchi no kaishakugakuteki kenkyū to kyōiku" Dai 4-kai Kokusai Kenkyū Shūkai hōkokusho* 日本における宗教テクストの諸位相と統辞法:「テクスト布置の解釈学的研究と教育」第 4 回国際研究集会報告書, edited by Abe Yasurō 阿部泰郎, 81–88. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Daigakuin Bungaku Kenkyūka 名古屋大学大学院文学研究科, 2008.

_____. *Chūsei ōken to sokui kanjō: seikyō no naka no rekishi jojutsu* 中世王権と即位灌頂—聖教のなかの歴史叙述. Tokyo: Shinwasha 森話社, 2005.

_____. "Kujō Michiie to shingon mikkyō – Enichisan ni okeru sekkanke no shūkyō kōsō 九条道家と真言密教–慧日山における摂関家の宗教構想." *Chūsei shi kenkyū* 中世史研究, no. 27 (2002): 51–74.

_____. "Onjōji-bon 'Hōhiki' kuden to Kujō sekkanke: Tendai Jimon-ha ni okeru Kei-ryū no keisei 園城寺本『宝秘記』口伝と九条摂関家ー天台寺門派における範流の形成." In *Hōhō toshite no Bukkyō bunkashi: hito, mono, imēji no rekishi-gaku* 方法としての仏教文化史: ヒト・モノ・イメージの歴史学, 291–324. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2010.

Matsumoto Mitsutaka 松本光隆. "Inseiki no Tendaishū seiboten shiryō ni okeru seiten 院政期の天台宗西墓点資料における声点." *Hyōgengijutsu kenkyū* 表現技術研究 5 (2009): 15–36.

Matsuo Kenji 松尾剛次. *Chūsei no toshi to hinin* 中世の都市と非人. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1998.

_____. *Kamakura shin Bukkyō no tanjō: kanjin, kegare, hakai no chūsei* 鎌倉新仏教の誕生—勧進・穢れ・破戒の中世. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1995.

_____. *Kanjin to hakai no chūseishi: chūsei Bukkyō no jisshō* 勧進と破戒の中世史—中世仏教の実相. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1995.

_____. *Kyūsai no shisō: Eison Kyōdan to Kamakura shin Bukkyō* 救済の思想—叡尊教団と鎌倉新仏教. Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 角川書店, 1996.

Mauss, Marcel. *A General Theory of Magic*. Routledge, 2005.

Mayanagi Makoto 真柳誠. *Kōtei iseki kenkyū* 黄帝医籍研究. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 2014.

McBride, Richard D. "Esoteric Buddhism and Its Relation to Healing and Demonology." In *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles D Orzech, Henrik Hjort Sørensen, and Richard Karl Payne, 208–214. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011.

McCullough, Helen Craig. *The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2005.

McCullough, William H. "Spirit Possession in the Heian Period." In *Studies in Japanese Culture*, edited by Ōta Saburō and Fukuda Rikutarō, 1:91–98. Tokyo: Japan PEN Club, 1973.

McMullin, Neil. "Historical and Historiographical Issues in the Study of Pre-Modern Japanese Religions." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 16, no. 1 (1989): 3–40.

_____. "The Sanmon-Jimon Schism in the Tendai School of Buddhism: A Preliminary Analysis." *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7, no. 1 (1984): 83.

Meylan, Nicolas. Mana: *A History of a Western Concept*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Michel, Wolfgang. "Japanese Acupuncture and Moxibustion in Europe from the 16th to 18th Centuries." *Japanese Acupuncture and Moxibustion* 7, no. 1 (2011): 1–14.

Millingen, J. G. (John Gideon). *Curiosities of Medical Experience*. London: R. Bentley, 1839.

Minobe Shigekatsu 美濃部重克. "Bunkaken toshite no sōbō 文化圏としての僧房." In *Minobe Shigekatsu chosakushū dai ni kan (chūsei bungaku)* 美濃部重克著作集. 第 2 巻 (中世文学), 225–41. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店, 2013.

_____. "'Kankyo no tomo' – kōki na josei no yōsei ni kotaete『閑居友』一高貴な女性の要請に応えて一." In *Minobe Shigekatsu chosakushū dai ni kan (chūsei bungaku)* 美濃部重克著作集. 第 2 巻 (中世文学), 175–82. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店, 2013.

_____. "'Oni' to 'mushi' – iji setsuwa kenkyū no shiza「鬼」と「虫」一医事説話研究の視座一." In *Minobe Shigekatsu chosakushū dai ni kan* (*chūsei bungaku*) 美濃部重克著作集. 第 2 巻 (中世文学), 291–314. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店, 2013.

Minobe Shigekatsu 美濃部重克, Hasegawa Masao 長谷川雅雄, Tsujimoto Hiroshige 辻本裕成, and Peter Knecht ペトロ・クネヒト. "Denshi 'oni' to 'mushi': Kyōu Shookuzō 'Denshibyō kanjin shō' ryakkai 伝尸「鬼」と「虫」一杏雨書屋蔵『伝屍病肝心鈔』略解一." In *Shōdō bungaku kenkyū* 唱導文学研究, vol. 6, edited by Nakamae Masashi 中前正志 and Fukuda Akira 福田晃, 6:40–95. Tokyo: Miyai Shoten 三弥井書店, 2008.

Misaki Ryōshū 三崎良周. *Taimitsu no kenkyū* 台密の研究. Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1988.

Miura Michiaki 三浦道明, and Miidera hōtōki Hensan Iinkai 三井寺法燈記編纂委員会, eds. *Miidera hōtōki* 三井寺法燈記. Tokyo: Nihon Chiiki Shakai Kenkyūjo 日本地域社会研究所, 1985.

Miyagi Nobumasa 宮城信雅, and Tendaishū Jimon-ha Goonki Jimukyoku 天台宗寺門派御遠忌事霧局. *Onjōji no kenkyū* 園城寺之研究. Ōtsu: Urisabakijo Hoshino Shoten 星野書店, 1931.

Miyagi Shinga 宮城信雅. "Chishō Daishi oyobi sono monryū to shugendō 智証大師及其門流と修験道." In *Hieizan to Tendai Bukkyō no kenkyū* 比叡山と天台仏教の研究, edited by Murayama Shūichi 村山修一, 272–82. Tokyo: Meicho Shuppan 名著出版, 1975.

Miyakawa Hisayuki 宮川尚志. "Medical Aspects of the Daoist Doctrine of the Three Cadavers (Sanshi 三尸)." In *East Asian Science: Tradition and Beyond*, edited by Hashimoto Keizo, Catherin Jami, and Lowell Skar, 345–349. Osaka: Kansai University Press, 1995.

Miyake, Hitoshi 宮家準. *The Mandala of the Mountain: Shugendō and Folk Religion*. Tokyo: Keio University Press, 2005.

_____. *Shugendō girei no kenkyū* 修験道儀礼の研究. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 1971.

Moerman, D. Max. *Localizing Paradise: Kumano Pilgrimage and the Religious Landscape of Premodern Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2005.

_____. "The Buddha and the Bathwater: Defilement and Enlightenment in the Onsenji Engi." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 42, no. 1 (2015): 71–87.

Moerman, Daniel E. *Meaning, Medicine, and the "Placebo Effect."* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Mol, Annemarie. *The Body Multiple : Ontology in Medical Practice*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002.

Mollier, Christine. *Buddhism and Taoism Face to Face: Scripture, Ritual, and Iconographic Exchange in Medieval China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

Mori Kimiyuki 森公章. *Jōjin to San Tendai godaisanki no kenkyū* 成尋と参天台五臺山記の研究. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2013.

Mori Shikazō 森鹿三. *Honzōgaku kenkyū* 本草学研究. Osaka: Takeda Kagaku Shinkō Zaidan, Kyōu Shorin 武田科学振興財団，杏雨書林, 1999.

Morimoto Masahiro 盛本昌広. *Kusa to ki ga kataru nihon no chūsei* 草と木が語る日本の中世. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2012.

Morimoto Sensuke 森本仙介. "Tennō no shussan kūkan 天皇の出産空間." In Kosumorojī to shintai コスモロジーと身体, edited by Amano Yoshihiko 網野善彦, 227–248. *Tennō to ōken wo kangaeru* 天皇と王権を考える 8. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 2002.

Morrell, Robert E, trans. *Sand and Pebbles (Shasekishū): The Tales of Mujū Ichien, a Voice for Pluralism in Kamakura Buddhism*. SUNY Series in Buddhist Studies. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1985.

Mrozik, Susanne. *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Mukharji, Projit Bihari. *Doctoring Traditions: Ayurveda, Small Technologies, and Braided Sciences*. Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2017.

Murphy, Andrew R., ed. *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011.

Nagai Yoshinori 永井義憲. "Kōshin kyō denrai kō – Jōjin ajari no hakusō 庚申経伝来考—成尋阿闍梨の舶送か." In *Koshin shinkō* 庚申信仰, edited by Kobanawa Heiroku 小花波平六. Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1988.

Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁. *Hari no hibiki kyū no nukumori: iyashi no rekishi* 鍼のひびき灸のぬくもり—癒しの歴史. Kawashimachō 川島町: Naitō Kinen Kusuri Hakubutsukan 内藤記念くすり博物館, 2002.

_____. "Kyōu Shooku No Shinkyūsho 杏雨書屋の鍼灸書." *Kyōu* 4 (2001): 125–167.

Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁, and Higashi Noboru 東昇. *Sengokujidai no haramushi: "Harikikigaki" no yukaina byōma tachi* 戦国時代のハラノムシ:『針聞書』のゆかいな病魔たち. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 2007.

Nakamura Hajime 中村元, ed. *Bukkyō shokubutsu sansaku* 仏教植物散策. Tokyo: Tōkyō Shoseki 東京書籍, 1986.

Nakano Genzō 中野玄三, Kasuya Makoto 加須屋誠, and Kamikawa Michio 上川通夫. *Hōhō toshite no Bukkyō bunkashi: hito, mono, imēji no rekishi-gaku* 方法としての仏教文化史—ヒト・モノ・イメージの歴史学. Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan 勉誠出版, 2010.

Nanba Tsuneo 難波恒雄, and Komatsu Katsuko 小松かつ子, eds. *Bukkyō igaku no michi wo saguru* 仏教医学の道を探る. Osaka: Tōhō Shuppan 東方出版, 2000.

Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, ed. *Ito no mihotoke, kokuhō tsuzureori Taima mandara to shūbutsu* 糸のみほとけ—国宝綴織當麻曼荼羅と繡仏. Nara: Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館, 2018.

Nei Kiyoshi 根井浄. "Chūsei no hijiri to iryō 中世の聖と医療." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 26, no. 1 (1977): 178–79.

_____. "Shugenja no iryō nitsuite 修験者の医療について." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 24, no. 2 (1976): 375–78.

_____. "Toyama baiyaku to shugenja nitsuite 富山売薬と修験者について." *Indogaku Bukkyō gaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 28, no. 2 (1980): 624–25.

Nihonyanagi Kenji 二本柳賢司. *Bukkyō igaku gaiyō* 佛教医学概要. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1994.

_____. “Nihon mikkyō igaku to yakubutsugaku 日本密教医学と薬物学.” In *Rekishi no naka no yamai to igaku* 歴史の中の病と医学, edited by Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒 and Kuriyama Shigehisa 栗山茂久, 545–66. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1997.

Nishio Masahito 西尾正仁. *Yakushi shinkō : Gokoku no hotoke kara onsen no hotoke e* 薬師信仰—護国の仏から温泉の仏へ. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin 岩田書院, 2000.

Niunoya Tetsuichi 丹生谷哲一. *Kebiishi: chūsei no kegare to kenryoku* 検非違使—中世のけがれと権力. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1986.

Nomura Takumi 野村卓美. *Myōe Shōnin no kenkyū* 明恵上人の研究. Osaka: Izumi Shoin 和泉書院, 2002.

Obinata Daijō 大日方大乗. *Bukkyō igaku no kenkyū* 仏教医学の研究. Tokyo: Kazama Shobō 風間書房, 1965.

Oda Etsuyo 小田悦代. *Jubaku gohō abishahō: setsuwa ni miru sō no genriki* 呪縛・護法・阿尾奢法—説話にみる僧の験力. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin 岩田書院, 2016.

Ōgami Tetsuo 相賀徹夫, and Sugimoto Sonoko 杉本苑子. *Genpei josei no hikari to kage* 源平女性の光と影. Tokyo: Shōgakukan 小学館, 1979.

Ogawa Toyoo 小川豊生. *Chūsei Nihon no shinwa, moji, shintai* 中世日本の神話・文字・身体. Tokyo: Shinwasha 森話社, 2014.

Okada Yasuo 岡田靖雄. “Fujikawa Yū, Kure Shūzō ryō sensei no aida: yūjō to igakushi sankyū 富士川游・呉秀三両先生の間–友情と医学史探究.” *Nihon igakushi zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 37, no. 1 (1991): 17–32.

Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良峻. “Hongaku shisō: Tendai kyōgaku no Nihon teki tenkai 本覚思想—天台教学の日本的展開.” In *Tendai kyōgaku to hongaku shisō* 天台教学と本覚思想. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 1998.

_____, ed. *Tendaigaku tanjin: Nihon no bunka, shisō no kakushin wo saguru* 天台学探尋: 日本の文化・思想の核心を探る. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法蔵館, 2014.

Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良峻, Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫, Sueki Fumihiko 末木 文美士, Matsuo Kenji 松尾剛次, and Hayashi Makoto 林淳, eds. *Nihon Bukkyō no bunken gaido* 日本仏教の文献ガイド. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2001.

Orzech, Charles D. "Ritual Subjects: Homa in Chinese Translations and Manuals from the Sixth through Eighth Centuries." In *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change Across the Longue Durée*, edited by Richard Karl Payne and Michael Witzel, 266–290. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Orzech, Charles D, Sorensen, Henrik Hjort, and Richard Karl Payne, eds. *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*. Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011.

Ōta Yukiko 太田有希子. "Bunkachō zō 'Denshibyō kanjinshō narabini sōbyō chihō' kaidai to honkoku 文化庁蔵『伝尻病肝心抄并瘦病治方』解題と翻刻." *Kenkyū to shiryō* 研究と資料 71 (2014): 1–15.

_____. "Hokkesanji no kyōzō 法華山寺の経蔵." *Ajia yūgaku* アジア遊学, no. 174 (2014): 84–88.

_____. "'Kankyo no tomo' kenjōsaki no saikentō『閑居友』献上先の再検討." *Koten isan* 古典遺産, no. 57 (2007): 1–12.

_____. "Keisei no shosha katsudō: 'Denshibyō kanjinshō,' 'Shōshiki Daikongōyasha byaku kima hō' no okugaki kara 慶政の書写活動—『伝尻病肝心抄』『青色大金剛薬叉辟鬼魔法』の奥書から—." presented at the Bukkyō bungaku kai rokugatsu honbu reikai 仏教文学会六月本部例会, Kyoto Joshi Daigaku, June 9, 2012.

Ōtsushi Rekishi Hakubutsukan 大津市歴史博物館, ed. *Miidera butsuzō no bi: Chishō Daishi Enchin seitan sennihyakunen kinen kikakuten* 三井寺仏像の美: 智証大師円珍生誕一二〇〇年記念企画展. Ōtsu: Ōtsushi Rekishi Hakubutsukan 大津市歴史博物館, 2014.

Ouchi, Fumi. "Buddhist Liturgical Chanting in Japan: Vocalisation and the Practice of Attaining Buddhahood." In *Ritual Dynamics and the Science of Ritual, Section II: Ritual Discourse, Ritual Performance in China and Japan*, edited by Lucia Dolce, Gil Raz, and Katja Triplett, 459–484. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010.

Ōura Jikan 大浦慈観, and Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁, eds. *Kaiden irieryū shinjutsu: irie nakatsukasa sunaisuke onsōden hari no sho no fukkoku to kenkyū Naitō kinen kusuri hakubutsukan genpon shozō* 皆伝・入江流鍼術—入江中務少輔御相伝針之書の覆刻と研究内藤記念くすり博物館原本所蔵. Tokyo: Rikuzensha, 2002.

Oyamada Kazuo 小山田和夫. "Nyoiji no sōken ni kansuru oboegaki 如意寺の創建に関する覚書." *Cultura Antiqua* 45, no. 2 (1993): 35–42.

_____. “Nyoiji no sōryotachi: Takumune-ryū Kanmu Heiji no ujidera toshite no bettō Keihan wo chūshin ni 如意寺の僧侶たち—高棟流桓武平氏の氏寺としての如意寺の別当慶範を中心に.” *Risshō shigaku* 立正史学 73 (1993): 23–32.

Pandey, Rajyashree. *Perfumed Sleeves and Tangled Hair: Body, Woman, and Desire in Medieval Japanese Narratives*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2016.

_____. “Women, Sexuality, and Enlightenment: Kankyo No Tomo.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 50, no. 3 (1995): 325–56.

Payne, Richard K. “Lethal Fire: The Shingon Yamāntaka Abhicāra Homa.” *Journal of Religion and Violence* 6, no. 1 (2018): 11–31.

_____. “The Ritual Culture of Japan : Symbolism, Ritual, and the Arts.” In *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, xii, 466 p. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006.

_____., ed. *Re-Visioning “Kamakura” Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998.

_____. *The Tantric Ritual of Japan: Feeding the Gods: The Shingon Fire Ritual*. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1991.

Payne, Richard K., and Taigen Daniel Leighton, eds. *Discourse and Ideology in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. London: Routledge, 2006.

Payne, Richard K., and Michael Witzel, eds. *Homa Variations: The Study of Ritual Change Across the Longue Durée*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Pregadio, Fabrizio. “Chao Yuanfang.” In *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, edited by Helaine Selin, C: 87–88. New York: Springer, n.d.

_____, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Taoism*. London: Routledge, 2008.

Prip-Møller, J. *Chinese Buddhist Monasteries; Their Plan and Its Function as a Setting for Buddhist Monastic Life*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1967.

Quinter, David. *From Outcasts to Emperors: Shingon Ritsu and the Mañjuśrī Cult in Medieval Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Rambelli, Fabio. *A Buddhist Theory of Semiotics: Signs, Ontology, and Salvation in Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. London: Bloomsbury, 2013.

_____. *Buddhist Materiality: A Cultural History of Objects in Japanese Buddhism*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007.

Ransome, Arthur. *A Campaign against Consumption: A Collection of Papers Relating to Tuberculosis*. Cambridge: University Press, 1915.

Reed, Carrie E. "Tattoo in Early China." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 3 (2000): 360–76.

Rhodes, Robert F. *Genshin's Ōjōyōshū and the Construction of Pure Land Discourse in Heian Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.

Robson, James. "Signs of Power: Talismanic Writing in Chinese Buddhism." *History of Religions* 48, no. 2 (2008): 130–169.

Ruppert, Brian Douglas. *Jewel in the Ashes: Buddha Relics and Power in Early Medieval Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.

Sakai Keijun 酒井敬淳. "Mikkyō to Chibyō 密教と治病." *Tendaigakuhō* 天台学報, no. 19 (1977): 89–94.

Sakō Nobuyuki 酒向伸行. *Hyōrei shinkō no rekishi to minzoku* 憑霊信仰の歴史と民俗. Tokyo: Iwata shoin 岩田書院, 2013.

Salguero, C. Pierce. "'A Flock of Ghosts Bursting Forth and Scattering': Healing Narratives in a Sixth-Century Chinese Buddhist Hagiography." *East Asian Science Technology and Medicine* 32 (2010): 89–120.

_____, ed. *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2017.

_____. "Buddhism & Medicine in East Asian History." *Religion Compass* 8, no. 8 (August 2014): 239–50.

_____. "Mixing Metaphors: Translating the Indian Medical Doctrine Tridoṣa in Chinese Buddhist Sources." *Asian Medicine: Tradition and Modernity* 6 (2011 2010): 55–74.

_____. "'On Eliminating Disease': Translations of the Medical Chapter from the Chinese Versions of the Sutra of Golden Light." *EJournal of Indian Medicine* 6, no. 1 (2013): 21–43.

_____. "The Buddhist Medicine King in Literary Context: Reconsidering an Early Medieval Example of Indian Influence on Chinese Medicine and Surgery." *History of Religions* 48, no. 3 (2009): 183–210.

_____. *Translating Buddhist Medicine in Medieval China.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

_____. "'Treating Illness': Translation of a Chapter from a Medieval Chinese Buddhist Meditation Manual by Zhiyi (538–597)." *Asian Medicine* 7, no. 2 (2012): 461–73.

Salguero, C. Pierce, and Andrew Macomber, eds. *Buddhist Healing in Medieval China and Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Forthcoming.

Samuel, Geoffrey. "The Effectiveness of Goddesses, or, How Ritual Works." *Anthropological Forum* 11, no. 1 (2001): 73–91.

_____. "Healing." In *The Ashgate Research Companion to Anthropology*, 25–39. Farnham, Surrey: Routledge, 2015.

_____. "Healing, Efficacy and the Spirits." *Journal of Ritual Studies* 24, no. 2 (2010): 7–20.

_____. *The Origins of Yoga and Tantra: Indic Religions to the Thirteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Samuel, Geoffrey, and Jay Johnston, eds. *Religion and the Subtle Body in Asia and the West: Between Mind and Body*. Routledge, 2015.

Sansom, George Bailey. *Japan, a Short Cultural History*. New York: Century, 1931.

Santa Takashige 三田武繁. "Sekkanke Kujōke no kakuritsu 摂関家九条家の確立." *Hokudai shigaku* 北大史学, no. 40 (2000): 1–26.

Satō Hiroo 佐藤弘夫. *Kamakura Bukkyō* 鎌倉仏教. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 2014.

_____. *Kishōmon no seishinshi: chūsei sekai no kami to hotoke* 起請文の精神史: 中世世界の神と仏. Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 2006.

Satō Testuei 佐藤哲英. *Eizan Jōdokyō no kenkyū* 叡山浄土教の研究. Kyoto: Hyakkaen 百華苑, 1979.

Satō Tetsuei 佐藤哲英. *Tendai daishi no kenkyū: Chigi no chosaku ni kansuru kisoteki kenkyū* 天台大師の研究: 智顗の著作に關する基礎的研究. Kyoto: Hyakkaen 百華苑, 1961.

Saunders, Dale. "Kōshin: An Example of Taoist Ideas in Japan." In *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto, 1958, August 27th-September 9th*, 423–432. Tokyo: Maruzen, 1960.

Saunders, E. Dale. *Mudrā: A Study of Symbolic Gestures in Japanese Buddhist Sculpture.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1960.

Sax, William S. "Ritual and the Problem of Efficacy." In *The Problem of Ritual Efficacy*, edited by William S. Sax, Johannes Quack, and Jan Weinhold, 3–16. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Sax, William S., Johannes Quack, and Jan Weinhold, eds. *The Problem of Ritual Efficacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Scheid, Bernhard, and Mark Teeuwen. *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion*. London; New York: Routledge, 2006.

Scheid, Volker. *Chinese Medicine in Contemporary China: Plurality and Synthesis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Sekiguchi Shindai 関口真大. *Tendai shōshikan* 天台小止観. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店, 1974.

Selin, Helaine. *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*. New York: Springer, 2008.

Sharf, Elizabeth Horton, and Robert H Sharf, eds. *Living Images: Japanese Buddhist Icons in Context*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001.

Sharf, Robert H. "Buddhist Modernism and the Rhetoric of Meditative Experience." *Numen* 42, no. 3 (1995): 228–83.

_____. "Ritual." In *Critical Terms for the Study of Buddhism*, edited by Donald S Lopez. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

_____. "Thinking through Shingon Ritual." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26, no. 1 (June 30, 2003): 51–96.

Shiba Kayano 柴佳世乃. “Shosanzan no hisetsu wo megutte: Shoshzan to Keisei ni kansuru shinshutsu shiryō 書写山の秘説をめぐって—書写山と慶政に関する新出資料.” *Bungaku* 文学 10, no. 2 (1999): 159–70.

Shigeta Shin’ichi 繁田信一. *Heian kizoku to onmyōji: Abe Seimei no rekishi minzokugaku* 平安貴族と陰陽師—安倍晴明の歴史民俗学. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2005.

_____. *Onmyōji to kizoku shakai* 陰陽師と貴族社会. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2004.

Shimada Yūichirō 島田雄一郎. “Fujikawa Yū no iryōron ni okeru ‘shūkyō’ no igi 富士川游の医療論における「宗教」の意義.” *Nihon shisōshi kenkyū* 日本思想史研究 47 (2015): 179–196.

_____. “Fujikawa Yū no shūkyōron no tenkai: kagaku to no kankeisei wo megutte 富士川游の宗教論の展開—「科学」との関係性をめぐって—.” *Nihon shisōshi kenkyū* 日本思想史研究 46 (2014): 34–51.

Shindō Hiroshi 進藤浩司. “Kajiwara Shōzen No Igaku Shinkō to Iryō 梶原性全の医学 : 信仰と医療.” *Tōkai Bukkyō* 東海仏教 59 (2014): 31–46.

Shinmura Taku 新村拓. *Kodai iryō kanninsei no kenkyū: Ten’yakuryō no kōzō* 古代医療官人制の研究：典薬寮の構造. Shohan. Tōkyō: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku 法政大学出版局, 1983.

_____. *Nihon bukkyō no iryōshi* 日本仏教の医療史. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku 法政大学出版局, 2013.

_____. *Nihon iryō shakaishi no kenkyū: kodai chūsei no minshū seikatsu to iryō* 日本医療社会史の研究—古代中世の民衆生活と医療. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku 法政大学出版局, 1985.

_____. *Nihon Iryōshi* 日本医療史. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 2006.

_____. *Shi to yamai to kango no shakaishi* 死と病と看護の社会史. Tokyo: Hōsei Daigaku Shuppankyoku 法政大学出版局, 1989.

Shinoda Tatsuaki 篠田達明. *Rekidai tennō no karute* 歴代天皇のカルテ. Tokyo: Shinchōsha 新潮社, 2006.

Sivin, Nathan. *Chinese Alchemy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.

_____. *Health Care in Eleventh-Century China*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer, 2015.

_____. *Traditional Medicine in Contemporary China*. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 1987.

_____. "Sun Simiao on Medical Ethics: 'The Perfect Integrity of the Great Physician' from Prescriptions Worth a Thousand in Gold." In *Buddhism and Medicine: An Anthology of Premodern Sources*, edited by C. Pierce Salguero, 538–542.

Smith, Adam Daniel. "The Chinese Sexagenary Cycle and the Ritual Origins of the Calendar." In *Calendars and Years II: Astronomy and Time in the Ancient and Medieval World*, edited by John M. Steele. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010.

Smith, Frederick M. *The Self Possessed: Deity and Spirit Possession in South Asian Literature and Civilization*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

Smith, Hilary A. *Forgotten Disease: Illnesses Transformed in Chinese Medicine*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017.

Sōda Hajime 宗田一. *Zusetsu Nihon iryō bunkashi* 図説日本医療文化史. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1989.

Staal, Frits. *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*. 2 vols. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983.

Stolow, Jeremy, ed. *Deus in Machina*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2012.

Stone, Jacqueline I. "Just Open Your Mouth and Say 'A': A-Syllable Practice for the Time of Death in Early Medieval Japan." *Pacific World Journal* 8 (2006): 167–189.

_____. *Original Enlightenment and the Transformation of Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999.

_____. *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment: Buddhism and Deathbed Practices in Early Medieval Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017.

Strathern, Alan. *Unearthly Powers: Religious and Political Change in World History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Strickmann, Michel. *Chinese Magical Medicine*. Edited by Bernard Faure. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002.

_____. "History, Anthropology, and Chinese Religion." *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40, no. 1 (1980): 201–48.

_____. "Homa in East Asia." In *Agni: The Vedic Ritual of the Fire Altar*, edited by Frits Staal, 2:418–455. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1983.

_____. "The Seal of the Law: A Ritual Implement and the Origins of Printing." *Asia Major* 6, no. 2 (1993): 1–83.

Strong, John S. "Explicating the Buddha's Final Illness in the Context of His Other Ailments: The Making and Unmaking of Some Jātaka Tales." *Buddhist Studies Review* 29, no. 1 (2012): 17–33.

Sugimoto, Masayoshi, and David L. Swain. *Science and Culture in Traditional Japan*, A.D. 600-1854. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978.

Suzuki Masataka. "Kumano Beliefs and Yudate Kagura Performance." Edited by Bernard Faure, D. Max Moerman, and Gaynor Sekimori. *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 18 (2009): 195–222.

Suzuki, Yui. *Medicine Master Buddha: The Iconic Worship of Yakushi in Heian Japan*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

_____. "Possessions and the Possessed: The Multisensoriality of Spirits, Bodies, and Objects in Heian Japan." In *Sensational Religion: Sensory Cultures in Material Practice*, 67–87, 2014.

Swanson, Paul L. *Clear Serenity, Quiet Insight: T'ien-t'ai Chih-i's Mo-Ho Chih-Kuan*. 3 vols. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.

Tachi Ryūshi 舘隆志. *Onjōji Kōin no kenkyū* 園城寺公胤の研究. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 2010.

Tachikawa Musashi 立川武蔵, and Motohiro Yoritomo 頼富本広. *Nihon mikkyō* 日本密教. Tokyo: Shunjūsha 春秋社, 2000.

Taira Masayuki 平雅行. "Kamakura bukkyō to kenmitsu taisei" 鎌倉仏教と顕密体制 in Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 国立歴史民俗博物館 , ed. *Chūsei jiin no sugata to kurashi: mikkyō, zensō, yūya* 中世寺院の姿とくらし―密教・禅僧・湯屋. Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2004.

_____. “Chūsei Bukkyō ni okeru jujutsusei to gōrisei (Dainibu gijutsu, jujutsu, shinkō) 中世仏教における呪術性と合理性（第２部 技術・呪術・信仰）.” *Kokuritsu rekishiminzoku hakubutsukan kenkyūhōhoku* 国立歴史民俗博物館研究報告 157 (2010): 159–73.

Tambiah, Stanley Jeyaraja. *The Buddhist Saints of the Forest and the Cult of Amulets: A Study in Charisma, Hagiography, Sectarianism, and Millennial Buddhism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

_____. “The Cosmological and Performative Significance of a Thai Cult of Healing Through Meditation.” *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry* 1 (1977): 97–132.

Tanaka Bun’ei 田中文英. “Chūsei kenmitsu jiin ni okeru suhō no ichikōsatsu 中世顕密寺院における修法の一考察.” In *Chūsei jiin shi no kenkyū* 中世寺院史の研究 上, 161–83. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 1988.

Tanaka Hisao 田中久夫. *Myōe* 明恵. *Jinbutsu sōsho* 人物叢書 60. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1974.

Tanaka Takako 田中貴子. *‘Keiranshūyōshū’ no sekai*『渓嵐拾葉集』の世界. Nagoya: Nagoya Daigaku Shuppankai 名古屋大学出版会, 2003.

Taniguchi Miki 谷口美樹. “Heian kizoku no shippei ninshiki to chiryōhō: manju ninen no akamogasa ryūkō wo tegakari ni 平安貴族の疾病認識と治療法—万寿２年の赤斑瘡流行を手懸りに.” *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究, 1992, 58–84.

Tanita Shinji 谷田伸治, and Nagano Hitoshi 長野仁, eds. *Ishinpō zokuhen* 医心方続編. 12 vols. Osaka: Oriento Shuppansha オリエント出版社, 1995.

Taussig M. “Viscerality, Faith, and Skepticism: Another Theory of Magic.” *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 6, no. 3 (2016): 453–83.

Taussig, Michael T. *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Teeuwen, Mark, and Fabio Rambelli. *Buddhas and Kami in Japan Honji Suijaku as a Combinatory Paradigm*. London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.

Teiser, Stephen F. “The Literary Style of Dunhuang Healing Liturgies (患文).” *Dunhuang Tulufan yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 14 (2014): 355–377.

_____. “The Most Common Healing Liturgy at Dunhuang: An Experiment in Textual Criticism.” In *Tōhōgaku kenkyū ronshū: Takata Tokio kyōju taishoku kinen* 東方學研究論集—高田時雄教授退職記念, 416–437. Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten 臨川書店, 2014.

Ten Grotenhuis, Elizabeth. *Japanese Mandalas: Representations of Sacred Geography*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999.

Tessenow, Herman, and Paul U Unschuld. *A Dictionary of the Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Todaro, Dale Allen. “A Study of the Earliest Garbha Vidhi of the Shingon Sect.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 1986, 109–46.

Tokunaga Seiko 徳永誓子. “Kumano sanzan kengyō to shugendō 熊野三山検校と修験道.” *Chūsei shi kenkyū* 中世史研究, no. 27 (2002): 75–100.

_____. “Shugendō seiritsu no shiteki zentei genza no tenkai 修験道成立の史的前提—験者の展開.” *Shirin* 史林 84, no. 1 (2001): 96–123.

Tōno Haruyuki 東野治之. “Kōchi Kongōji shinshutsu no Kamakura jidai shosha Ishinpō kan dai jūsan nitsuite 河内金剛新出の鎌倉時代書写『医心方』巻第十三について.” *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 32, no. 3 (1986): 259–267.

Triplett, Katja, Katja. “Magical Medicine?—Japanese Buddhist Medical Knowledge and Ritual Instruction for Healing the Physical Body.” *Japanese Religions* 37, no. 1 & 2 (n.d.): 63–92.

Tsuchiya Hisashi 土屋久, and Horiguchi Kyūgoro 堀口久五郎. “Fujikawa Yū no shūkyō shisō: naikan kara myōkōnin e 富士川游の宗教思想—「内観」から「妙好人」へ—.” *Seikatsu kagaku kenkyū* 生活科学研究 34 (2012): 177–186.

Tuge, Hideomi. *Historical Development of Science and Technology in Japan*. Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, 1968.

Tsuchiya Yuriko 土屋有里子. “Mujū to Tendai Mikkyō: ‘Asabashō’ to Mikawa Jissō’in 無住と天台密教：『阿娑縛抄』と三河実相寺.” *Nihon Bungaku* 日本文学 55, no. 12 (2006): 12–20.

Tyler, Royall. *Before Heike and After: Hōgen, Heiji, Jōkyūki*. Charleston, SC: CreateSpace, 2012.

Ueda Jun'ichi 上田 純一. "Tōfukuji to Saidaiji: chibyō Monju shinkō wo megutte 東福寺と西大寺—治病文殊信仰をめぐって." *Nihon Rekishi* 日本歴史 537 (1993): 18–34.

Ueno Katsuyuki 上野勝之. *Yume to mononoke no seishinshi: Heian kizoku no shinkō sekai* 夢とモノノケの精神史: 平安貴族の信仰世界. Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Gakujutsu Shuppankai 京都大学学術出版会, 2013.

Ueno Susumu 上野進. "Chūsei Nohara wo meguru jisha to ryōshu 中世野原をめぐる寺社と領主." In *Chūsei Sanuki to Setonaikai sekai: minatomachi no genzō* 中世讃岐と瀬戸内世界—港町の原像. Tokyo: Iwata Shoin 岩田書院, 2009.

Ueno Yōri 上野陽里. "'Denshibyō nijūgo hō' nitsuite「傳屍病廿五方」について." *Igakushi kenkyū* 医学史研究, no. 81 (2002): 127–36.

Unschuld, Paul U. *Medicine in China: A History of Ideas*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

_____. *Medicine in China: A History of Pharmaceutics*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Unschuld, Paul U. "Yasuyori Tamba. *The Essentials of Medicine in Ancient China and Japan: Yasuyori Tamba's 'Ishimpo*,' " Trans. and Ed. Emil C. H. Hsia, Ilza Veith, and Robert H. Geertsma (Book Review)." *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 62, no. 1 (Spring 1988).

Unschuld, Paul U, and Hermann Tessenow. *Huang Di Nei Jing Su Wen: An Annotated Translation of Huang Di's Inner Classic - Basic Questions*. 2 volumes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011.

Urayama Kika 浦山きか. *Chūgoku isho no bunkengakuteki kenkyū* 中國醫書の文獻學的研究. Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin 汲古書院, 2014.

Veere, Henny van der. *Kakuban Shōnin: The Life and Works of Kōgyō Daishi*. Tokyo: Nombre, 1998.

Veith, Ilza, and Atsumi Minami. "A Buddhist Prayer against Sickness." *History of Religions* 5, no. 2 (1966): 239–49.

Vigouroux, Mathias. "The Reception of the Circulation Channels Theory in Japan." In *Antiquarianism, Language, and Medical Philology: From Early Modern to Modern*

*Sino-Japanese Medical Discourses*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman, 1 edition. Leiden ; Boston: Brill Academic Pub, 2015.

_____. "The Surgeon's Acupuncturist: Philipp Franz Von Siebold's Encounter with Ishizaka Sōtetsu and Nineteenth Century Japanese Acupuncture." *Revue d'histoire des sciences Tome* 70, no. 1 (August 16, 2017): 79–108.

Wakabayashi, Haruko. *The Seven Tengu Scrolls: Evil and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy in Medieval Japanese Buddhism*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012.

Waley, Arthur. "An Eleventh-Century Correspondence." In *Études d'Orientalisme Publiées Par Le Musée Guimet à La Mémoire de Raymonde Linossier*, 531–562. Paris: Libraire Ernest Leroux, 1936.

Watanabe Yukie 渡邊幸江. "'Maka shikan' Byōgenkyō: 'byō' to 'shitsu' 『摩訶止観』病患境：「病」と「疾」." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 61, no. 1 (2012): 499–494.

_____. "'Maka shikan' Byōgenkyō no kenkyū (1) Shoku 『摩訶止観』病患境の研究 (1) 食." *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō* 駒沢大学大学院仏教学研究会年報, no. 41 (May 2008): 98–78.

_____. "'Maka shikan' Byōgenkyō no kenkyū: Chugoku igaku kara no ichi kōsatsu: keiketsu (1) 『摩訶止観』病患境の研究 - 中国医学からの一考察—経穴(1)." *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō* 駒沢大学大学院仏教学研究会年報, no. 42 (May 2009): 180–160.

_____. "'Maka shikan' Byōgenkyō no kenkyū: Chugoku igaku kara no ichi kōsatsu: keiketsu (3) 『摩訶止観』病患境の研究： 中国医学からの一考察—経穴(3)." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 58, no. 1 (2009): 512–509.

_____. "'Maka shikan' Byōgenkyō no kenkyū: 'chūyaku' kō 『摩訶止観』病患境の研究—「中薬」考." *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyōgakubu ronshū* 駒沢大学仏教学部論集, no. 40 (2009): 472–460.

_____. "'Maka shikan' no jūnibyō-setsu nitsuite: Chūgoku igaku kara yomitoku 『摩訶止観』の十二病説について： 中国医学から読み解く." *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 59, no. 1 (2010): 481–477.

_____. "'Maka shikan' Byōgenkyō no kenkyū: Chūgoku igaku kara yomitoku 'yō sanku' 『摩訶止観』病患境の研究—中国医学から読み解く「腰三孔」." *Komazawa*

*Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku kenkyūkai nenpō* 駒沢大学大学院仏教学研究会年報, no. 43 (May 2010): 196–178.

Weiss, Richard S. *Recipes for Immortality: Healing, Religion, and Community in South India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Williams, Duncan Ryūken. "Esoteric Waters: Meritorious Bathing, Kōbō Daishi, and Legends of Hot Spring Foundings." *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Esoteric Buddhist Culture Special Issue II* (2004): 195–216.

_____. *The Other Side of Zen: A Social History of Sōtō Zen: Buddhism in Tokugawa Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Winfield, Pamela D. "Curing with Kaji: Healing and Esoteric Empowerment in Japan." *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 32, no. 1 (2005): 107–30.

_____. "Religion and Healing in Pre-Modern Japan." *Religion Compass* 6, no. 11 (2012): 467–79.

Wiseman, Nigel, and Paul Zmiewski. "Rectifying the Names: Suggestions for Standardizing Chinese Medical Terminology." In Approaches to Traditional Chinese Medical Literature, edited by Paul U. Unschuld, 55–66. Springer Netherlands, 1989.

Yamabe, Nobuyoshi. "'The Sutra on the Ocean-Like Samadhi of the Visualization of the Buddha': The Interfusion of the Chinese and Indian Cultures in Central Asia as Reflected in a Fifth Century Apocryphal Sutra." Ph.D. Dissertation. Yale University, 1999.

Yamabe Nobuyoshi 山部能宜. "Zenkan kyōten ni mirareru kanjō no imēji nitsuite 禅観経典にみられる灌頂のイメージについて." In *Ajia no kanjō girei: sono seiritsu to denpa* アジアの灌頂儀礼: その成立と伝播, edited by Mori Masahide 森雅秀, 166–86. Kyoto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, 2014.

Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒, and Kuriyama Shigehisa 栗山茂久, eds. *Rekishi no naka no yamai to igaku* 歴史の中の病と医学. Kyoto: Shibunkaku Shuppan 思文閣出版, 1997.

Yamada Keiji 山田慶児. *Honzō to yume to renkinjutsu to : busshitsuteki sōzōryoku no genshōgaku* 本草と夢と錬金術と—物質的想像力の現象学. Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha 朝日新聞社, 1997.

_____. *The Origins of Acupuncture, Moxibustion, and Decoction*. Kyoto, Japan: Nichibunken, International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 1998.

Yamagishi Tsuneto 山岸常人. "Nyoiji no keisei to sono seikaku 如意寺伽藍の形成とその性格." *Cultura Antiqua* 43, no. 6 (1991): 5–12.

Yamamoto Hiroko 山本ひろこ. *Ishin: chūsei Nihon no hikyōteki sekai* 異神—中世日本の秘教的世界. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1998.

Yamamoto Kōji 山本幸司. *Kegare to ōharae* 穢と大祓. Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1992.

_____. "Kegare-kan to chūsei shakai 穢れ感と中世社会." In *Nihonshi kōza: chūsei no keisei* 日本史講座—中世の形成, edited by Rekishigaku Kenkyūkai 歴史学研究会 and Nihonshi Kenkyūkai 日本史研究会, 295–320. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 2004.

Yamamoto Satomi 山本聡美. *Yami no Nihon bijutsu* 闇の日本美術. Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō 筑摩書房, 2018.

Yamanaka Yukio 山中行雄, Yamashita Tsutomu 山下勤, Akabane Ritsu 赤羽律, and Muroya Yasutaka 室屋安孝. "Bukkyō bunken 'Ryō jibyō kyō' no haikei nitsuite nitsuite 仏教文献『療痔病経』の背景について." *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 58, no. 1 (2012): 39–51.

_____. "Bukkyō bunken 'Ryō jibyō kyō' to sono kanren bunken nitsuite 仏教文献『療痔病経』とその関連文献について." *Nihon ishigaku zasshi* 日本医史学雑誌 57, no. 3 (2011): 293–304.

Yamano Toshirō 山野俊郎. "Tendai Chigi no igaku shisō josetsu 天台智顗の医学思想序説." *Ōtani daigaku shinshū sōgō kenkyūsho kiyō* 大谷大学真宗総合研究所研究所紀要 4 (1985): 115–142.

Yamasaki, Taikō. *Shingon: Japanese Esoteric Buddhism*. London: Shambhala, 1988.

Yang, Dolly. "Prescribing 'Guiding and Pulling': The Institutionalisation of Therapeutic Exercise in Sui China." Ph.D. Dissertation, University College London, 2018.

Yang, Zhaohua. "Devouring Impurities: Myth, Ritual and Talisman in the Cult of Ucchuṣma in Tang China." Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 2013.

Yokoi Kiyoshi 横井清. *Chūsei minshū no seikatsu bunka* 中世民衆の生活文化. Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 東京大学出版会, 1975.

Yoshida, Tomoko. “Kuroda Toshio (1926–1993) on Jōdo Shinshū: Problems in Modern Historiography.” *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* 33, no. 2 (2006): 379–412.

Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 吉岡義豊. “Kōshinkyō seiritsu no mondai 庚申経成立の問題.” *Indo Tetsugaku Bukkyō kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 16, no. 2 (1968): 73–79.

_____. “Shōmen Kongō to kōshin shinkō 青面金剛と庚申信仰.” In *Dōkyō kenkyū* 道教研究, Vol. 2. Tokyo: Shōrinsha 昭森社, 1967.

_____. *Yoshioka Yoshitoyo chosakushū* 吉岡義豊著作集. Vol. 2. Tokyo: Gogatsu Shobō 五月書房, 1989.

Youn-mi, Kim. “Buddhist Ontology and Miniaturization: Enacting Ritual with Nonhuman Agency.” *International Journal of Buddhist Thought & Culture* 27, no. 2 (2017): 39–69.

Zhang, Zhibin, and Paul U. Unschuld. *Ben Cao Gang Mu Dictionary*. 3 vols. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015.

Zysk, Kenneth G. *Asceticism and Healing in Ancient India: Medicine in the Buddhist Monastery*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

_____. “New Approaches to the Study of Early Buddhist Medicine: Use of Technical Brahmanic Sources in Sanskrit for the Interpretation of Pali Medical Texts.” *Pacific World Journal*, New Series, 11 (1996).

_____. *Religious Medicine: The History and Evolution of Indian Medicine*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993.

_____. “Studies in Traditional Indian Medicine in the Pāli Canon: Jīvaka and Āyurveda.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 5, no. 1 (1982): 70–86.